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"Averse … to Remaining Idle Spectators:" the Emergence of Loyalist Privateering During the American Revolution, 1775-1778 Volume II. Chapter 9 to Conclusion.

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"AVERSE...TO REMAINING IDLE SPECTATORS:" THE EMERGENCE OF LOYALIST PRIVATEERING DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1775-1778

VOLUME II. CHAPTER 9 TO CONCLUSION

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"COOL, PRUDENT MEN" POSSESSING "THE LIBERTY OF THINKING AND ACTING FOR THEMSELVES:" THE LOYALIST PRIVATEERS OF NEW YORK[1]

The city of New York was the destination of choice for the majority of loyalist refugees already discussed, but what of that colony's indigenous loyalist population? There, the number of Crown supporters surpassed that of any other colony to such a degree that historians are in general agreement that New York was the principal bastion of loyalism.[2] In keeping with this trend, the largest number of identifiable privateers from a single colony, sixty-nine, were associated with New York. As elsewhere, this group reflects divergent backgrounds and experiences, both within its composition and in comparison with other areas. The New York privateers were predominantly urban and coastal, and while the merchants and mariners dominated their ranks, men of other occupational background were in evidence. There was a high percentage of foreign born in this group which also included racial and ethnic minorities. A number had earlier supported the pre-war protests against Britain, and once the war began, a significant degree of neutrality was exhibited until the arrival of British forces. Evidence of equivocal behavior, however, is quite minimal, and instances of rebel abuse were comparatively less than elsewhere. These men were also involved in a number of other activities in support of the Crown.

In general, the majority of New York loyalists were concentrated inland along the Hudson River and the back-country Mohawk Valley where

they led rural, agricultural lifestyles.[3] There was also, however, a large and quite influential urban loyalist population in the port city of New York.[4] This element produced a significant number of privateers representing the vast majority of New Yorkers who would become involved in the activity. Within this group, the merchants constituted a very dominant factor. In fact, indications are that at least in terms of numbers, New York merchants played a leading role in the story of loyalist privateering in general.

The list of identifiable New York merchants is comparatively lengthy, and as will be seen, counted some men who were leading figures not only of the city, but of the colony as well.* Included were William Bayard, Thomas Buchanan (dealer in dry goods and general merchandise), Barrack Hays, Philip Kissick, Edward and William Laight (dealers in dry goods and hardware), John Loudon McAdam (future inventor of Macadamized roads), William McAdam, Valentine Nutter (bookseller and stationer), Frederick Rhinelander (importer of china, glass, and hardware, and exporter of hides), Oliver Templeton, Jonathan Tremain (ships' chandler and supplier of naval stores) Robert Waddell (shipping merchant and importer), Hugh and Alexander Wallace (concerned with general merchandise, Irish imports, linens, and shipping), Henry White (dealer in dry goods and general merchandise), Richard Yates (importer of East Indian and European goods), Benjamin Booth (different from the Pennsylvanian of the same name), Walter Spens (styled "gentleman"), Ian Tench, Joseph Allicocke (a wine merchant), George Moore (concerned with general merchandise), George Gracie, and Bryan Connor.[5]

Some of these men were involved in other financial ventures. Hays, John McAdam, and Templeton were auctioneers. Templeton was also

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*From this point, unless noted, "New York" will refer to the city.

an attorney.[6] Bayard and White invested heavily in real estate. The latter was also a contractor for the Royal Navy.[7] Edward Laight was part-owner of the Vesuvius Furnace, while Kissick was a vintner and distiller.[8]

The city also produced a significant number of mariners who would enter into privateering. Those who have been identified as associated with the port and who were referred to as merchants as well as ships' masters were Samuel Kemble, Henry Law ("bred to the Sea"), Misper Lee (in the West Indies trade), Cornelius Ryan, Joshua Temple De St. Croix, John Walker, Robert Dale, John Hylton, William Carmichael, John Tench (in the wine and spirits trade), Pendock Neale, and James Devereux (sometimes Devereau).[9] Kemble was yet another who sold goods at public vendue, but despite his growing list of various talents, like his associate, Spens, he sometimes simply described his occupation as that of "gentleman."[10] In addition, there were skippers Robert B. Carre, David Fenton, Thomas Henly (sometimes Henley), Thomas Quill, pilot Francis James (from New Utrecht or modern Brooklyn), William Van Assendelft, and Daniel Moore.[11] James Pettit from Long Island was also a mariner.[12] As with men discussed earlier, the seafaring abilities of Carmichael, Neale, Henley, Van Assendelft, and Pettit are assessed on the fact they later commanded privateers.[13]

Several additional men with strong wartime affiliations with New York can be added to the lists of the city's merchants and mariners by virtue of association with others of known residence. Merchant Thomas Braine was a long-standing partner of Hylton's, and mariner Daniel Braine commanded at least one vessel owned by the partners.[14] There can be little doubt the Braines were related and probably residents of the port. In similar categories were merchant Gilbert Pell and Captain Daniel Tingley. Both relatively uncommon last names were the same as

those of two New York privateer owners during the last French war, John Pell and Samuel Tingley.[15]

The city produced men who followed other economic pursuits. William Partridge kept a public house. John Utt and Thomas Myng were coopers. John Mullen's love of the sea prompted him to run away from his apprenticeship with printer Hugh Gaine, and as it was believed, sign articles on a privateer.[16]

Though much smaller in number, there were those who originated beyond the city's limits. Prior to the conflict, Turtullis Dickinson was a land owner in Dutchess County, and Gilbert Cory seemingly worked with his tenant farmer father on land at Van Cortlandt Manor. Peter Van Alstine (sometimes Van Alstyne) of Kinderhook was a blacksmith[17]

Finally, New York's slave population was represented aboard loyalist privateers. These individuals can be divided into two categories, hired men and runaways. As to the act of loyalists hiring their slaves for service on privateers, only one specific reference has been found so far. The practice in at least New York was not, however, unknown during previous colonial conflicts.[18] As to the one example mentioned, Christopher Benson of New York hired out eleven slaves to act as crewmen on the privateer brigantine Blakney, Captain John Pindar. By another account, the number was one white man and ten blacks, suggesting that either indentured servants could be hired out as well, or the contract included an overseer. Unfortunately, these men remain nameless. Of interest is the fact the Blakney registered a compliment of sixty men at the time indicating at least one sixth of her crew was black.[19]

With modest frequency, the New York papers printed announcements concerning runaways. Not all of these individuals were resident of the city. Some undoubtedly belonged to refugees, and others jumped vessels that had arrived from elsewhere.[20] Still, some undoubtedly hailed from

the port itself. Typically, runaway notices would end with a line such as, "Masters of vessels and others are cautioned not to carry off or harbour said boy at their peril."[21] The notice for a runaway named Sam specifically mentions the belief that he might enter a privateer to make good his escape from the city. Runaways Moses and Frank were certainly believed to have gone aboard privateers in the harbor.[22]

Although no direct proof exists that such practices occurred, it is possible that slaves were occasionally purchased specifically for service on privateers. The following announcement appeared in the Royal Gazette.

> TO BE SOLD this Day at XII o'Clock,
> A healthy active Negro Boy, about 14 years old, has had the small-pox and meazles, understands the business both of a farm and a family; has been on board of a ship for some time, and will certainly make an excellent seamen.[23]

Returning to the merchants, their ranks counted a number of wealthy, influential, educated, and public minded men. Hugh Wallace, White, and William Bayard were exceedingly well off. The drawing room of the latter "was wainscoted in mahogany and hung with blue and gold leather." He also possessed a complete panalopy of horse drawn conveyances. White had married into the powerful Van Cortlandt family. Hugh Wallace and White served on the Provincial Council, and Kemble was the Naval Officer for the colony. From 1774, he served as General Gage's personal secretary. Buchanan had completed course work at the University of Edinburgh, and White served on the board of New York's King's College. He and Hugh Wallace were among eighty merchants involved in the philanthropic venture of establishing The Society of New York Hospital, and both sat on the Board of Governors. Law served customs as Land Waiter and Tide Waiter. In addition to his other activities, Bayard was a colonel in the militia. In Dutchess County, Dickinson held the militia rank of major.[24]

As influential businessmen, a number of these individuals were linked through their membership with the New York Chamber of Commerce. This body first met in 1768 for the purpose of regulating business affairs. Pre-war membership included both Wallaces, White, William McAdam, Buchanan, Booth, Kemble, both Laights, Waddell, and Yates. In fact, both Hugh Wallace and White served terms as President of the organization before the war. The organization disbanded with the commencement of hostilities, but was reestablished in 1779, largely because of the growth of privateering. An organization such as the Chamber was necessary to further promote privateer operations, regulate the trade in commodities brought in by the activity, and arbitrate in disputes between participants who, because the city was under martial law, lacked other venues for legal recourse. The Chamber's reappearance for such reasons is reflective of the high volume of privateering activity in the city.[25]

It is evident that these men were linked through political, business, and family ties to each other and to Britain. Certainly White and the Wallaces were well acquainted with each other by way of the Provincial Council. Members of the Chamber must have been familiar with each other as well. As business partners, the Wallaces and Bayard were definitely known to each other as were Hugh Wallace and Yates. Spens can be linked to Buchanan, Daniel Moore, and Kemble. Bayard and Allicocke were associated, and so were Devereux and White. Of course, the Wallaces were brothers, and indications are the Laights were as well. Kemble's mother was a Bayard. Certainly kinship ties of some nature existed between the two Tenches and the two Braines. Buchanan, Waddell, and Booth worked for British firms, and in the case of the former, there were strong family ties stretching across the Atlantic. As a consignee for tea in 1773, White, too, clearly had firm ties to British companies.[26]

Estimates on the number of foreign to native born for the colony of New York in general indicate the two groups were fairly equally represented.[27] Among the city's dominant loyalist merchants, however, there was a strong immigrant element.[28] This carried over and was evident in the privateering ranks as well. Although admittedly limited, the figures of fifteen foreigners to five native born reflects a ratio of three to one. The specific place of birth is known for eleven of the fifteen, and the Scots and Irish dominated. Buchanan, both McAdams, and Carmichael were Scottish, while the Wallaces, Allicocke, Ryan, and Devereux hailed from Ireland. White was Welsh, and Booth was English. In addition, Quill and Fenton were merely described as being from Britain. Of note is a higher ratio of Irishmen than encountered elsewhere. The remaining two immigrants were Waddell and Partridge. As has been the case with most immigrants discussed so far, the majority of these men arrived during the French and Indian conflict or later. This group included Alexander Wallace, Allicocke, Partridge, both McAdams, White, Booth, Waddell, and Buchanan. John McAdam is of note for having come over as a youth, having been born only in 1756. Differing from other locales, the New York group contained a cadre of men who had arrived at a somewhat earlier date. Accounting for about one third of the men for whom a date of arrival is known, individuals in the group, including Hugh Wallace, Devereux, Fenton, and Quill, came between 1744 and 1752. Those known to have been native born were Law, Bayard, Van Alstine, Kemble, and Daniel Moore.[29]

The last names of several of these men reflect ethnic backgrounds other than British. The New York Dutch element was represented by Van Alstine and Van Assendelft, and if the name Rhinelander was not Dutch as well, it was certainly Germanic. Of course, a Dutch heritage would tend to support these men were natives as well. De St. Croix's name indicates the likelihood of French ancestry. In combination with

the Scots and Irish, there is evidence of a strong ethnic presence among New York privateers.

With the New Yorkers, there is another rare glimpse of religious affiliations. At least one historian maintains there was a strong Anglican presence amid New York loyalists in general. Existing evidence indicates this also may have been the case among the privateers. All six for whom religious orientation is known, the Wallaces, Bayard, Yates, White, and Daniel Moore were Anglican. Yates was a vestryman at Trinity Church.[30]

The New York privateers were noteworthy for another important reason. Among them there was a considerable amount of privateering talent that had been acquired during previous colonial wars. Hugh Wallace, Bayard, and Law had been owners, and Law had commanded a vessel as well, during the French and Indian conflict. Fenton, Dale, Devereux, and John Walker, skippered privateers during the same war. In addition, members of the Waddell, Pell, and Tingley families were associated with privateers at an earlier date as either owners or captains. With the Tingleys, and also the Bayards, family members were concerned with cruisers during King George's War, too. Finally, Partridge had served in the Royal Artillery during the previous conflict.[31]

As noted earlier, basic conservatism was a factor motivating many to remain loyal, and this was extremely evident among the New York merchant class. At the same time, there was a fair amount of irony to be seen in that a considerable number of the very same merchants who would remain loyal had been in the forefront of opposition to British colonial policy during the pre-war era. Still, as moderates, they favored peaceable means to attain redress of grievances. This stance brought them into conflict with the radical elements that also opposed the Crown. In contrast to the conservatives, Isaac Sears,

Alexander McDougal, and the Sons of Liberty favored strong-arm mob violence to achieve their ends. The merchants were fearful of such civil unrest with its inherent possibility of social leveling. As affairs progressed with the moderates' efforts to oppose both King and radicals, important conservative merchants, including a number of future privateers, united in committees to form an influential power base. In fact, so powerful was this group and their committees that only in New York did moderates maintain control of the provincial government and to a large degree, the streets.[32]

In 1768, in response to the Townshend Duties, New York merchants agreed to join their counterparts in other cities in adopting a policy of non-importation of British goods. They got their fingers burned for doing so. While New York adopted and maintained a rigid stance on the matter from the very beginning, other port cities did not play by the rules. The rival port of Philadelphia did not agree to the policy until almost a year later, and in the interim, that city's merchants had had time to lay in a substantial stock of English merchandise to hold them over. In Boston, another commercial rival, merchants were lax in their interpretation of the agreement and their maintenance of it. In backing non-importation, the Boston merchants also harbored self-serving ulterior motives with the hopes of enhancing their trade at the expense of New York's. Needless to say, under the circumstances, the commerce of ports such as Philadelphia and Boston was not as adversely affected as that of New York which suffered significantly. When word arrived in February and March, 1770, of the impending repeal of the Act, New Yorkers began to think about ending non-importation. This caused considerable consternation among supporters outside of the colony and among the Sons of Liberty within it. To enforce non-importation, the merchants of New York had established a Committee of Inspection, which included Edward Laight. This committee proposed a

congress to decide on the future of non-importation. The Philadelphians and Bostonians rejected the proposition. Consequently, in July, 1770, New York decided to take matters into her own hands and end her participation in the agreement. For their action, New Yorkers met with serious condemnation for what was perceived as a lack of commitment. From the viewpoint of the city's conservative merchants, after all their honest efforts they had only succeeded in losing trade to faithless competitors, and logically they became wary of the other ports. Still, New Yorkers did continue to resist against the importation of tea when the duty was left on that commodity after the repeal of the Townshend Act. Then, in 1773, they stood in opposition to the Tea Act, and as elsewhere, the arriving tea ships met with an unfriendly welcome.[33]

In May, 1774, in response to the news of the Coercive or Intolerable Acts, the Sons of Liberty called for both non-importation and non-exportation. Still unhappy with the outcome of the earlier non-importation scheme and the methods of the Sons of Liberty, the skeptical moderate merchants established the Committee of Fifty (later Fifty-One) to keep matters under control. Comprised of "cool, prudent Men," this Committee included Bayard, Alexander Wallace, Yates, Edward Laight, Booth, and William McAdam. Matters between the conservative and radical factions in the city's politics came to a head in the ensuing struggle for power and an irreparable rift developed between the two groups.[34]

Having learned their lesson about how other locales conducted non-importation, the New York merchants were not eager to enter into such an agreement again without some assurances. To attain these, the Committee again proposed a special congress be held to establish guidelines, govern proceedings, and insure conformity. This was perceived by other colonies as hesitancy to act reflecting a lack of com-

mitment on the part of New York. At the same time, the Sons of Liberty, over whom the Committee had established control, viewed the moderates as outright Tories simply because of their caution. In essence, there was a great deal of skepticism concerning where the New York merchants stood on matters, and in turn, the New York merchants countered with skepticism founded on far more valid reasoning. The question of non-importation would have to wait until the meeting of the Continental Congress at which time New York agreed to the Articles of Association. Agreeing to comply with the Articles, however, caused concern among some merchants who viewed acceptance as a dangerous step in the direction of making a complete break from England. To enforce the Articles, the Committee of Sixty was created which also continued to keep the radical element in line. After the news of Lexington and Concord, Sears led an armed mob that seized the keys to the Customs House, thus effectively closing the port. In response, the alarmed moderate merchants voted for a Committee of 100 to deal with the situation. They again regained control of the city and managed to reopen the port.[35]

On May 26, 1775, H.M.S. Asia, a third-rate, 64-gun ship of the line, Captain George Vandeput, arrived, establishing a sense of control over the port and creating an uneasy temporary truce. In October, Governor William Tryon, who was, himself, against Britain's taxation policies, left the city to take up residency on the Dutchess of Gordon in the harbor. With the Asia's guns dominating the city and a large part of the population not disposed to violent conduct, affairs reached something of a standoff with nothing really occurring until February, 1776. At that time, rebel General Charles Lee arrived with orders to secure the city from British attack.[36]

As noted, a number of future loyalists backed or were actually members of the various committees. Of course, this indicates they ini-

tially supported the same goals and maintained the same beliefs that would ultimately lead others into revolution. Those who remained loyal, however, cannot be defined as equivocal for the simple reason they never progressed far enough to actually become revolutionaries in the first place. The development of hostilities forced them to show their conservative colors at the very beginning and adopt a loyalist stance. They stopped and reassessed what lay before them and saw civil unrest, which they truly feared. They could not, in good conscience, align themselves with the newly emerging rebels in the developing conflict. They were simply too conservative, staid, and fearful of the consequences to countenance something so radical as armed rebellion. In addition, undoubtedly a part of the reassessment process involved consideration and evaluation of the true levels of sincerity and commitment of men elsewhere after their shameless conduct during non-importation. Certainly, this must have formed a part of the equation in the decision of many to remain loyal. It is interesting to note that in general, those New York merchants who were involved in illicit commerce violating the Acts of Trade during the pre-war era were those that became rebels. Members of what would become the loyalist faction had exhibited more forthright and honest conduct.[37]

Not all future privateers were moderates. Allicocke, at least for a while, was in the forefront of the radicals. After only two or three years in the colonies, he was a leader with the Sons of Liberty during the Stamp Act riots. As such, he is of note for being the most radically oriented individual in this study, and yet, for whatever reason, even he ultimately did a 180 degree turn and sided with the British. Furthermore, as will be seen, his final decision must have been made fairly early.[38]

There is little specific information concerning the political stance of most of the individuals in question during the first year

and a half of the war. As far as is known, all indications are that the majority of New York privateers made their decision to declare for the King within a short while after the commencement of hostilities, if not actually before. Most, however, did not become overtly active in their support of the Crown until the British arrived and began their campaign to secure New York in July, 1776. British control of the city created a secure environment in which to proclaim loyalty. In the interim, they had existed in a state of uneasy truce with their rebel neighbors, both playing a waiting game to see who would come to the support of who first. That many made their decision to back the King at an early date is evident from their actions. By becoming consignees for East India Company tea in the face of overwhelming opposition, Booth and White made their position known. By one account, Buchanan was also a tea consignee.[39]

With regard to others, following the commencement of hostilities, Alexander Wallace and White, after being careful to go through proper rebel channels and obtain permission, undertook to supply the King's vessels in New York harbor. Allicocke also carried goods to the British, but indications are that he simply took it upon himself to do so. Fenton declared he was loyal from the very beginning, and Kemble had been Gage's secretary since April, 1775. Perhaps the most serious early open declaration for the King occurred in January, 1776, when the Wallaces loaned £4,000 in gold and silver to Clinton to back his impending southern campaign. Finally, when the British did arrive in the city, loyalty was expressed when Rhinelander, Nutter, Bayard, Buchanan, and Kissick formally addressed the Howe brothers.[40]

The situations with Partridge and Law were noteworthy in that possessing skills deemed desirable by the revolutionaries, both were actively courted to accept positions with the rebel forces. Partridge made his position clear when the rebels offered him a commission in

their artillery in 1775. He flatly refused. Even more interesting are the circumstances Law found himself in. According to his post-war memorial, he was approached early on with an offer to command the entire rebel navy. This was an offer he could and did refuse. He then openly joined the British in the harbor using his influence to take as many of the port's pilots with him as he could. This support of the royal cause by a large number of the pilots says a great deal about the political orientation of New York's mariners.[41]

Outside the city, the situation was the same. In 1774, Dickinson refused to take part in the "political agitation" of that year, and then in 1776, as a militia major, he delayed the formation of a committee of safety in his region, thus arousing rebel suspicions. As of 1776, Van Alstine was a member of a loyalist committee at Albany. Given Cory's later adherence to the Crown, it would seem likely that he supported the firm loyalist beliefs held by his father from the beginning.[42]

Hylton's story is of note in that the key factor in his decision to join the British may have been that he was just fed up with what he perceived as rebel nonsense. Until June, 1776, Hylton seems to have conducted himself in a neutral fashion, going along with the rebels in inconsequential ways in order to get along. On the last day of May, following all the proper channels, he requested and received permission to sail from New York with a lading of provisions. Acting on the belief he would be allowed to depart, he went to the trouble and expense of purchasing and loading a cargo. Then, just hours before putting to sea, he was informed that because of a new decree, he would not be allowed to sail. Hylton's first response was to complain to the Provincial Congress. This seems to have produced no results, for the livid Hylton's next step was to sail without authorization and deliver his vessel and cargo to the British.[43]

Only a couple of these men are known to have acted with the rebels during the first year of the war, and their activities were relatively innocuous. In August, 1775, Yates served on a rebel committee determining which vessels would be allowed to sail. As of November, he was part of another committee gathering intelligence from pilots who came into contact with British shipping. James, a pilot himself, spent time keeping a lookout for any British vessels that might appear off the coast. His support of the rebels, however, faded. In early November, 1775, he was examined by the rebels for collusion in the loss of a pilot boat to the British. By early February, 1776, the rebels suspected James of aiding the Royal Navy. By March, James was firmly established in his support of the Crown. At that time he had the distinction of becoming the first known New York loyalist to be involved in a hostile act at sea. He was conspicuous in his assistance in capturing a rebel merchant brigantine. His participation in this affair resulted in his being personally targeted for capture by the rebels.[44]

Evidence of serious equivocalness is rare among New York privateers. The only example, if it really is one, is the historically perplexing odyssey of James Devereux. On May 6, 1775, he sailed from New York in the brigantine Phebe of which he owned 2/3rds shares and Nicholas Devereux (probably his son) was master. By one account, Devereux made it clear that he was a rebel simply leaving on a trading voyage, and certain incidents that followed would tend to support this. By another account, however, the Phebe coincidentally happened to be ready to sail at a time when Devereux had fallen foul of and was seriously threatened by the Whigs for refusing to subscribe to the Articles of Association. Taking advantage of the fact the brig was about to put to sea, Devereux embarked on her leaving wife and family to fend for themselves with a quantity of money he left behind for their use. The first port of call was the British colony of Jamaica. From

there the Phebe sailed for the "Ucatan in New Spaine." and then "N: Orlains" where she arrived on August 1, and remained until December 17. Next, with a load of lumber, she set sail for "High Spaniola" where she arrived in January, 1776. Selling the lumber, Devereux took on a cargo of molasses and rum with which he left for New York in mid-March. Speaking a rebel vessel out of Philadelphia, and hearing that it was impossible to make New York because of the season, Devereux opted to head for Amsterdam instead. There he arrived on June 1, after "we beate 23 days In the Chanel being destitute of Every Nessary of Life & dare not put Into England for Fraid of being taken." (The Prohibitory Act had since gone into effect.) At Amsterdam, Devereux attempted to get Dutch papers, but upon being told it would take a year and a half, he left his vessel and traveled to England to get British papers there. He then returned to Amsterdam, retrieved the brig, and sailed for London under the new registry. Picking up a cargo there, he sailed for St. Dominique, the "Muscetor Shore," and the Bay of Honduras. After taking on a load of mahogany and logwood, he sailed for London on February 9, 1777. On April 23, he was captured by a rebel privateer and sent into Boston. Because his earlier cargo of molasses and rum was destined for New York and he carried British papers, the rebels logically believed, he was, in fact, a loyalist. Devereux argued that at the time he shipped the cargo in question, New York had been held by the rebels, and he only had British papers to protect him from being taken by the Royal navy. These arguments worked. Although his cargo was confiscated, the ship was restored. Even more interesting is the fact that the rebels trusted Devereux enough to contract him to carry important dispatches to Europe. On this voyage, Devereux acted as Master and his son was mate. When approaching Europe, Devereux directed his son to have a talk with the crew. This, he did, convincing them to mutiny, take the ship, and carry it into England

where Devereux immediately delivered the dispatches to the authorities. After an absence of three years, one month and one day, he finally made New York to resume care of a family who had become destitute in his absence.[45]

Was Devereux initially a Whig who was angry and switched his allegiance after being detained by and losing a cargo to the rebels? Was he a very crafty loyalist all along? Was he apolitical, going in whatever direction the wind blew? Or was he simply a master of survival, plying a middle of the road course for as long as possible to reap the advantages obtainable from both sides?

Ultimately, the stance adopted by these New Yorkers would result in some being abused in some manner by the rebels. Of interest, however, is the fact that the treatment of loyalists in the province of New York has been historically viewed as some of the harshest meted out anywhere in the colonies.[46] Yet, with the individuals being considered, a very staunch, active group, the degree and volume of persecution does not seem to have reached quite the levels of severity witnessed elsewhere. It primarily took the form of interrogation, imprisonment, and forced exile, and generally, the people only suffered until the arrival of the British. There is no evidence of actual physical abuse, although Booth narrowly missed becoming a victim of the mob for his involvement with East India tea, and Devereux stated he feared for his life.[47] Of course, incidents of persecution further reflect the loyal stance adopted by these people at an early date.

Buchanan was called before the Committee of Safety for attempting to defy the Articles of Association, and he and Spens were questioned about improper contact with the British. James's interrogation concerning his suspected collusion has already been mentioned. Hugh Wallace was summoned before the Committee of Safety to divulge any intelligence he might have concerning the arrival of the King's forces.

Rhinelander came under suspicion for allegedly attempting the clandestine shipment of goods to the British.[48]

Several individuals were arrested for their conduct. Most notable were the Wallace brothers who were seized and imprisoned in Connecticut for having helped finance Clinton's campaign in 1776. Waddell was also arrested and, like the Wallaces, confined in Connecticut. For having supplied the British, the rebels not only seized, but actually tried Allicocke. Carre was taken and imprisoned for a while in Virginia. Dickinson was detained by the Provincial Congress for his lackluster support of the rebels. After being forced to give his parole, he was sent to New England. Returning in 1777, he refused to take the rebel oath and was forced to seek sanctuary in New York. Finally, Gilbert Cory's father was staunch enough in his support of the King to be confined several times by the rebels.[49]

The situation forced some to play along with the rebels in their efforts to persevere when they actually supported the King. Rhinelander maintained such a role as long as he could until his real sentiments became apparent, and he was forced to flee. He later reassuringly explained his predicament to his business associates in England. He wrote:

> I embrace this first favourable opportunity after my escape & return to this City to resolve your fears respecting the part I might have taken in this most unnatural & unhappy contest. What ever you [crossed out and illeg.] may think of my contact I beg leave to assure you I have acted from principle only neither awed by fear or allured by any hopes of reward. had it been in the power of my Enemies so far to have destroyed my property as to have injured my Creditors, I should have thought it my duty and made it my study to observe a line of conduct that appeared best calculated to preserve their intrest.
>
> On the 10th of March last I was obliged with my Family to leave this City after suffering many inconveniencies and difficulties as great perhaps as you can conceive for the space of four months of the time. I have the satisfaction of being now at liberty and in business, instead of being a prisoner in New England. These were consequences not to be avoided unless I had taken a part in the Congress Committee or Army.[50]

Others fled as well before they suffered the consequences of imprisonment. Partridge must have exhibited strong support for the King to have been forced to leave as early as 1775. Obviously believing that life under the rebel regime would not be possible, Bayard simply left the city when the insurgents arrived in 1776. By that time, Quill had become so obnoxious to the rebels that he, too, was forced into exile, often living in the woods until the British arrived and reestablished control. Because he refused to take the rebel oath, Lee also had to depart. At some point, Yates left for New Jersey. After being tried, Allicocke went to Antigua until 1777. Outraged over the refusal of their offer of a commission, the rebels attempted to seize Law and send him to the infamous Simsbury Mines for detention. He eluded them, seeking safety with the British in the harbor. Having failed in their attempt to capture Law, the rebels went after his family. Forewarned, Law's wife and children had only enough time to escape with merely the clothes on their backs before the mob arrived. In the countryside, Cory's father ultimately had to flee to the city, because of his strong pro-British stance.[51]

Some of these men were forced to endure lengthy separations from their families. The Wallaces and Dickinson were sent away from their families when taken into custody. When Allicocke fled to the West Indies, he took four of his ten children with him. Five remained with their mother in New York. The oldest was able to fend for himself.[52]

As to losses incurred by these people to the rebels, they do not seem to have been as severe as elsewhere. The primary reason for this was undoubtedly the fact the majority resided within a sphere of British protection for most of the war. Consequently, there was less loss of property. In turn, property loss could not have been as influential a motivating factor as in other locales. In fact, all indications are that the greatest losses probably occurred at the end of the war when

the British evacuated, and folks were forced to sell at a loss or simply abandon that which they could not take with them. It is likely that for many, losses attained as a result of final defeat were particularly difficult to accept, more so than with refugees from other colonies who suffered in the early stages of the war. The latter at least had an opportunity to attempt some personal recourse.

Nevertheless, some of these men suffered significant losses from the beginning. Primarily, these were in real estate lying outside the sphere of British control, business, and debts.[53] More immediate losses occurred as well. For the most part, these were sustained by people who had been forced to flee and so were not present to protect their holdings. Allicocke lost a considerable store of wine to the rebels, and Law also lost wine in addition to his stock of lumber. Partridge's furniture was taken or destroyed. Both Law and Quill endured further indignation by having their dwellings commandeered by the rebels. Quill's house became a barracks while Law's served as a hospital. In addition, a sloop belonging to Fenton was burned.[54]

The Wallaces lost heavily as well during their confinement in Connecticut. When the rebels first threatened New York, Hugh Wallace sent the family plate, valued at £1,500, to Yates in New Jersey for safe keeping. When the British arrived, Wallace somehow managed to get word from prison for the items to be returned to the city. While in transit, the plate was seized by the rebels who condemned it as lawful prize.[55]

Of course, matters were different for those loyalists who resided outside the city. Early on, both Dickinson and Van Alstine lost significantly in terms of real estate, crops, live stock, and personal possessions.[56]

As usual, a few suffered at the hands of the British too. Laight lost a cargo to the dictates of the Prohibitory Act. Allicocke's store

of wine, already depleted by the rebels, diminished even further with the arrival of Hessian troops. With De St. Croix, once again the Hessians proved themselves to be undesirable, high-risk tenants when they commandeered his house for use as a barracks for the duration of the war. Of course, the structure did not fare well during the occupancy.[57]

During the conflict, a large percentage of these men was involved in activities other than privateering, reflecting a high degree of commitment to the war effort. Some were in public service. Others did philanthropic work. A number undertook tasks that directly advanced the war effort. Many did military service or were involved with naval endeavors. All in all, this was a devoted and active group.

With regards to public activities, Law acted as both Superintendent of Pilots and Captain of the Port of New York. Hugh Wallace served on the Board of Accounts, and as noted, with brother Alexander, helped financially back Clinton's 1776 campaign. For a brief period, Bayard was Vendue Master, an extremely important post in the world of privateering. Each evening, William Laight helped manage the city watch, and Quill, too, was a member of that organization. Quill also assisted with the construction of fortifications around the city.[58]

On the humanitarian side, Bayard did work for the Board of Refugees. The Laight brothers ran the Alms House and helped manage one of the lotteries that raised money for welfare. Of the utmost interest was Kissick who supplied needy rebel prisoners held at the Sugar House with food and money.[59]

Some of these men were involved in activities which, although they can be viewed as more business oriented, were, nevertheless, tied to the war effort and served to help it. After the Chamber of Commerce was reinstated, John Loudon McAdam, Rhinelander, Spens, Templeton, and John Tench joined the ranks of those already mentioned.[60] Despite its general business orientation, the Chamber was active in public affairs

as well. It was involved in keeping the streets clean, fixing rates for such services as cartage and the storage of munitions, and establishing set prices for basic commodities like bread and meat.[61] The Marine Society was another important organization that counted a number of privateers among its members. Dale, Quill, Fenton, Lee, Allicocke, Hylton, and Kissick belonged.[62] In addition, Bayard acted as agent for provision contractors, and De St. Croix, Ryan, and John Tench shipped supplies for the British.[63] Finally, a significant number of these men, the Wallaces, George Moore, White, Yates, Hylton, John Tench, Kemble, Spens, Hays, and Bayard, acted as agents for the Royal Navy, privateers, or both.[64]

As noted, there was also involvement in maritime and naval activities. Lee and Quill were members of the Marine Artillery Company. Quill also commanded the government armed sloop George. Fenton and his vessel were in the transport service. De St. Croix and James acted as pilots for the Royal Navy while Carre served as a midshipman.[65]

Finally, a large number of these men were affiliated with the military. Several were instrumental in establishing commands. William Laight raised and organized the New York Militia. For this service he was made Lieutenant Colonel, a post for which he refused any compensation. Bayard raised the Orange Rangers. A company of the New York Volunteers was equipped and maintained by Templeton at personal expense. He also acted as captain in the same outfit, and like Laight, refused pay and other recompense. Alexander Wallace served as a militia captain and was then promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the 2nd Battalion of New York City Militia. Partridge held an ensigncy in the Queen's Rangers. Dickinson retained his pre-war rank of militia major in British service. Van Alstine fought with Burgoyne in the Saratoga campaign, and later, he was a captain in the New York Boatmen. In addi-

tion, Devereux, Pettit, Ryan, and Henly all served with British militia, regular, or provincial units.[66]

Of course, privateering activities are the primary concern. No less than forty-two of the men discussed were involved as owners. This included Bayard, Buchanan, Kissick the Laights, Rhinelander, Templeton, Waddell, the Wallaces, Yates, Allicocke, White, Spens, Dale, Walker, James, Kemble, Gracie, Pell, George Moore, Connor, Law, John and Ian Tench, Hays, John Loudon McAdam, Ryan, Dickinson, De St. Croix, Nutter, Thomas Braine, Myng, Utt, William McAdam, and Booth.[67] Also included were Hylton, Neale, Carmichael, Fenton, Lee, and Tremain who acted as captains as well as owners.[68] Those who acted strictly in a command capacity were Quill, Tingley, Pettit, Braine, Van Assendelft, Carre, Henly, Daniel Moore, and Devereux, who seems to have procured his commission in England.[69] Partridge served as a Lieutenant of Marines.[70] Waddell also acted in the capacity of ship's husband for a privateer.[71] Undoubtedly, Cory, Frank, Moses, Sam, Mullen, and Benson's ten or eleven hired slaves acted as crewmen.[72] Van Alstine fought with the Associated Loyalists as did Ryan.[73]

In July, 1775, the British arrived, opening the campaign that would result in their occupation of New York. Once the city was secured, local loyalists could attempt to resume their lives with at least some sense of security, and those who had left were free to return. With them came numerous refugees from the other colonies with whom they made the city the center of loyalist activity in North America. As early as January, 1776, Tryon began touting the port as potential privateering base, and so it would become. As the port developed as <u>the</u> loyalist haven, it emerged as the center for privateering activities as well. [74]

As in other regions, the New York privateers reflected a diversity of background, but the merchant/mariner class was clearly domi-

nant. They also underwent a variety of experiences. While there was substantial neutral behavior prior to the British occupation of the city, there was minimal equivocal conduct, especially in comparison to the adjacent Delaware Bay/New Jersey coast area. Unlike other northern regions, but comparable with southern ones, their ranks included a high percentage of foreign born, along with ethnic and minority elements. The conduct of many during the pre-war period in conjunction with the respectable, responsible nature of their backgrounds tends to mark these men as moderate. Their considerable involvement in privateering and other war related activities confirms their high level of commitment upon becoming active loyalists.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 9

[1]Cadwallader Colden and Thomas Bradbury Chandler, quoted in Philip Ranlet, The New York Loyalists (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1986), pp. 41, 53.

[2]Brown, King's Friends, pp. 77-78.

[3]Ibid., pp. 81, 86.

[4]Ibid., pp. 83-84, 86-87; and Alexander E. Flick, Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution (New York: 1901), p. 181.

[5]Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 1:217, 606, 2:53, 54, 362, 393, 417, 463, 488, 562, 570-571, 591; Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 15-16, 52, 372, 473, 852, 901; Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, pp. 148, 299-303, 393-395; Virginia D. Harrington, The New York Merchant on the Eve of the American Revolution, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Number 404 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), pp. 16, 19, 52, 151, 188, 351; Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, A List of Warrants Issued by Govr. Tryon, February 5 to March 24, 1779, and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, May 1, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82, 107, 125; Oscar Theodore Barck, New York City During the War of Independence with Special Reference to the Period of British Occupation, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 357 (New York: Colombia University Press, 1931), p. 34, 34 n.1; Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 28, 1777, p. 1, August 25, 1777, p. 2, April 13, 1778, p. 4, September 7, 1778, p. 3, September 21, 1778, p. 3, September 28, 1778, p. 3, November 8, 1779, p. 4, May 22, 1780, p. 2, May 29, 1780, p. 4, and October 30, 1780, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 8, 1778, pp. 1, 2, July 31, 1779, p. 2, No-

vember 6, 1779, p. 3, and April 19, 1783, p. 3; Memorial of Edward and William Laight, February 13, 1786, PRO, AO13/26/226; Ranlet, New York Loyalists, pp. 39, 60; Messrs. Keeling and Davis to Frederick Rhinelander, June 2, 1774, lists of china ordered from Hodgson and Donaldson, n.d., and Rowlinson and Chorley, August 13, 1774, invoice of pelts shipped, n.d., invoice for pelts shipped, June 10, 1775, order for earthenware from Rowlinson and Chorley, n.d., order for chinaware from Hodgson and Donaldson, December 28, 1776, and order for glassware from Vigor and Stevens of Bristol, n.d., Rhinelander Letter and Order Book, [pp. 3, 4-5, 6-7, 24, 25, 40, 44, 47-48], New York Historical Society; Memorial of Oliver Templeton, June 21, 1786, PRO, AO13/80/489; Bond for privateer schooner Jack o' the Lanthorn, Captain Jonathan Tremain, January 15, 1783, PRO, HCA49/91/2/23; Memorials of Alexander and Hugh Wallace, January 24, 1785 and March 2[illeg.], 1784, PRO, AO12/20/61, 244; Minutes, New York Committee of Safety, October 3, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 2:285; Bond for privateer galley Ter Eyre, Captain Samuel Hunk, November 30, 1782, PRO, HCA49/91/2/48; Evidence on the Foregoing Memorial of Joseph Allicocke, October 12, 1787, PRO, AO12/24/358; Review of Joseph Allicocke's Claim, May 31, 1783, PRO, AO12/99/291; Examination of John Jones, n.d., Maryland Admiralty, 7871-1-21, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland; and Commission for privateer schooner St. Patrick, Captain John Duggan, March 19, Twenty-Second Year of the Reign, New London Admiralty Court, RG3/656/22/494, Connecticut State Library and Archives, Hartford, Connecticut.

[6]Gaine's New-York Gazette, June 8, 1778, p. 2; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2/53; Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, p. 148; Memorial of Templeton, PRO, AO13/80/489; Palmer, Loyalists, p. 852; and Committee Minutes, New York Chamber of Commerce, February 28, 1781, in New York Chamber of Commerce, Earliest Arbitration Records of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York Founded in 1768: Committee Minutes, 1779-1792 (New York: Press of the Chamber, 1932), p. 45.

[7]Harrington, New York Merchant, pp. 134, 344.

[8]Ibid., p. 151; and Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 1/606.

[9]Accounts of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, and List of Warrants Issued by Tryon, March 24, 1779, PRO, CO5, 1109/82, 107; Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 456, 477, 484, 757, 759, 898; Memorial of Samuel Kemble, January 7, 1784, PRO, AO12/21/66; Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Congress, pp. 139, 301, 303; Lydon, Pirates, Privateers, pp. 281-283; Memorial of Henry Law, March 25, 1784, PRO, AO12/24/275; Memorial of Misper Lee, n.d., PRO, AO12/24/11; Rivington's Royal Gazette, March 31, 1779, p. 3; The Pennsylvania Ledger or the Philadelphia Market-Day Advertiser, December 13, 1777, p. 2; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:574; Bond for privateer boat Cock, Captain John Bridger, March 11, 1783, PRO, HCA49/91/2/5; Memorial of Joshua Temple De St. Croix, n.d., PRO, 13/25/433; Fish, Privateers of New York, pp. 84, 89; Memorial of John Hylton, June 11, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 5:474; Rivington's Royal Gazette, February 16, 1780, p. 3; Commission for Loyal Subject, August 30, 1777, and Commission for the privateer sloop Revenge, Captain Robert Bland, January 8, Nineteenth Year of the Reign, Chipman Papers Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty, MG 23/D 1/1/9/61, 70, Public Archives of Canada; Pennsylvania Ledger, December 20, 1777, p. 1; Bond for Ter Eyre, PRO, HCA49/91/2/48; Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 8, 1778, p. 1, and Feb-

ruary 19, 1783, p. 3; Gaine's New-York Gazette, May 25, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, September 2, 1778, p. 3; Deposition of Nathan Chesebrough, May 13, 1778, PRO, HCA32/337; Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, pp. 396-397; Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution, p. 84; James Devereux to the Massachusetts Board of War, July 8, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:240-241; and Memorial of James Devereux, n.d., PRO, AO12/20/9.

[10]Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, p. 139; Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82; and Palmer, Loyalists, p. 456.

[11]Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 142, 266, 378, 711; Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82; Memorial of Robert B. Carre, March 18, 1786, PRO, AO13/21/89; Memorial of David Fenton, July 7, 1787, PRO, AO12/24/337; Memorial of David Fenton, June 16, 1783, PRO, AO13/54/375; Lydon, Pirates, Privateers, p. 282; Gaine's New-York Gazette, January 22, 1783, p. 3; Bond for privateer schooner Active, Captain John Ross, December 19, 1783, PRO, HCA49/91/2/38; Memorial of Thomas Quill, n.d., PRO, AO12/24/106; Minutes, New York Committee of Safety, September 25, 1775, and Journal of the New York Provincial Congress, October 14, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 2: 203, 455; Wallace Evans Davies, "Privateering Around Long Island During the Revolution," New York History XX (July, 1939): 283; Committee Minutes, September 5, 1780, in Chamber of Congress, Arbitration Records, p. 34; Rivington's Royal Gazette, September 5, 1778, p. 4, and July 15, 1780, p. 3; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 10, 1780, p. 3, and July 31, 1780, p.3.

[12]Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:566; and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[13]See footnotes 8-11.

[14]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, May 1, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/125; Answer and Claim of John Hilton and Thomas Brain, August 9, 1780, PRO HCA32/491/L (CW); and Committee Minutes, September 3, 1782, in Chamber of Commerce, Arbitration Records. pp. 83-84.

[15]List of Warrants Issued by Tryon, March 24, 1779, and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, May 1, 1779, PRO CO5/1109/107, 125; Lydon, Pirates, Privateers, pp. 278, 279.

[16]Review of William Partridge's Claim, July 26, 1784, PRO, AO12/101/16; Palmer, Loyalists, p.672-673; Commission for the privateer schooner Hussey, Captain John Atkinson, March 1, Twenty-Second year of the reign, New London Maritime Court, RG3/657/45/900, Connecticut State Library and Archives; and Rivington's Royal Gazette, December 18, 1782, p. 1, and January 8, 1783, p. 3.

[17]Memorial of Tertullus Dickinson, and Schedule & Estimate of Losses for Tertullus Dickinson, March 20, 1786, PRO, AO12/23/420, 422; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:507; Evidence on the Claim of Sarah Cory, February 19, 1787, PRO, AO12/25/366; Memorial of Peter Van Alstyne, n.d., and Examination on the Claim of Peter Van Alstine, February 27, 1788, PRO, AO12/33/91, 94; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 179, 222, 881.

[18]While Lydon offers proof that slaves were hired for service on privateers in New York, Swanson doubts the existence of the practice in the southern colonies, because of the fear of arming blacks. Lydon, Pirates, Privateers, pp. 193-194; and Swanson, Predators, p. 127.

[19]Committee Minutes, June 1, 1780, November 7, 1780, and August 30, 1781, in Chamber of Commerce, Arbitration Records, pp. 26, 38, 57; and List of Warrants Issued by Tryon, March 24, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/107.

[20]Rivington's Royal Gazette, November 14, 1778, p. 3, and November 18, 1778, p. 3.

[21]Rivington's Royal Gazette, December 2, 1778, p. 2.

[22]Ibid., October 10, 1778, p. 3, March 6, 1779, p. 3, and June 15, 1782, p. 2.

[23]Ibid., October 28, 1778 p. 3

[24]Harrington, New York Merchant, pp. 19, 27, 29, 33-34, 36, 51, 351; Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 222, 456, 477, 901; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 1:217, 2:417; and Stevens Records of the Chamber of Commerce, p. 139;

[25]Editorial comments and Committee Minutes, July 6, 1779 to January 7, 1783, in Chamber of Commerce, Arbitration Records, pp. iii, and 1-93, passim; New York Chamber of Commerce to Commandant Daniel Jones, June 21, 1779, and General James Robertson, May 7, 1782, in Register of Proceedings, and editorial notes, in Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, pp. 204, 281-283, 299-303; Joseph Bucklin Bishop, A Chronicle of One Hundred & Fifty Years: The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York 1768-1918 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, MCMXVIII), pp. 28-33; and Harrington, New York Merchant, p. 74.

[26]Evidence on the foregoing Memorial of Alexander Wallace, January 24, 1785, PRO, AO12/20/66; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:393, 417-418, 488; Minutes, New York Committee of Safety, October 2 and 3, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 2:271-272, 284-285; Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 8, 1778, p. 2; Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, p. 139; Evidence on the Memorial of Allicocke, PRO, AO12/24/358; Evidence on the foregoing Memorial of James Devereux, November 8, 1784, PRO, AO12/20/17; Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 78, 901; Memorial of the Laights, PRO, AO13/26/226; Harrington, New York Merchant, pp. 51, 188, 344, 346; and Ranlet, New York Loyalists, p. 39.

[27]Brown, King's Friends, pp. 85, 260.

[28]Harrington, New York Merchant, pp. 350-351.

[29]Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2/53; Commission for Loyal Subject, Chipman Papers, Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty, MG 23/D 1/1/9/61, Public Archives of Canada; Memorials of the Wallaces, PRO, AO12/20/64, 240; Evidence on the Memorial of Allicocke, PRO, AO12/24/358; Evidence on the Memorial of Devereux, PRO, AO12/20/17; Memorial of Quill, PRO, AO12/24/106; Memorial of Fenton, PRO, AO13/54/375; Review of Partridge's Claim, PRO, AO12/101/16; Memorial of Law, PRO, AO12/24/275; Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 15, 1780, p. 3; Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, pp. 139, 148;

Harrington, New York Merchant, pp. 51, 351; and Palmer Loyalists, pp. 15-16, 52, 78, 266, 466, 477, 711, 757, 881, 901.

[30]Brown, King's Friends, pp. 98-99; Harrington, New York Merchant, p. 41; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:463; and Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 15, 1780, p. 3.

[31]Lydon, Pirates, Privateers, pp. 274-275, 278-282; Fish, Privateers of New York, pp. 83, 88-89, 91, 94; Review of Partridge's Claim, PRO, AO12/101/16; and Palmer, Loyalists, p. 672.

[32]Brown, King's Friends, pp. 77, 96; Ranlet, New York Loyalists, pp. 26, 28-30, 41-42, 51, 53; and Harrington, New York Merchants, pp. 324-327, 338, 348.

[33]Ranlet, New York Loyalists, pp. 28-40; and Harrington, New York Merchants, pp. 335-340, 338 n. 77, 342-347.

[34]Text and Cadwallader Colden quoted in Ranlet, New York Loyalists, pp. 40-41, 43-44, 49-50; and Harrington, New York Merchants, pp. 348-349, 349 n. 100.

[35]Ranlet, New York Loyalists, pp. 40-42, 44-47, 52, 58-59, 66-67.

[36]Ibid., p. 52, 60-61, 66.

[37]Harrington, New York Merchants, p. 350; and Brown King's Friends, p. 96.

[38]Ranlet, New York Loyalists, pp. 22-23; and Evidence on the Memorial of Allicocke, PRO, AO12/24/358.

[39]Harrington, New York Merchant, pp. 344, 346-347; Ranlet, New York Loyalists, pp. 39-40; and Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:417, 488.

[40]Journal, New York Provincial Congress, February 28, 1776, in Clark, NDAR, 4:109; Review of Allicocke's Claim PRO, AO12/99/291; Memorial of Fenton, PRO, AO13/54/375; Evidence on the foregoing Memorial of Samuel Kemble, n.d., PRO, AO12/21/68; Palmer, Loyalists, 456, 901; Memorials of the Wallaces, PRO, AO12/20/61, 240; and Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 1:217, 606, 2:393, 488, 562, 570-571.

[41]Review of Partridge's Claim, PRO, AO12/101/16; Memorial of Law, PRO, AO12/24/275; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 477, 672-673.

[42]Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 179, 222, 881; and Evidence on the Claim of Cory, PRO, AO12/25/366.

[43]Memorial of John, June 11, 1776, and Extract of letter from Washington, July 24, 1776, in Journal, New York Provincial Congress, July 27, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 5:474, 1241.

[44]Journal, New York Provincial Congress, August 28 and 29, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 1:1247-1249, 1254; Minutes, New York Committee of Safety, September 25, 1775, and Journal, New York Provincial Congress, November 3 and 4, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 2:203, 872, 883-884; Minutes, New York Committee of Safety, February 3 and 4, 1776, in Clark, NDAR, 3:1113-1115, 1123; Journal, New York Provincial Congress, March 8,

1776, in Clark, NDAR, 4:236; and Davies, "Privateering Around Long Island," p. 284.

[45]Memorial of Devereux, and Further Evidence on the Memorial of Devereux, PRO, AO12/20/9, 17; and James Devereux to the Massachusetts Board of War, July 8, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:240-241.

[46]Brown, King's Friends, p. 78.

[47]Harrington, New York Merchant, p. 346; and Memorial of Devereux, PRO, AO12/20/9.

[48]Minutes, New York Committee of Safety October 2 and 3, 1775, and Journal, New York Provincial Congress, October 4, and November 3 and 4, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 2:271-272, 284, 296, 872, 883-884; and Minutes, New York Committee of Safety, February 4, 1776, and editorial note, Clark, NDAR, 3:1122-1123, 1283 n. 2.

[49]Memorials of the Wallaces, PRO, AO12/20/61, 240; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:393, 591; Review of Allicocke's Claim, PRO, AO12/99/291; Memorial of Carre, PRO AO13/21/89; Evidence on the Claim of Cory, PRO, AO12/25/366; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 15-16, 142, 179, 222, 901.

[50]Frederick Rhinelander to Thomas Aldersey, December 28, 1777 [sic], an unaddressed version of this same letter is dated December 28, 1776, Rhinelander Letter and Order Book, [49, 60], New-York Historical Society. The time references in the letter also indicate the earlier date is the correct one.

[51]Review of Partridge's Claim, PRO, AO12/101/16; Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 15-16, 52, 179, 477, 484, 672-673, 711; Memorial of Quill, PRO, AO12/24/106; Memorial of Lee, PRO, AO12/24/13; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:393; Evidence on the Memorial of Allicocke, PRO, AO12/24/358; Memorial of Law, PRO, AO12/24/275; and Evidence on the Claim of Cory, PRO, AO12/25/366.

[52]Memorials of the Wallaces, PRO, AO12/20/61, 240; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:393; Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 222-223; Review of Allicocke's Claim, PRO, AO12/99/291; and Evidence on the Memorial of Allicocke, PRO, AO12/24/358.

[53]Memorial of Devereux, and Evidence on the Memorial of Devereux, PRO, AO12/20/9, 17; Memorials of the Wallaces, PRO, AO12/20/61, 240; Memorial of Kemble, PRO, AO12/21/66; Schedule of Losses for Dickinson, PRO, AO/23/422; Memorial of Lee, Memorial of Quill, Evidence on the Memorial of Allicocke, and Memorial of Law, PRO, AO12/24/13, 106, 358, 275; Review of Allicocke's Claim, PRO, AO 12/99/291; Review of Partridge's Claim, PRO, AO12/101/16; Memorial of De St. Croix, PRO, AO13/25/433; An Estimation of the Losses of David Fenton, n.d. PRO, AO13/54/382; Memorial of Templeton, PRO, AO13/80 489; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 1:217, 2:53, 54, 393, 418, 562; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 52, 142, 179, 222, 267, 456, 757, 759, 852, 881, 901. and Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, p. 148.

[54]Evidence on the Memorial of Allicocke, PRO, AO12/24/358; Memorial of Law, PRO, AO12/24/275; Review of Partridge's Claim, PRO, AO12/101/16; Memorial of Quill, PRO, AO12/24/106; Memorial of David

Fenton, June 16, 1783, PRO, AO13/54/380; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 266, 447, 672-673, 711.

[55]Memorials of the Wallaces, PRO, AO12/20/61, 240; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:393; and Palmer, Loyalists, p. 901.

[56]Schedule of Losses for Dickinson, PRO, AO/23/422; Memorial of Van Alstyne, PRO, AO12/22/91; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 222, 881.

[57]Memorial of the Laights, PRO, AO13/26/226; Evidence on the Memorial of Allicocke, PRO, AO12/24/358; Memorial of De St. Croix, PRO, AO13/25/433; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 15-16, 473, 759.

[58]Memorial of Law, PRO, AO12/24/275; Memorial of Hugh Wallace, PRO, AO12/20/240; Memorial of the Laights, PRO, AO13/26/226; Memorial of Quill, PRO, AO12/24/106; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 52, 473, 477, 711, 901.

[59]Palmer, Loyalists, p. 52; Memorial of the Laights, PRO, AO13/26/226; and Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 1:606.

[60]Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, pp. 302-303.

[61]Register of Proceedings, July, 12, 19, August 3, and November 2, 1779, Andrew Elliot to the New York Chamber of Commerce, July 10, 1779, Chamber of Commerce to Daniel Jones, July 19, 1779, and Elliot to the Chamber of Commerce, August 3, 1779, in Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, pp. 205-217; Bishop, Chronicle of One Hundred & Fifty Years, pp. 29-31.

[62]Rivington's Royal Gazette, November 3, 1779, p. 3.

[63]Palmer, Loyalists, p. 52; Passes for Vessels given by Major Genl. Jones Commandant, F. Ashton De Peyster Collection, Box 11, File # 12, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York; and Pennsylvania Ledger, December 13, 1777, p. 2, and December 20, 1777, p. 1.

[64]Gaine's New-York Gazette, September 14, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, September 19, 1778, p. 2, April 14, 1779, p. 3, April 21, 1779, p. 3, April 24, 1779, p. 2, June 23, 1779, p. 4, June 26, 1779, p. 3, August 14, 1779, p. 3, and May 24, 1780, p. 3; and Palmer, Loyalists, p. 52.

[65]Memorial of Lee, PRO, AO12/24/13; Memorial of Quill, PRO, AO12/24/13; Memorial of Fenton, PRO, AO13/54/380; Memorial of De St. Croix, n.d., PRO, AO13/25/433; Journal, New York Provincial Congress, March 8, 1776, in Clark, NDAR, 4:236; Memorial of Carre, PRO, AO13/21/89; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 142, 266-267, 484, 711, 759.

[66]Memorial of the Laights, PRO, AO13/26/226; Memorial of Templeton, PRO, AO13/80/489; Memorial of Alexander Wallace, PRO, AO12/20/61; Review of Partridge's Claim, PRO, AO12/101/16; Examination on the Claim of Van Alstine, PRO, AO12/33/94; Memorial of Devereux, PRO, AO12/20/9; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:507, 566; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 219, 378, 473, 672-673, 757, 852, 881, 901.

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[68]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, List of Warrants Issued by Tryon, March 24, 1779, and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, May 1, 1779, PRO CO5/1109/82, 107, 125; Deposition of Nathan Chesebrough, PRO, HCA32/337; Answer and Claim of Emanuel Walker for William Carmichael, n.d., PRO, HCA32/405/19 (NC); Libel, John Hylton vs. schooner Neptune, January 29, 1779, PRO HCA32/414/h (CW); Commissions for privateer sloop George & Elizabeth, Captain Pendock Neale, March 28, 1778, and Loyal Subject, Ward Chipman Papers, Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty, MG 23/D 1/1/9/44, 61; Gaine's New-York Gazette, May 25, 1778, p. 3, July 26, 1779, p. 2, August 2, 1779, p. 4; Memorial of Fenton, PRO, AO12/24/337; Memorial of Fenton, PRO, AO13/54/375; Rivington's Royal Gazette, February 10, 1779, p. 3, and March 31, 1779, p. 3; and Bond for Jack o' the Lanthorn, PRO HCA 49/91/2/23.

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[70]Review of Partridge's Claim, PRO, AO12/101/16; and Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 672-673.

[71]Committee Minutes, December 6, 1779, in Chamber of Commerce, Arbitration Records, p. 19.

[72]Evidence on the Claim of Cory, PRO, AO12/25/366; and Palmer, Loyalists, p. 179.

[73]Examination on the Claim of Van Alstine, PRO, AO12/33/94; Palmer, Loyalists, pp. 757, 881; and Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:574.

[74]Tryon to Dartmouth, January 6, 1776, PRO, CO5/1107/149.

CHAPTER 10

"FOR THE SAFETY AND DEFENCE AND SECURITY OF THE COAST:" OPERATIONS IN EAST FLORIDA AND NOVA SCOTIA, 1775-1777[1]

East Florida and Nova Scotia possessed shared affinities. Each region remained loyal and was located adjacent to an end of the string of rebellious colonies. While only Nova Scotia could be said to have a strong maritime heritage, both provinces possessed significant harbors, that at Halifax being an excellent deep-water facility. The bar at St. Augustine, however, made entering and exiting that shallower port somewhat difficult and limited its use to craft of relatively shallow draft. Both had vice admiralty courts.[2] Each became a comparatively safe haven for refugees. In St. Augustine, the arrival of loyalist mariners helped feed a developing maritime culture. At the same time, the local inhabitants of these two colonies had maintained strong social, cultural, and economic ties with the rebellious areas. Thus, in many cases, not only the refugees, but the locals as well had a stake in the outcome of the rebellion and were prompted to become active participants in events. Finally, because of their physical locale and their loyal political stance, East Florida and Nova Scotia each became the target of rebel aggression, and a shortage of naval vessels resulted in reliance on provincial craft and privateers to confront the threat. Thus, the development of privateering in both colonies was primarily a defensive response to rebel advances. In meeting these, the loyal inhabitants of each, refugee and na-

tive, would counter with what would become a successful offensive defense.

Like other royal governors, Patrick Tonyn of East Florida was acutely aware of the weak Royal Navy presence on his colony's coast. At the commencement of hostilities, only two small naval craft, H.M. Sloop Savage and H.M. Schooner St. John were assigned to the station which included not only East Florida, but the Bahamas as well. Making matters worse, at an early date, the Savage was sent elsewhere while the St. John spent a large part of her time in the islands.[3]

During the early months of the war, this lack of naval support was not too great a problem, but by late June, Tonyn was becoming concerned that the deteriorating state of affairs in neighboring Georgia and South Carolina posed a serious potential threat. By July, he was aware that rebels in both of these colonies were fitting out armed vessels to operate against the British. In fact, in mid-month, off Georgia, the rebels took a vessel bound for St. Augustine with much needed munitions and ordnance. Then, on August 7, while the brigantine Betsey was in the process of off-loading an additional shipment of powder off St. Augustine bar, the crew of the rebel sloop Commerce boarded her, seizing the remaining part of her cargo consisting of one-hundred and eleven barrels, one half barrel and thirty-seven kegs of powder. 293 barrels had, however, fortunately been sent ashore already, so the situation was not as dire as it might have been. Still, this act was a direct slap in the face in one's front yard, and in response, Tonyn immediately fitted out his small personal provincial sloop, the Florida, with eight light guns, and sent her in an unsuccessful pursuit. The governor complained that had there been a naval vessel present, the incident would not have occurred.[4]

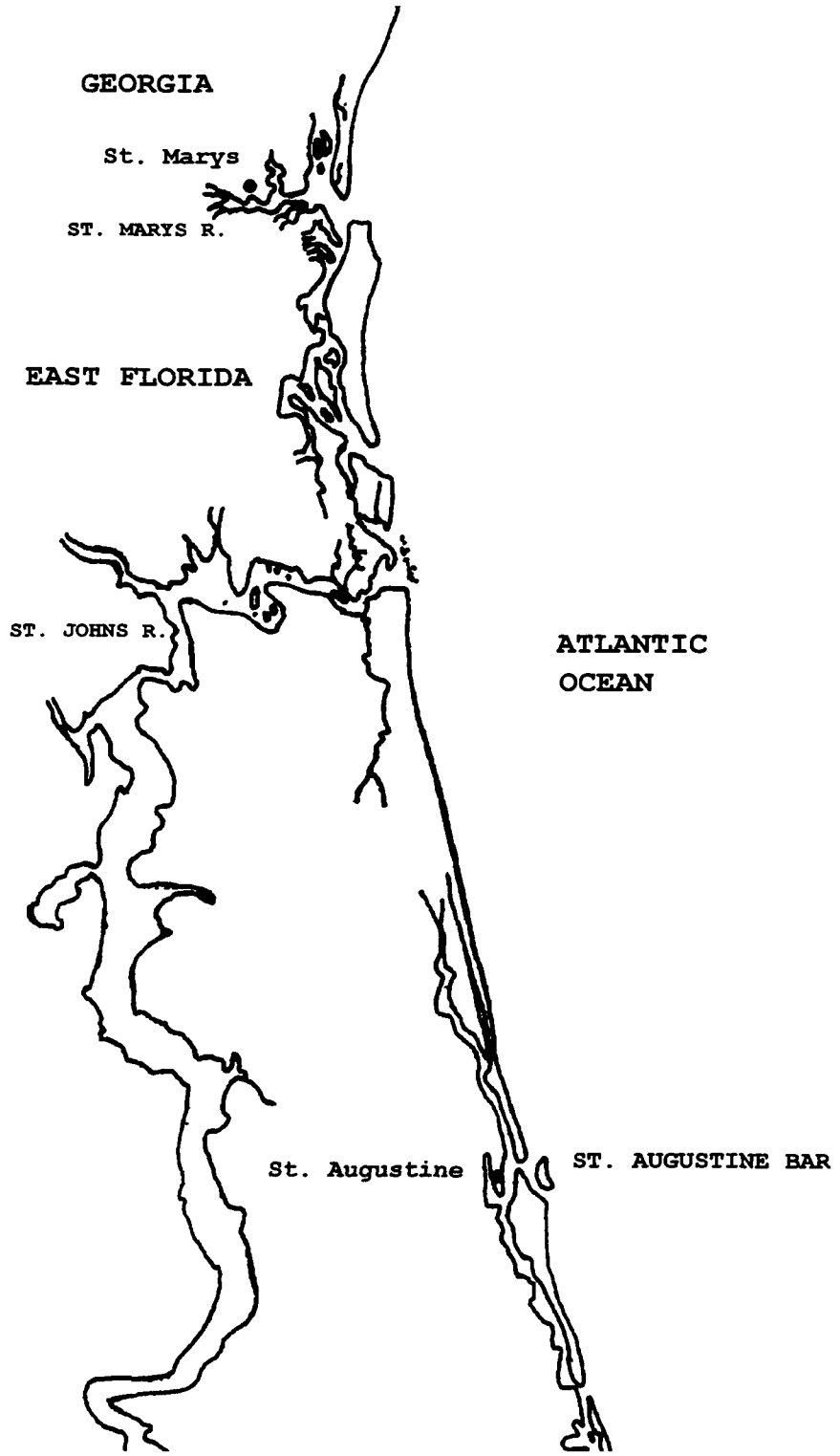


Figure 8: The East Florida Theater of Operations. After map in Wilbur H. Siebert's The Loyalists of East Florida, 1774-1785.

At this point, seemingly, there were not even any local craft of substance to draw upon. Only three seagoing vessels were owned in the colony at the time. Until October, apart from Tonyn's diminutive sloop, all that guarded St. Augustine was a small fourteen-ton decked schooner, a sixteen-oared open pilot boat, and a small decked boat. The last was owned by Captain Frederick Mulcaster, chief military engineer for the colony, member of the council, and brother of George III. Finally, on October 2, H.M. Schooner St. Lawrence arrived on station, bringing some relief. Despite this, from Tonyn's point of view, there was never enough naval presence, and consequently, in an effort to defend his colony, he would exceed his lawful authority and issue letters of marque.[5]

As noted, East Florida became a haven for loyalists. In fact, Tonyn recognized the refugees as potential settlers and accordingly, promoted his province as the ideal place for relocation. On November 2, he issued a proclamation heralding the colony as a sanctuary for loyalists and touted its many attractive features. The climate was healthy, the land suitable for a variety of crops, and there was an abundance of natural resources. What more could a dispossessed loyalist refugee ask for?[6]

Within a short while after the second powder incident, developing events began to make it look like the colony might be less secure than thought. First, two armed rebel schooners appeared and cruised off the coast. Late in the year rebel raids commenced along the St. Marys River constituting the border with Georgia. In December, a rebel cruiser again became disruptive off St. Augustine, itself. Also in December, the rebel armed schooner Lee took a prize carrying dispatches from St. Augustine. Handed over to Washington, himself, these indicated just how weak the defenses of East Florida were and also related that there was at least some powder and ordnance there which the rebel

forces could use. Based on this intelligence, Washington decided East Florida should be attacked, and in January, 1776, the Continental Congress penned a resolution urging North and South Carolina and Georgia to field a force to capture St. Augustine. That same month, rebel warships were again making a nuisance of themselves along the coast while a damaged St. Lawrence lay impotent.[7]

In mid-February, word arrived of the planned rebel invasion. The man who brought this intelligence was a Royal Navy veteran from Granada, John Mowbray. Tonyn desperately needed men and vessels to assist in fending off the rebel attack. With Mowbray, he found an experienced and dependable mariner upon whom he could rely, and who would serve him and the colony well in the coming months and years. Having enlisted Mowbray's aid, Tonyn immediately sent him to assist the naval vessels stationed off Savannah.[8]

In early March, the government schooner St. John returned, replacing the St. Lawrence. The St. John escorted William Chamber's sloop, carrying more powder from Bermuda. From this point, things began to warm up significantly.[9]

In early April, to protect shipping and block rebel incursions, Tonyn stationed the St. John in the St. Marys River with a small ad hoc provincial flotilla consisting of a sloop belonging to either Jermyn or Charles Wright (brothers of Georgia's governor), a pilot boat, and a small schooner belonging to a Mr. Macredie [sic?]. They joined Mowbray who was already there in command of another sloop. On April 3, Lieutenant William Grant of the St. John put his sailing master in command of Wright's sloop and sent her on a foray up the river. It is quite possible that this was Peter Bachop who is known to have been a master on the St. John three months later. In any case, this sloop returned with the prize sloop Betsey on the 5th. While this was transpiring, the pilot boat was busy taking a rebel snow, the Christy, and

a sloop, the Neptune. There are indications the latter may have been a recapture taken by the Christy at an earlier date. Following, the St. John and her consorts returned to St. Augustine. On May 27, Lieutenant Grant was again en route to patrol the St. Marys. This time he sailed in company with the Florida and a schooner pilot boat. Troops were also sent to bolster the defense of the river. Later in the month, the rebels mounted a substantial raid in the area in which several noted loyalists were kidnapped, and at one plantation, the buildings and a cutter were burned, the rice crop destroyed, the cattle driven off, and about forty slaves stolen or scattered. The various vessels were present to assist in driving the raiders out of the region.[10]

At some point in March or April, another ship captain, George Osborne, arrived at St. Augustine. It was not, however, by choice. The previous November, Osborne had put into a Georgia port where he took on a load of lumber. It was his intention to sail before March, 1776, when the Prohibitory Act would go into effect. Although ready to sail before then, the rebels detained him, because he refused to give security to the Council of Safety to return with a shipment of arms and munitions. Osborne simply would not be coerced into supporting the rebels. After the deadline had passed, seemingly on his own authority, Osborne sailed with the intent of going directly to Captain Andrew Barkley of H.M.S. Scarborough, then off the coast, to explain his situation with the hope of receiving understanding and leniency. Before reaching his destination, however, Osborne was seized by H.M. Schooner Hinchinbrook. Obviously her commander, Lieutenant Alexander Ellis, was less than sympathetic to Osborne's plight, for he sent the capture into St. Augustine as a prize. There, vessel and cargo were libeled and condemned in the vice admiralty court. The loss left Osborne destitute. Feeling sympathetic for the beached skipper, Tonyn, without any authority to do so, but needing vessels to defend the col-

ony, offered him a letter of marque. Osborne accepted and proceeded to fit out a sloop in partnership with Archibald Lundie. Graciously named the Governor Tonyn, she mounted ten carriage guns and had a compliment of forty. Exactly when this commission was issued is impossible to determine. It must, however, have been at some point between April, the earliest likely date condemnation proceedings against his first ship could have been concluded, and, allowing time to fit out the new one, June.[11]

Privateers such as Osborne and others who entered into the service of East Florida were required to perform duties other than defend the colony from rebel cruisers and attack rebel shipping. Additional functions included carrying dispatches and scouting. A far more important role was to supply the populace, especially that of St. Augustine, with provisions and protect existing food supplies. The influx of refugees, garrison troops, and rebel prisoners in conjunction with the disruption of trade, especially inter-colonial, placed a severe strain on resources, and alternative means of procuring food stuffs were required. On what was probably Osborne's first cruise, he cut out several provision laden vessels in Georgia ports, the cargoes of which were used to feed the people in St. Augustine. The fact that Tonyn directed Osborne to do this indicates that his granting letters of marque was conditional on his maintaining at least a degree of control over a captain's activities.[12]

On July 11, on the St. Mary's River, there was a brisk little action involving the St. John. On the north or rebel shore of the river there existed an old fortification called Wright's Fort, after its builders, loyalists Jermyn and Charles Wright. The latter, with other loyalists, had been garrisoning it with armed slaves. The defense also served as a hospital for the British. On the 11th, hearing the fort's alarm warn of approaching rebels, Lieutenant William Grant,

of the St. John, responded by sending the schooner's cutter under the command of 2nd Sailing Master Peter Bachop to reconnoiter, and if possible, bring off the sick. Approaching the shore, the cutter was fired upon from ambush, and two of the seven occupants were killed. The remaining five, including Bachop, were taken prisoner, and the rebels promptly stripped them and their dead comrades of all their clothes and effects before plundering the hospital and doing the same to the sick.[13]

Mid-month witnessed Osborne cruising on the South Carolina coast. "On or about the night of the 16th of July," Osborne raided the plantation of John Berwick. According to Berwick, the raiders forced the overseer's wife to point out the houses of the most valuable slaves and they then took eight. Berwick estimated a "Moderate" loss in slaves and crops to be £7,000 currency. A Captain Bowen set out in pursuit of Osborne, but was unable to come up with him. This raid caused considerable concern among the region's inhabitants, forcing them to remain alert and take precautions. One man, James Baillie moved his slaves to a place of safety. At another locale, the rebels thought it prudent to go to the effort of moving 1,300 barrels of rice to a more secure area. With forays such as Osborne's taking the fight into rebel territory, the East Florida defensive took on an offensive caste. The Floridians had begun returning prior rebel payment in kind.[14]

In July, General Charles Lee was in Savannah planning the attack on St. Augustine. During this time he observed that a successful assault on the port would stop the privateers from raiding the Georgia coast. This is a significant statement because it indicates that Tonyn had issued letters of marque to men other than Osborne. Furthermore, it would seem the vessels in question were fairly active and causing some significant distress to the rebels.[15]

On August 7, matters took a turn for the worse for Tonyn's flotilla and the situation in general. Guarding the St. Marys River at that time were the St. John, the Pompey and the Governor's sloop, Florida. Although the British received some warning of the impending rebel attack, they were still unable to hold the river in the face of two armed vessels, a floating battery and a number of rowed boats. In abandoning the river, the Florida and the Pompey were lost.[16]

On August 6, Tonyn had officially taken Osborne and his vessel into government service and directed him and William Giekie in the Lady William to place themselves under the command of Captain Thomas Bishop of H.M.S. Lively and sail to St. Marys to help. The Lady William was unable to put to sea. The other two vessels arrived too late to assist and gave up the effort. Bishop then directed Osborne to join the British vessels off Cockspur Island.[17]

At Cockspur, on August 14, Osborne's naval superiors directed him to attack a substantial number of rebels who were encamped across from the island on Bloody Point, South Carolina. At the same time, he was told to procure provisions for the naval vessels cruising on that coast. Osborne successfully carried out both parts of his orders, routing the enemy, burning their camp and guard houses, and seizing a number of hogs and a steer. In the process, he received a severe bullet wound through both thighs.[18]

With his efforts to hold the St. Marys line a failure and future rebel attacks seeming a certainty, Tonyn established a new defensive position on the St. Johns River. There, his vessels would be able to make a stand against encroaching rebels while also being able to protect the area's numerous loyalist residents and their plantations which produced much needed provisions. To hold the river, Tonyn planned to use the St. John with four guns and the Lady William. He also took Mowbray, who had just returned from the islands with his own

sloop, the Rebecca, into government service for three months at £200 per month. Mowbray is known to have received a letter of marque from Tonyn as well. Just when this occurred, however, is impossible to say, but it would seem likely that it happened at this time given the fact the Rebecca was, as yet, unarmed when she arrived in the colony. Although she was pierced for fourteen guns, in fitting her out there was trouble finding ten for her. This was not the only problem. Due to repairs and a diminished crew the Lady William was still unable to sail, and there were difficulties in manning the Rebecca as well. Ultimately, the latter's compliment was filled out with an officer and thirty-five privates from the garrison. During this same time, Tonyn took Richard Barnet and his armed schooner, the Tartar Spy, into service, and he may also have retained the services of John Wood and the armed schooner Polly at this point. Despite the problems with crews and guns, the flotilla got on station and held it until additional naval vessels arrived in late October. By this time, however, the immediate threat of a rebel invasion had abated.[19]

From this time, loyalist privateers and armed vessels were on the increase. At some point in September, Osborne, obviously recovered from his wounds, took a rebel brig in the St. Marys River. During the same month or early October, he also seized the Bermuda owned Somerset, Burrows Gilbert, Master. After leaving the St. Marys, he joined Grant and Mowbray on the St. Johns. Also, at some point following the attack on Bloody Point, Osborne, at Lundie's urging, purchased a small schooner to act as a tender for the Governor Tonyn. Under the command of William Kelly, she acted under the authority of the same commission granted the larger sloop. Osborne was acquiring a serious reputation. On November 2, at Charlestown, orders to rebel naval Captain Thomas Pinckney, commander of the brigantine Defence, stressed that as he passed down the coast to St. Augustine on his cruise, he was to keep a

good lookout for Osborne and his sloop. In the same month, two St. Augustine vessels, which may have been Osborne's, were cruising off Charlestown.[20]

During the fall and winter, 1776-1777, a serious conflict developed between Tonyn and the colony's Chief Justice, William Drayton. By March of the new year, stopping just short of using the words traitor and treasonous, Tonyn was calling Drayton a disrespectful troublemaker who was "obnoxious to His Majesty's Government" and misused his position to sow dissent and further the rebel cause. One aspect of the Chief Justice's views and conduct that Tonyn found alarming was the former's complete disapproval of the privateering situation and his efforts to stop the activity. Not only did Drayton publicly declare that Tonyn had no right to issue letters of marque, thus making privateering illegal, he went so far as to allow rebels from Georgia to file suit against privateers in the East Florida courts for damages and property losses. On a personal level, Drayton's pronouncements that Tonyn's actions were illegal also left the governor liable to legal prosecution by rebels as well.[21]

Osborne, in particular, suffered from Drayton's views in a series of events that would ultimately become quite ugly. Following his return to St. Augustine after the raid on the rebel encampment in South Carolina, the wounded mariner was immediately arrested in accordance with a writ issued by Drayton for having carried off the livestock for the navy. Osborne faced a suit for £100 in damages plus court costs. Then, at some point in the fall or early winter, the Governor Tonyn's tender seized a vessel with a cargo of corn and a number of slaves on the Georgia coast. Unfortunately, the vessel was owned by Stephen Drayton, who was not only a rebel, but William's brother as well. The chief justice wanted the slaves, and he wanted Osborne's activities stopped. To achieve this, Drayton intimidated Lundie to cease

backing Osborne and sell out his share of the sloop and tender. Drayton then proceeded to disrupt Osborne's crew by seizing one man under a writ of habeas corpus and encouraging another to desert, taking the sloop's boat with him when he went. At this point, Drayton was also pronouncing Osborne's commission to be illegal, and in this opinion, he was supported by Lieutenant Wright of the navy (the same Wright with whom John Goodrich had had a confrontation at Ocracoke). The chief justice's next effort to force the privateer to cease and desist was to declare that his raids on Georgia constituted felonies and openly encourage the residents there to come and file suit against Osborne in the East Florida court.[22]

So far, Drayton's efforts had failed to achieve their full effect, but Osborne's attempt to depart on a cruise in company with the Otter and the Fincastle forced matters to come to a head. Despite the fact there was a clear bill of sale for the two vessels and debts owed Lundie by Osborne were secure, Lundie, at Drayton's urging, boarded the Governor Tonyn and took it upon himself to stop her from sailing as she tried to negotiate the port's tricky, shallow bar. In a rage, Lundie stormed around the sloop, striking several seamen. The blow he administered to one mariner was particularly nasty, hitting him in the head with the cock of a large pistol and knocking him senseless. In the ensuing confusion, the Governor Tonyn was delayed in clearing the bar, and consequently went aground and was wrecked. The sloop's boat pulled for shore to get help, but Lundie and his associate, a Captain Taylor, had her seized, thus preventing her from obtaining assistance. The privateer was a total loss, and sadly, while the rest of the crew managed to save themselves, the mariner Lundie struck so viciously with the pistol was too delirious to fend for himself and drowned. Upon reaching shore, Osborne was immediately arrested and put in jail. Just when this incident occurred has yet to be determined. Osborne re-

counted it in a memorial to Tonyn on January 14, 1777. In that document he mentioned that he was "still" in jail, indicating he had been there for some time.[23]

A related incident suggests that the Governor Tonyn was lost prior to the end of December. At that time, Kelly, seemingly on his own, was raiding along the Georgia coast. There, he entered an inlet near Sunbury, Georgia, feigning to be a trading vessel. As such, he decoyed on board the captain and at least two crewmen from a Georgia galley stationed there. Next, Kelly put a landing party ashore which raided a plantation and took a number of slaves. Finally getting wise, the rebels raised the alarm, and crewmen from the galley came ashore in pursuit of the raiders, taking seven prisoner. The schooner-tender then put to sea under fire of the enemy craft and made its escape. Shortly after, in February, Kelly appeared in the West Indies seeking authorization from Admiral James Young to continue operations there. All indications are that his departure from East Florida stemmed from his association with Osborne by which he could have been implicated and prosecuted in accordance with Drayton's way of thinking.[24]

Also in December, Tonyn decided to keep Mowbray in government service for another month. His term of service ultimately would be renewed on a monthly basis for the next several months. In late January, he was cruising in the Sapello River. There, he took his first recorded prize, a Georgia galley. After removing her arms and ordnance, Mowbray destroyed her.[25]

Early in 1777, the rebels began to consider another invasion of East Florida. In February, Robert Morris prepared a plan that included sending a rebel naval contingent against St. Augustine, but this particular idea was not put into effect. By April, however, a plan to invade from Georgia was well under way. This entailed a two-pronged advance with the rebels moving by both land and sea. Tonyn's intelli-

gence indicated the latter force included sixteen transports, three row-galleys with eight to ten guns, and two fourteen-gun sloops.[26]

Although there were a couple of light coasters in provincial service at this time, such as Barnet's and Wood's schooners, the only vessel of any force whatsoever that Tonyn could rely on was Mowbray's sloop, now mounting fourteen guns. The Governor contracted her for another four month's service and made Mowbray commander of all provincial craft. Osborne was still in jail, and in any case, he was without a vessel. Fortunately, several transports had arrived in St. Augustine, and to meet the impending crisis, Tonyn took them into provincial service as well. These included the ship Hawke, Captain John McLeod, the ship Meredith, Captain Samuel Haycroft, and the Triumvirate. The first vessel mounted sixteen guns and the latter two carried ten each. Tonyn still relied on the St. Johns River as his line of defense.[27]

On May 1, the rebels advanced on land only to be met with a counter-offensive that, during the course of the month, forced them to give up their plans. At sea, rebel naval efforts were half-hearted and equally unproductive. Still, during the latter part of May, Mowbray and the Rebecca saw considerable action off the bar of the St. Johns. First, they gave chase to the diminutive South Carolina privateer Cotesworth-Pinckney, Captain William Rankin. This rebel craft, with a crew of only thirteen and an armament of only two swivel guns and four patteraroes, was on the verge of being taken when both vessels were becalmed. The men of the Cotesworth-Pinckney took to their boat, and undoubtedly pulling for all they were worth, proceeded to tow the lighter vessel out of danger. Some days later, on May 23, the two antagonists met again, and again, after a six hour chase, the rebel managed to elude her pursuer.[28]

On May 25, Mowbray, in company with McLeod and the Hawke, had a more serious encounter after being blown off station in a storm. Early in the morning after the gale had abated, Mowbray and McLeod found themselves twenty leagues south of St. Augustine within sight of the sixteen-gun rebel brigantine Comet, Captain Edward Allen. Although the Hawke carried sixteen guns, she conveyed the impression of being unarmed. All indications are that Mowbray and McLeod played upon this fact to lure Allen into engaging a superior force which he would not have otherwise done.[29]

When the three vessels first sighted each other, the Hawke was stationary, astern of the Comet, and the Rebecca was sailing on the rebel's weather quarter. From this position, the Rebecca bore down on the Comet for awhile before going about to rejoin the Hawke. Having been cleared for action, the Comet followed to investigate. About noon, Allen saw the sloop and ship speak before crowding on sail and bearing away. Obviously feeling confident he could handle an unarmed ship and a smaller sloop who were attempting to avoid an engagement, the rebel gave chase. Soon, however, Mowbray and McLeod hove-to and waited for the Comet to come up. Allen's surprise and chagrin can only be imagined when, within musket shot of the Hawke, he suddenly found her to be as well armed as his own vessel. Responding to his mistake, the rebel captain created the impression he would engage to leeward by running under the Hawke's stern, giving three broadsides in the process, before making a dash for the shelter of land. Mowbray wore and McLeod tacked to give chase. The Rebecca quickly weathered the Comet, getting ahead of her and cutting her off. Caught between her and the Hawke coming up stern, Allen wore the Comet, and with all sail set, "stood along shore. with the wind large." Closing on the rebel's weather quarter, the Hawke delivered several broadsides which were effectively returned. The rebel gunners managed to damage the Hawke's

sails and rigging to such an extent that she was required to break off the action to make repairs. Mowbray, however, pressed the attack on the Comet's opposite quarter at "half pistol shot." In that position, the exuberant crew of the Rebecca gave three cheers and delivered a broadside. The Comet repaid the compliment commencing "a very hot engagement, which lasted upwards of half an hour." Finally, with a split mainsail and a shattered topmast, the Rebecca fell away to leeward. The action, however, was not over. Having made his repairs, McLeod came up again and engaged once more on the rebel's weather quarter. Several more broadsides were exchanged before the Hawke broke off. After an engagement that had lasted all day, nightfall finally put a stop to the fight. Despite the length and sporadic intensity of the action, the Comet reported a loss of only two killed and four wounded. Losses for the Rebecca and the Hawke were said to have been one killed and nine wounded. The Hawke also sustained significant damage.[30]

By the end of May, the rebels had been driven back on all fronts. With the threat of invasion past, Tonyn dismissed the transports, but retained the services of Mowbray. The remainder of the summer seems to have gone by without much activity until August. At that time, some St. Augustine vessels were raiding in the neighborhood of Fredericka, Georgia. During the same month, Mowbray was reported to have been shifting the rig of the Rebecca from a sloop to a brig. This does not seem to have actually occurred, however, because in later references to the vessel, she is still referred to as a sloop. On the 21st of the month, the rebel privateer brig Experiment, Captain Francis Morgan, fell in with what initially appeared to be an unarmed brig off Charlestown bar. Undoubtedly, like Allen, Morgan must have been greatly surprised to find his prey possessed teeth in the form of sixteen guns which replied to the rebel query, killing one of her crew. In sight was the brig's consort, a sloop then in the process of seiz-

ing another sloop. This accomplished, the sloop consort came to assist in the action against the Experiment, at which point Morgan broke off the engagement.[31]

By October, 1777, affairs at sea began to warm up again, and, with increasing regularity, loyalist vessels cruised offensively off South Carolina rather than remain defensive on the Florida border. On October 14, the South Carolina press cautioned coastal residents to secure their property and keep on the lookout. George Osborne had finally been released from jail, and it was believed he would soon be on the coast in a small Bermuda built sloop. He would be cruising in consort with the navy's Hinchinbrook, Mowbray's large, northern-built sloop, and a newcomer, John Hosmer (or Hosmar), in the ship George which had arrived from England.[32]

This intelligence was in error with regards to the composition of the flotilla. Mowbray in fact, was assigned to command a cartel, another sloop named the Governor Tonyn, carrying rebel prisoner-of-war mariners to Charlestown for exchange. A couple of the prisoners were from a vessel seized by the Rebecca at some earlier date while in company with the Hinchinbrook. For reasons of security, it was rather foolish for the rebel authorities to allow someone like Mowbray into Charlestown harbor. It is difficult to imagine he did not spend his time gathering intelligence on the shipping there, especially in light of the fact Tonyn had specifically directed a prior cartel commander to do just that. The South Carolina press commented that there could be little doubt Mowbray would soon return in a less peaceful capacity.[33]

Also in October, time finally ran out for the Cotesworth-Pinckney, which while acting as a pilot boat at Sunbury, Georgia, was seized on the 23rd and carried into St. Augustine. There, she reverted to being a privateer for her new owners, and as of the 30th, she was

back on the Georgia coast where she took another pilot boat, the Savannah. This prize was also utilized as a privateer, and both pilot boats, in company with a sixteen gun brigantine, were off the rebel coast as of November 6. That both prize pilot boats could be sent into St. Augustine, libeled, and condemned so quickly indicates at least some irregularities in the port's vice-admiralty court. Legally, twenty days was the established minimal amount of time possible between libeling and condemnation. During the same month, Admiral Lord Howe stated he would be dispatching a warrant to St. Augustine authorizing its court. Given that the court already existed, this must have served simply as a reaffirmation.[34]

In October as well, Hosmer, in the George was active. The rebel press reported he took three prizes, the ship Spiers, a recapture, the sloop Sally, Captain Carr, of Charlestown, and the French brig Triton, Captain Luke Chauvet. Unfortunately for Hosmer, the last was wrecked and the first was retaken by the rebels.[35]

It need be noted that the loss of a prize through recapture or wreck, while representing an immediate financial loss to the captors, still served to disrupt, and so hurt, an opponent's trade. With a recapture, the vessel was not simply returned to her original owners with no questions asked. The owners had to file a claim, resulting in a considerable amount of legal activity. In a best case scenario involving the least amount of time, aggravation, and expense, the claimant still had to pay a significant salvage fee. More significantly, the vessel and cargo would be tied up for several weeks which could result in missing a market opportunity or a sailing time because of seasonal factors. If a claim was contested, more serious problems arose. The case could drag on indefinitely tying up both vessel and cargo. In such a situation, the court could authorize the appraisal and sale of the prize. If this occurred and the claimants eventually

won, they would receive a cash settlement which quite possibly did not equal the amount they would have realized under different, more normal circumstances. Then, the owners still needed to purchase a new vessel. If the prize was not sold, vessel and cargo could deteriorate, even perish, with time, creating a greater loss. Of course, if a prize were wrecked, the effect was similar. Though the owners hopefully would have had the good sense to take out insurance, thus covering their loss in the long run, there was still an extended time element involving capital being tied up, the aggravation of resolving matters, and the trouble of procuring a new vessel to resume business.

In December, a new face emerged. Adam Bachop commanded a large fourteen-gun sloop at St. Augustine, and there was concern among the rebels he would cruise off the Georgia coast, causing trouble and interrupting trade. Adam, undoubtedly a relative of Peter, was a ship's master who had become a resident of St. Augustine in 1765.[36]

In December, the new Governor Tonyn, mounting ten carriage guns and under the command of a Captain Demas (Dames), was again at sea. Late in the month off Charlestown, she had the misfortune to meet one of those rebel vessels that was destined to become legendary, the Continental Sloop Providence, Captain John Peck Rathbun.[37] On a bright moonlit evening at 2:00 a.m. the watch on the Providence observed a strange sail closing with them and roused the sloop's senior officers. John Trevett, marine officer aboard the rebel sloop, recorded the following description of the ensuing engagement in his diary. It is an excellent account offering a detailed description of events. One of the incidents mentioned goes far to illustrate the mindset, determination, and commitment of loyalist mariners.

> She hailed us and ordered the damned yankee beggars to haul down the colors. We had a foul weather jack at the mast head. In a few minutes she run under our lee-quarter and gave us a broadside without any courtesy, and run ahead of us. Capt. Rathbone ordered the boatswain to call all hands to quarters, as still as he could, and not use his call. The Privateer (as she proved to be) bore

> away, and coming up again, was soon alongside; we were all ready for them and as soon as they made the first flash we gave them a yankee welcome, with a handsome broadside. They up helm and ran to the eastward, and not having a man hurt, of any consequence, we made sail after them.[38]

During this initial stage, the Providence's sails and rigging were cut up, preventing her at first from making a speedy pursuit. After repairs, though, she began to close the distance with the Governor Tonyn, and by sunrise, she was within small arms range. One of the crew of the Governor Tonyn stood at her stern defiantly cracking away with a musket. In response, Trevett, accompanied by two marines, went forward on the Providence to return fire.[39]

Trevett's account continued:

> [H]e made a fine mark to be shot at standing on the round house. We had not fired more than three shot before we saw him fall, and instantly the Privateer got in the wind, and we were alongside of her in a few minutes; when we boarded her and found it was her Lieutenant we had shot, and he fell on the man steering at the wheel. This Lieut. belonged to the State of Virginia, and he expected to be punished if taken by the Americans, so he was determined to fight as long as he could. He had a handsome brace of pistols at his side when he laid dead on deck.[40]

In this fight, the Governor Tonyn lost between one and three men killed and one and five men wounded, depending on the source.[41]

Osborne was also hunting off the South Carolina coast at this time. Now commanding the ship George, he took a vessel from Salem, Massachusetts, on December 27. This was the last known activity during 1777 for the St. Augustine privateers. The story of their operations in 1778 will be picked up in a later chapter.[42]

As noted, the situation in Nova Scotia was similar to that in East Florida. It, too, bordered on one end of the rebellious colonies, while remaining loyal and becoming a haven for loyalist exiles. The main difference between the two colonies lay in their inhabitants. Some Nova Scotians were more inclined to be sympathetic to and suppor-

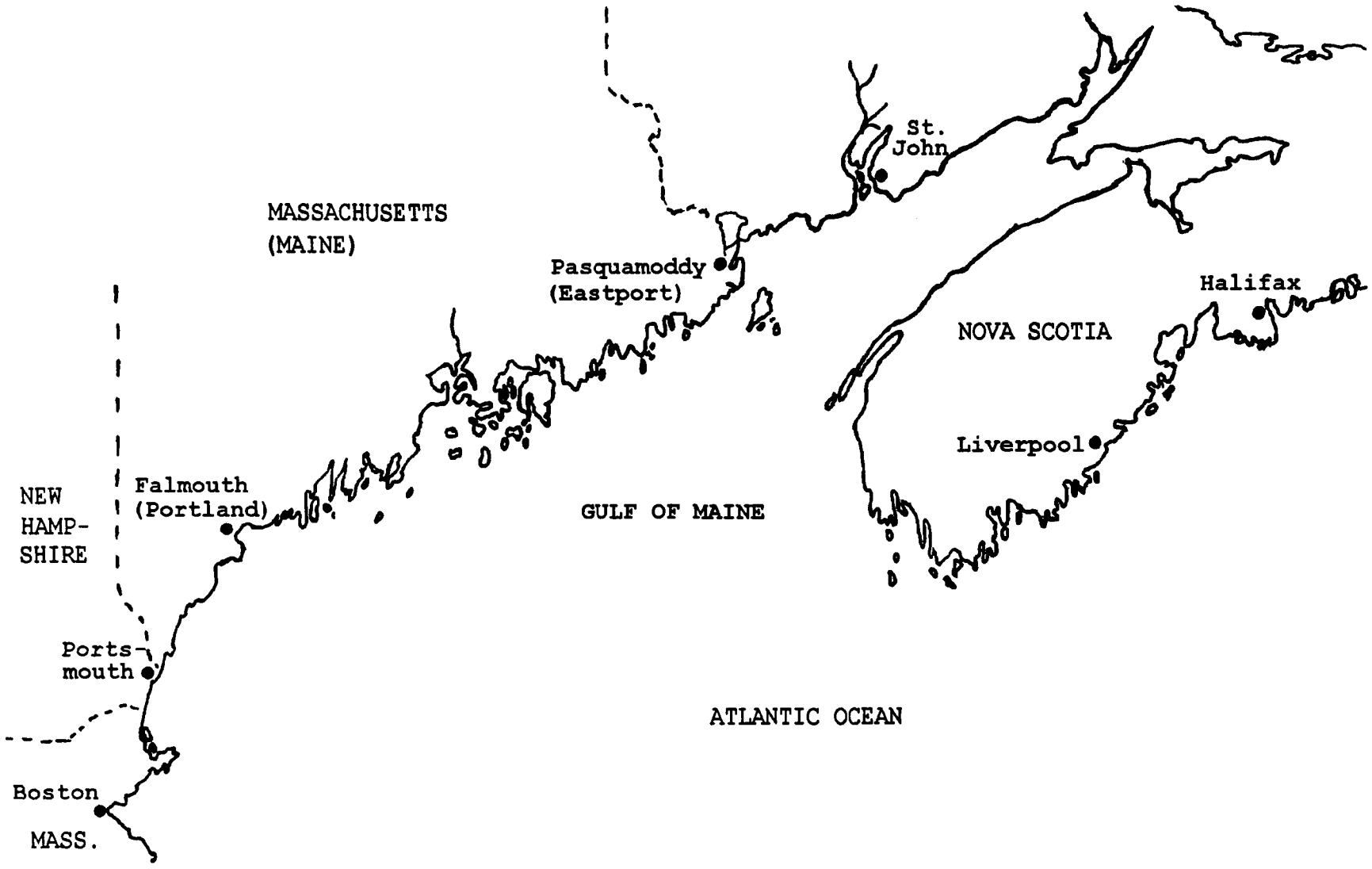


Figure 9: Nova Scotia Theater of Operations.

tive of their rebellious neighbors. Still, this did not prevent rebel New England privateers from cruising off their coast, nor did it prevent loyalists, both native and newly arrived refugees, from fitting out privateers and provincial craft in response to defend their region and trade.

Rebel privateers began to appear on the Nova Scotia coast early in the conflict, and their numbers steadily escalated. During 1776, they seized a large number of prizes and raided ashore, occasionally carrying off important local figures and plundering personal property. During September and October of that year, Simeon Perkins, a very public minded merchant and office holder, and future privateer owner, himself, who had immigrated to Liverpool from Norwich, Connecticut before the war, recorded that rebel privateers had taken forty-one or forty-two vessels of which five or six were burned and three released. Perkins, personally, had sustained losses, having held interest in five vessels that had been taken by that point in the war. For the entire period of 1776, fifty-three Nova Scotian vessels are known to have been condemned in New England prize courts. Affairs were bad enough that on October 19, the residents of Barrington petitioned the Massachusetts General Court to allow a schooner loaded with fish and liver oil *en route* to Salem to be allowed to trade for provisions needed for their relief. Rebel privateers had so disrupted the fisheries, and thus their livelihood, by capturing several schooners and their catches, that Barrington's populace feared resultant shortages would cause serious distress during the coming winter.[43]

By mid-May, 1776, Sibbles and the General Gage (now often simply called the Gage) had arrived in Halifax from North Carolina. As stated, the Gage was in the service of the army, and at this time, General Howe decided she should remain in Nova Scotian waters. The sloop would stay in the region for the remainder of her career. Be-

cause of this, by association, the Gage is often considered a Nova Scotian vessel, but she was really more of a general service provincial vessel who ended up performing duties in that locale. In any case, on August 13, she took the sloop Baltimore, Captain William Clesby, prize. Her cargo consisted of a very small amount of molasses and coffee. This is the earliest encountered reference to a provincial craft of any sort making a capture in the area.[44]

In the early winter, from Quebec, the twelve gun provincial snow Fell, Captain Barnsalt, was also at sea setting an example. Barnsalt, had requested and received permission from Governor/Major-General Sir Guy Carleton to cruise with his vessel during the winter months. The voyage brought results, and at least part of the time was spent in Nova Scotian waters. Three prizes were taken. The eighteen-gun letter of marque Hope, Captain Nevel, with a crew of one-hundred and sixty and a cargo of coarse woolens, including 5,000 pair of blankets the Continental Army would surely miss, struck after a two hour contest. Also seized were an eight gun privateer and a North Carolina brig laden with rice and indigo for France.[45]

By the end of 1776, Nova Scotians began to act defensively at sea. The earliest reference to a Nova Scotia privateer concerns the Tiger of twelve guns. Although it cannot be said with absolute certainty, all indications are that she was commanded by Richard Pomeroy from the Maine coast. The Tiger was unique given her owner, Commodore Marriot Arbuthnot, Lieutenant-Governor of the province. Like others, he fitted her out without any legal authority to do so. Unlike other naval personnel, Arbuthnot does not seem to have been worried about conflict of interest over prizes with his Majesty's ships.[46]

What was probably the Tiger's only cruise ran from October 28 to December 1, 1776, and although three prizes were taken it is unlikely the venture was very rewarding. After cruising off Cape Ann for a

while, she took two small sloops loaded with flour and livestock and sent them into Halifax. Continuing, on November 14, about 30 leagues southwest of the Cape, she gave chase to a strange sail. Upon gaining on her, however, the chase tacked and stood for the Tiger. She was the rebel privateer sloop Union, Captain Peter Duncan of Boston, with ten carriage guns, swivels, and a compliment of sixty-six men. A vicious action of an hour and a half ensued before the rebel struck her colors after being raked bow and stern three times and suffering an extremely high casualty rate of nineteen dead and fourteen seriously wounded. The Tiger which started the fight with fifty-four men had eight killed and five wounded. While not as high as the Union's, these figures, representing about twenty-five percent of the crew, were still excessive.[47]

The Tiger seems to have been a fluke in that nothing more is heard of her or any other true privateer out of Nova Scotia for some time. Still, the colony's inhabitants were becoming involved as participants in the war at sea, and the number of casualties on the Tiger reflected their willingness to fight.

More typical than the Tiger were local armed vessels taken into provincial government service. As elsewhere, the Royal Navy presence was not suitable to protect local trade. A key factor was a lack of small, shallow-draft vessels capable of pursuing nimble and diminutive rebel privateers close inshore, up rivers, and among the shoals and islands. The situation deteriorated to the point where the inhabitants of Horton, Cornwallis, and Kings County, and the colony's western shore, petitioned the government to protect their coastlines. In response, on November 5, 1776, the Executive Council voted to purchase, for £397.11.4 1/4, a small 50 ton schooner for the purpose. Named the Loyal Nova Scotian (sometimes referred to as the Loyal Nova Scotia or simply the Nova Scotia) she put to sea in record time, for she was

cruising on the coast by the 9th. Her first skipper was John Alexander, and while under his command in late November, she recaptured the snow Friendship, which had earlier been seized by a rebel privateer. On December 11, Thomas Cribben received a commission as her commander, and at that time she carried eight guns and a compliment of twenty-eight. The Loyal Nova Scotian and her crew, along with the Tiger and hers, mark the real beginning of provincial resistance at sea in Nova Scotia.[48]

Probably because of severe winter weather conditions, little is heard about Nova Scotian vessels until the spring of 1777. In May, the Gage was operating with British forces in the Bay of Fundy near the mouth of the River St. John. In June, she carried intelligence to Halifax of a rebel incursion into the bay and river consisting of twelve whaleboats. She then returned as part of a combined force to drive them out. The Loyal Nova Scotian also participated in this operation.[49]

By late summer, the merchants of Halifax, on behalf of themselves and others elsewhere in the colony, petitioned Lieutenant Governor Arbuthnot for permission to fit out an armed vessel to help protect their trade. On September 15, Arbuthnot commissioned Jones Fawson to command the seventy-five-ton armed schooner Revenge, mounting eight swivel and ten carriage guns and having a compliment of fifty men. This vessel's name in association with her proposed function certainly conveys the growing attitude of colony's merchants and mariners.[50]

Fawson's commission is noteworthy for its instructions which limited the vessel's scope of operations and denoted its primarily defensive role. He and the Revenge were allowed to attack only armed rebel vessels, and then, only if it "shall be for the safety and defense and security of the coast of the Province." The Revenge and other provincial vessels commissioned in the near future were often not allowed

to leave the immediate coastline when cruising. As in East Florida, the governor was maintaining a degree of control over such vessels and not according them the greater freedom normally granted privateers.[51]

In October, the Loyal Nova Scotian was still operating in the St. John area, and on the 18th, with Alexander again in command, she drove the rebel privateer schooner Friend ashore and captured her. This prize, commanded by William Lawrence, mounted ten swivel guns and had a crew of twenty. In November, the Gage and Loyal Nova Scotian performed convoy duty. This essential role would be frequently undertaken by provincial craft. That same month, Charles Callahan of Maine emerged as commander of an armed vessel. The rebel press reported him cruising off Boston in a converted seventy to eighty-ton Marblehead fishing schooner causing concern and delays for merchantmen about to sail. The sources are silent as to the status of Callahan's vessel. Also in November, the South Carolina press reported a privateer sloop from Halifax cruising at latitude 28°. What Nova Scotian vessel, if any, was operating that far south at that time remains unknown.[52]

At some point in late November or early December, the Gage seized another small rebel privateer. Like her captor, she too was taken into provincial service by the army. Later in the month, the army also purchased the sloop Howe. Both she and the Gage received contingents consisting of an officer and enlisted men from the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers to act as marines.[53]

The last month of the year also saw a conflict develop between the provincial captains and the navy. Commodore Sir George Collier declared that any prizes taken by the Gage, or her prize privateer that was taken into service, would be seized and claimed by the navy.[54] Needless to say, such a questionable announcement tended to dampen the enthusiasm of the provincial officers.

In a number of ways, the vessels employed in both East Florida and Nova Scotia were similar in nature to those relied upon by the Virginians and Marylanders with Dunmore. Nimble sloops and schooners that could be easily handled by a relatively minimal number of men were preferred. On the other hand, while small vessels were still used, especially in East Florida, there was a general trend towards larger, more powerful craft of fifty, even seventy-five, tons. In conjunction, there was a logical coinciding tendency for a greater number of guns and larger crews. Armaments of ten to fourteen guns were regularly encountered and compliments of forty and fifty men were not uncommon. Like their Chesapeake Bay counterparts these vessels were ad hoc affairs in that existing craft, pressed into service, were converted to meet demands. They were not specifically built for the duties for which they were used.

These privateers and provincial vessels of East Florida and Nova Scotia had proven themselves useful and capable. In the case of East Florida, however, because of a lack of source materials, just how useful they were will probably never be known. Very few records from the St. Augustine vice admiralty court have come to light, and those that have generally date to later in the war. Making matters worse is the fact the port did not have a newspaper until almost the end of the conflict. In essence, there are only scattered snippets of information in conjunction with tantalizing statements such as Charles Lee's hinting at far greater activity. In 1776, there were two privateers, one privateer tender, and six lesser provincial vessels known to be acting on the colony's behalf. These took at least ten prizes. In 1777, three of the East Florida vessels (one privateer and two provincial craft) were still at sea in addition to five new privateers and three additional provincial ships. Eight more prizes are known to have been

taken during the course of that year, bringing the known total to seventeen or eighteen for the whole period.

For Nova Scotia, source materials, such as the vice admiralty court records, are more substantial, and so, a more complete picture is available. Still, it is possible that the entire view remains obscured to a degree. In light of Collier's declaration, some prizes may have been claimed by and credited to the Royal Navy. Also, the records are still limited. All information concerning both the Tiger and the Fell comes from a single source, a newspaper account from New York. Still, we know there were at least seven vessels at sea during this time with Nova Scotian affiliations. One was an illegal privateer, two were Nova Scotian provincial vessels, three were provincial vessels in the service of the army, and one was of unknown status. This group seized a total of seven known prizes. In addition, there was the provincial snow Fell from Quebec which took three prizes, bringing the total to ten.

Significantly, of the total number of known prizes taken in both colonies, seven were rebel privateers or vessels of war. Also, at least one prize, the Hope, carried an extremely important cargo much needed by the rebels. All loyalist losses to enemy action occurred in southern waters. There, the most significant was the privateer Governor Tonyn. In addition there were the two lesser provincial craft taken on the St. Mary's River.

Together, the East Florida and Nova Scotia provincial vessels and privateers had seized a respectable number of prizes while sustaining comparatively small losses. As important, if not more so, than the number of prizes these craft took was their mere presence performing the essential service of blunting and even fending off rebel incursions. This served to protect each colony's maritime trade while maintaining, and even reclaiming, a degree of control over respective

sea lanes and adjacent coastal areas. Also of great importance were the additional duties performed by these vessels such as acting as dispatch carriers, undertaking convoy duty, and supplying necessary provisions to beleaguered populaces.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 10

[1]Commission for the Nova Scotia Provincial Schooner Revenge, Captain Jones Fawson, September 15, 1777, in G.E.E. Nichols, Notes on Nova Scotia Privateers, (Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, vol. XIII; reprint ed. Halifax, Nova Scotia: McAlpine Publishing Co., Ltd., 1908), p. 119.

[2]The vice admiralty court in East Florida is rather perplexing. A legitimate court was, in fact, established in 1771, and it was still in operation at the beginning of the war. Its existence, however, makes it difficult to understand why everyone, especially in the south, was so concerned about the inconvenience of remote Halifax when another legal venue was much closer. Perhaps the shallow and therefore dangerous bar at the harbor's entrance made bringing in prizes of any size impractical. It might also be that St. Augustine was not considered a large enough port to offer a decent market for the sale of condemned vessels and cargoes. As will be seen, the practices of the court could be quite irregular at times, even after prize proceedings were established by the Prohibitory Act. As will also be noted, in October, 1777, Admiral Lord Richard Howe stated he would be dispatching a warrant to St. Augustine authorizing a court at that locale which tends to suggest that a legally recognized court had not existed up to that point. Mowat, East Florida, p. 165; Ubbelohde, Vice-Admiralty Courts, p. 38 n. 2; and Admiral Lord Howe to Philip Stephens, October 8, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:75.

[3]Journal, H.M. Schooner St. John, Lieutenant William Grant, July 27, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 1:766-767; Admiral Graves to Philip Stephens, September 6, 1775, Gage to Admiral Graves, September 28, 1775, and Governor Patrick Tonyn to Admiral Graves, September 14, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 2:29, 47, 105; Tonyn to Dartmouth, February 1, 1776, in Clark, NDAR, 3:1329; Tonyn to Germain, May 5, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:917; Tonyn to Germain, September 8, 1776, and Tonyn to Colonel Augustine Prevost, September 5, 1776, PRO, CO5/556/390, 392 (see also in NDAR, 6:718, 749-750); Tonyn's Certificate for George Osborne's employment in government service, November 27, 1776, CO5/557/32; George E. Buker and Richard Apley Martin, "Governor Tonyn's Brown-Water Navy: East Florida During the American Revolution, 1775-1778," The Florida Historical Quarterly, LVIII (July, 1979): 60-61, 66; Siebert, "Privateering in Florida," p. 64; Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Port of St. Augustine During the British Regime," Part II, "The Port During the Revolution," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXV (July, 1946): 76-77; and Siebert, Loyalists in East Florida, 1:30.

[4]Tonyn to Dartmouth, July 1 and 21, 1775, Master's Journal of John Hatter, South Carolina Sloop Commerce, August 7 and 15, 1775, editorial note, and Proclamation of Tonyn, August 21, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 1:802, 949, 1091-1092, 1156, 1156 n. 2, 1199; Tonyn to Gage, September 14, 1775, and Tonyn to Admiral Graves, September 14, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 2:104, 105; Journal, St. John, July 26, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 5:1251; Lieutenant Grant to Tonyn, August 7, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 6:108; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 59-60; Martha Condray Searcy, The Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution, 1776-1778, (The University of Alabama Press, 1985), pp. 46, 49; Siebert, "Privateering in Florida," pp. 62-64; and Siebert, "Port of St. Augustine," p. 76.

[5]Mowat, East Florida, pp. 76, 114; Siebert, "Port of St. Augustine," pp. 76-77; Siebert, "privateering in Florida," pp. 64-66, 68; Siebert, Loyalists in East Florida, 1:13, 30; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 17, 57; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 61, 66; Diary of Richard Smith, December 30, 1775, and Tonyn to Dartmouth February 1, 1776, in Clark, NDAR, 3:301, 1329; Tonyn to Germain, May 5, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:917; and Tonyn to Germain, September 8, 1776, PRO, CO5/556/390.

[6]Proclamation of Tonyn, November 2, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 2:864-866.

[7]Siebert, Loyalists in East Florida, 1:26, 29-30, 37; Siebert, "Privateering in Florida," p. 63; Tonyn to Lieutenant John Graves, December 8, 1775, Washington to Hancock, December 18, 1775, Journal, Continental Congress, January 1, 1776, Tonyn to Dartmouth, January 14, 1776, and Martin Jollie to Tonyn, February 13, 1776, in Clark, NDAR, 3:15-16 147-148, 560, 788, 1270-1271; Tonyn to Germain, September 8, 1776, PRO, CO5/556/390 (see also in NDAR, 6:749-750); Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 58, 61; and Mowat, East Florida, p. 119.

[8]Jollie to Tonyn, February 13, 1776, in Clark, NDAR, 3:1271; and Tonyn to Germain, September 8, 1776, PRO, CO5/556/390 (see also in NDAR, 6:749-750).

[9]Tonyn to Dartmouth, January 14, 1776, Journal of H.M. Schooner St. Lawrence, Lieutenant John Graves, January 26, 1776, and editorial note, in Clark, NDAR, 3:788-789, 1003, 1003 n. 1; Lieutenant Grant to Tonyn, March 7, 1776, and Thomas Atwood to Dartmouth, March 22, 1776, in Clark, NDAR, 4:225, 465.

[10]The pilot boat referred to on both ventures into the St. Mary's was probably the schooner Pompey. Journal, St. John, April 1-6 and 11-14, 1776, and editorial notes, in Clark, NDAR, 4:702-703, 703 ns. 2, 3, 825, 825 n. 2; Journal, St. John, May 27-31, June 1, 8, 11-12, 14-15, 21, 28, July 4-5, 11-12, 16, 26, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 5:327-328, 465-466, 611-612, 761, 844, 929, 942, 1031, 1052, 1107, 1251; Journal, St. John, August 6-7, 1776, Lieutenant Grant to Captain Graham, August 6, 1776, and Grant to Tonyn, August 7, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 6:89-90, 108, 109; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 36, 46, 48-49. Searcy confuses the Pompey with the Florida, although the Pompey was likely in company; Mowat, East Florida, pp. 114, 119; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 62-64; and Siebert, Loyalists in East Florida, 1:37, 42.

[11]Memorial of George Osborne, January 14, 1777, PRO, CO5/557/111.

[12]Memorial of Osborne, PRO, CO5/557/111; George Logan to Samuel Lawford, September 3, 1776, Tonyn to Germain, September 9, 1776 in Morgan, NDAR, 6:668, 767-768; Tonyn to Germain, October 18, 1776, and March 9, 1777, PRO, CO5/557/1, 103; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," p. 61; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, 16-17; Siebert, "Privateering in Florida," pp. 62-64; Mowat, East Florida, pp. 76-77, 119; and Siebert, "Port of St. Augustine," pp. 77-78.

[13]Journal, St. John, July 11-12, 1776, and Tonyn to Germain, July 18, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 5:1031, 1052, 1142; Siebert, Loyalists in East Florida, 1:42; and Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, p. 44.

[14]Petition of John Berwick, in Journal of the South Carolina General Assembly, September 25, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 6:995; Lachn McKintosh [sic] Junior to Lachlan McIntosh, July 22 and July 27, 1776, in Lilla M. Hawes, ed., The Papers of Lachlan McIntosh 1774-1779, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, vol. XII, (Savannah, Georgia: The Georgia Historical Society, 1957), pp. 52-53; and Henry Laurens to John Laurens, August 14, 1776, in Lee Papers, 2:217.

[15]Minutes, Conference with the Georgia Council of Safety, August 19, 1776, in Lee Papers, 2:235; Siebert, Loyalists of East Florida, 1:42; Siebert, "Privateering in Florida," p. 68; and Mowat, East Florida, p. 119.

[16]Journal, St. John, July 26, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 5:1251; Stephen Egan to Tonyn, August 5, 1776, Tonyn to Captain Thomas Bishop, August 6, 1776, Lieutenant Grant to Tonyn, August 7, 1776, Journal, St. John, August 7, 1776, and Bishop to Tonyn, August 9, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 6:72, 90, 108, 109, 134; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 46-49; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 63-64; and Mowat, East Florida, pp. 114, 119.

[17]Tonyn's Certificate for Osborne's service, PRO, CO5/557/32; Memorial of George Osborne, January 14, 1777, PRO, CO5/557/111; and Tonyn to Bishop, August 6, 1776, Bishop to Tonyn, August 9, 1777, and Tonyn to Germain, August 26, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 6:90, 134, 314.

[18]Tonyn's Certificate for Osborne's service, PRO, CO5/557/32; Memorial of Osborne, PRO, CO5/557/111; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, p. 55; and Siebert, "Port of St. Augustine," p. 77.

[19]Tonyn to Germain, September 8, 1776, Tonyn to Prevost, September 5, 1776, and Tonyn to Lieutenant Grant, September 5, 1776, PRO, CO5/556/390, 392, 394, (see also in NDAR, 6:717, 718, 749-750); Tonyn to Germain, October 18, 1776, Memorial of Patrick Tonyn, July 19, 1777, and General Account of sundry Expences incurred for Naval Services, July 28, 1777, PRO, CO5/557/1, 260, 267 (see CO5/557/1 also in NDAR, 6;1327-1328); Tonyn to Germain, August 26, September 9, 1776, and October 30, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 6:314, 767-768, 1467-1468; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 57-58, 61; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 65-67; Siebert, Loyalists in East Florida, 1:43; and Siebert, "Privateering in Florida," pp. 68-69.

[20]Lachlan McIntosh to Valantine Beard, October 1, 1776, in Hawes, Papers of McIntosh, p. 12; Appeal by owners of the Somerset, November 11, 1780, PRO, HCA30/184/Bundle: November, 1780, cited in Virginia Colonial Records Project, "Survey Report No. 14564," p. 9, John D.

Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 66-67; Memorial of Osborne, CO5/557/111; Captain George Keith Elphinstone to Tonyn, August 15, 1778, and Tonyn to Keith Elphinstone, August 17, 1778, in W. G. Perrin, ed., The Keith Papers: Selected from the Letters and Papers of Admiral Viscount Keith, 3 vols. (Navy Records Society, MDCCCCXXVII-MDCCCCLV), 1:77-78, 80-81; Instructions for Captain Thomas Pickering, in Journal of the South Carolina Navy Board, November 2, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:23; and Instructions for Captain Edward Allen, November 7, 1776, in A.S. Sally, ed., Journal of the Commissioners of the Navy of South Carolina, 2 vols. (Columbia, South Carolina: Printed for the Historical Commission of South Carolina by the State Company, 1912, 1913), 1:23.

[21]Tonyn to Germain, March 9, 1777, PRO, CO5/557/103; and Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 106-107.

[22]Memorial of Osborne, PRO, CO5/557/111; and Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 105-106.

[23]Ibid.

[24]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, January 2, 1777, p. 3; and Keith Elphinstone to Tonyn, and Tonyn to Keith Elphinstone, in Perrin, Keith Papers, 1:77-78, 80-81.

[25]Memorial of Tonyn, and General Account of sundry Expences, PRO, CO5/557/260, 267; Lachlan McIntosh to Mr. Minis, and McIntosh to ?, January 26, 1777, in Hawes, Papers of McIntosh, p. 39; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 71, 80; and Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," p. 66.

[26]Siebert, "Privateering in Florida," pp. 69-71; Memorial of Tonyn, PRO CO5/557/260; Tonyn to Germain, May 5, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:917; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 88-89, 92-93; Mowat, East Florida, pp. 120-121; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 66-67; and Siebert, "Port of St. Augustine," p. 78.

[27]Tonyn to Germain, May 5, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:917; Tonyn to Germain, July 26, 1777, Memorial of Tonyn, Survey of the transport Hawke, June 25, 1777, and General Account of sundry Expences, PRO, CO5/557/256, 260, 265, 267; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, p. 92; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," p. 66; and North-Carolina Gazette, July 18, 1777, and Tonyn to Germain, June 16, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:38, 126.

[28]Tonyn to Germain, June 16, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:126; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 92-97; Siebert, "Privateering in Florida," pp. 70-71; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 67-68; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, May 26, 1777, p. 6, and June 23, 1777, p. 3; A patterero was an archaic type of ordnance that fired stone shot.

[29]North-Carolina Gazette, July 18, 1777, Tonyn to Germain, June 16 1777, and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 30, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:38, 126, 193; and Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 95-96.

[30]North-Carolina Gazette, July 18, 1777, Tonyn to Germain, June 16 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:38, 128; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, p. 96; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," p. 67; and Survey of the Hawke, transport, June 25, 1777, PRO, CO5/557/265.

[31]Mowat, East Florida, p. 21; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," p. 67-68; Siebert, "Port of Florida," pp. 70-71; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 96-97, 100; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, August 21, 1777, p. 3; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 4, 1777, p. 3, Supplement, September 15, 1777, p. 1, and October 14, 1777, p. 3.

[32]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 14, 1777, p. 3, and November 11, 1777, p. 3; and List of Warrants Issued by Tryon, March 24, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/107.

[33]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, October 16, 1777, p. 3; Tonyn to Germain, May 5, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:916; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 21, 1777, p. 3, and November 4, 1777, p. 3.

[34]Admiral Lord Howe to Stephens, October 8, 1777, and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, November 18, 1777, in Michael J. Crawford, Naval Documents of the American Revolution, with a Foreword by Bill Clinton and Introduction by William S. Dudley, 10 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1996), 10:75, 534-535; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, November 6, 1777, p. 3; and "An Act to Prohibit all Trade and Intercourse..." in Force, American Archives, Fourth Series, 5:1668.

[35]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, November 11, 1777, p. 3.

[36]Siebert, "Privateering in Florida," p. 68; Mowat, East Florida, p. 76; and Siebert, Loyalists of East Florida, 1:53, 2:13 n. 96.

[37]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, December 25, 1777, p. 3. Indications are that "Demas" is a misprint and should, in fact be "Dames." South-Carolina and American General Gazette, February 5, 1778, p. 2; and Mowbray to Captain Keith Elphinstone, July 22, 1778, in Perrin, Keith Papers, 1:119-120.

[38]Diary of John Trevett, cited and quoted in Hope S. Rider, Valour Fore & Aft: Being the Adventures of the Continental Sloop Providence, 1775-1779, Formerly Flagship Katy of Rhode Island's Navy (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1977), pp. 133-134.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Affidavit of Michael Kingsborough April 18, 1778, in Walter Clark, ed., The State Records of North Carolina, 16 vols. (numbered 11-26 following in sequence The Colonial Records of North Carolina), (1895-1905), 13:98.

[43]Faibisy, "Privateers and Prize Cases," p. 188; Nichols, Notes, pp. 116-118; John Leefe, The Atlantic Privateers, (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Petheric Press, 1978), pp. 37-39; Perkins, Diary, 1:129, 131, 133-136; John D. Faibisy, "A Compilation of Nova Scotia Vessels Seized During the American Revolution and Libelled in the New England Prize Courts," in Michael J. Crawford, Naval Documents of the American Revolution, with a Foreword by Bill Clinton and Introduction by William S. Dudley, 10 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1996), 10:1204-1205; and Petition of Inhabitants of Barrington, Nova Scotia, to the Massachusetts General Court, October 19, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 6:1328-1329.

[44]Clinton to William Howe, May 18, 1776, and Vice Admiral Molyneux Shuldham to Philip Stephens, May 20, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 5: 144, 157; Court Record, Henry Mowat vs. sloop Baltimore, September 4, 24, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 6:970; Captain Sir George Collier to Captain James Feattus, November 9, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:94; Minutes, Executive Council of Nova Scotia, June 13, 1777, Morgan, NDAR, 9:105; Major General Eyre Massey to Germain, December 10, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10: 696; and "Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax, Nova Scotia. The Condemnation of Prizes and Recaptures of the Revolution and the War of 1812," Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, XLV (January, 1909): 38.

[45]Captain Richard Pearson's Report on Seamen Needed for the Lakes, endorsed by Lord Howe, January 15, 1777, and index, in Morgan, NDAR, 7;955-956, 1383; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, March 31, 1777, p. 2.

[46]Gaine's New-York Gazette, March 31, 1777, p. 2. For the argument that Richard Pomeroy was probably the Tiger's captain, see Chapter 6, Note 78.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Text and Commission for Jones Fawson and Provincial Schooner Revenge, September 15, 1777, in Nichols, Notes, p. 118; Minutes, Executive Council of Nova Scotia, November 5, 1776, Collier to Feattus, and Journal, Lieutenant Colonel Goreham, November 10, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:47, 94, 99; Captain Sir George Collier to Philip Stephens, July 12, 1777, in NDAR, 9:273; Journal of Colonel John Allan, October 30, 1777, and Colonel John Allan to the Massachusetts Council, November 18, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10, 350, 528; Court Record, Memorial of James Ferrah, December 6, 1776, Vice Admiralty Register, RG1/495/480, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (see also, "Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax, Nova Scotia. The Condemnation of Prizes and Recaptures of the Revolution and the War of 1812," Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, XLV (April, 1909): 173); and Public Advertiser, February 26, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:613.

[49]Letter from John Allan, May 30, 1777, in Baxter, Documentary History of Maine, 14;414; Letter from Edward Thomas, May 17, 1777, in Baxter, Documentary History of Maine, 15:92; Minutes, Executive Council of Nova Scotia, June 13, 1777, and Collier to Stephens, July 12, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9;105, 273.

[50]Text and Commission for Fawson and the Revenge, in Nichols, Notes, pp. 118, 119; and George Mullane, "The Privateers of Nova Sco-

tia, 1756-1783," Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XIX (1921): 39.

[51]Commission for Fawson and the Revenge and text, in Nichols, Notes, pp. 119, 120.

[52]Narrative of Captain John Long, October 10, 1777, editorial note, Journal of Allan, October 30, 1777, and editorial notes, in Crawford, NDAR, 10: 104, 104 n. 5, 350, 350 ns. 1 & 2; Court Record, John Alexander vs. schooner Friend, November 3, 1777, and Deposition of Thomas Wells, November 5, 1777, Vice Admiralty Register, RG1/496/89, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (see also, "Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax," Essex Institute, XLV (April, 1909): 170); Letter from J. Allan, November 18, 1777, in Baxter, Documentary History of Maine, 15:288 (see also NDAR, 10:528); Massachusetts Board of War to Captains Samson and Haraden, November 21, 1777, Massachusetts Archives, Massachusetts Maritime Miscellaneous, 157/93, Massachusetts State Archives (see also in NDAR, 10:555-556); and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, November 11, 1777, p. 3.

[53]Major General Eyre Massey to Germain, December 10, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10: 696; and Deputy Quarter Master General William Handfield to Brigadier General Campbell, April 18, 1782, Headquarters Papers, 38/4424, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg.

[54]Massey to Germain, December 10, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:696.

Chapter 11

"OBLIGED TO EXERT THEIR UTMOST ENDEAVOURS TO SUPPRESS SUCH REBELLION:" THE ISLANDS, 1776-1777[1]

On the night of December 29, 1776, a highly significant event occurred in Baltimore. There, "two of the most noted Traitors in *America;* being both Partisans of Lord *Dunmore*, and very active Agents for him in all the Piracies and Depredations committed by him in *Chesapeak* Bay," Virginians William and Bridger Goodrich, escaped by bribing their guard with a reported £600. The press, from one end of the Bay to the other, announced a major man-hunt prompted with promises of a £100 reward for each. The brothers managed to elude their pursuers, however, and within a few days, they found sanctuary on H.M.S. Roebuck, then off Delaware Bay. On January 10, the Roebuck left her station and sailed for Antigua with the two Goodriches on board.[2]

In the West Indies and the Bahamas, British colonists also displayed a proclivity for privateering. They, in turn, were joined by some like-minded brethren in exile from the mainland. In Bermuda, while there was undoubtedly a considerable number of locals involved, the activity was instigated and dominated by an influx of mainland refugees. As elsewhere, there was no one with the official authority to grant commissions, so, the islanders took it upon themselves to authorize activities. In the Lesser Antilles, this resulted in considerable conflict with the naval authorities. Still, such vessels helped significantly with the defense of the various islands while disrupting and hurting rebel trade.

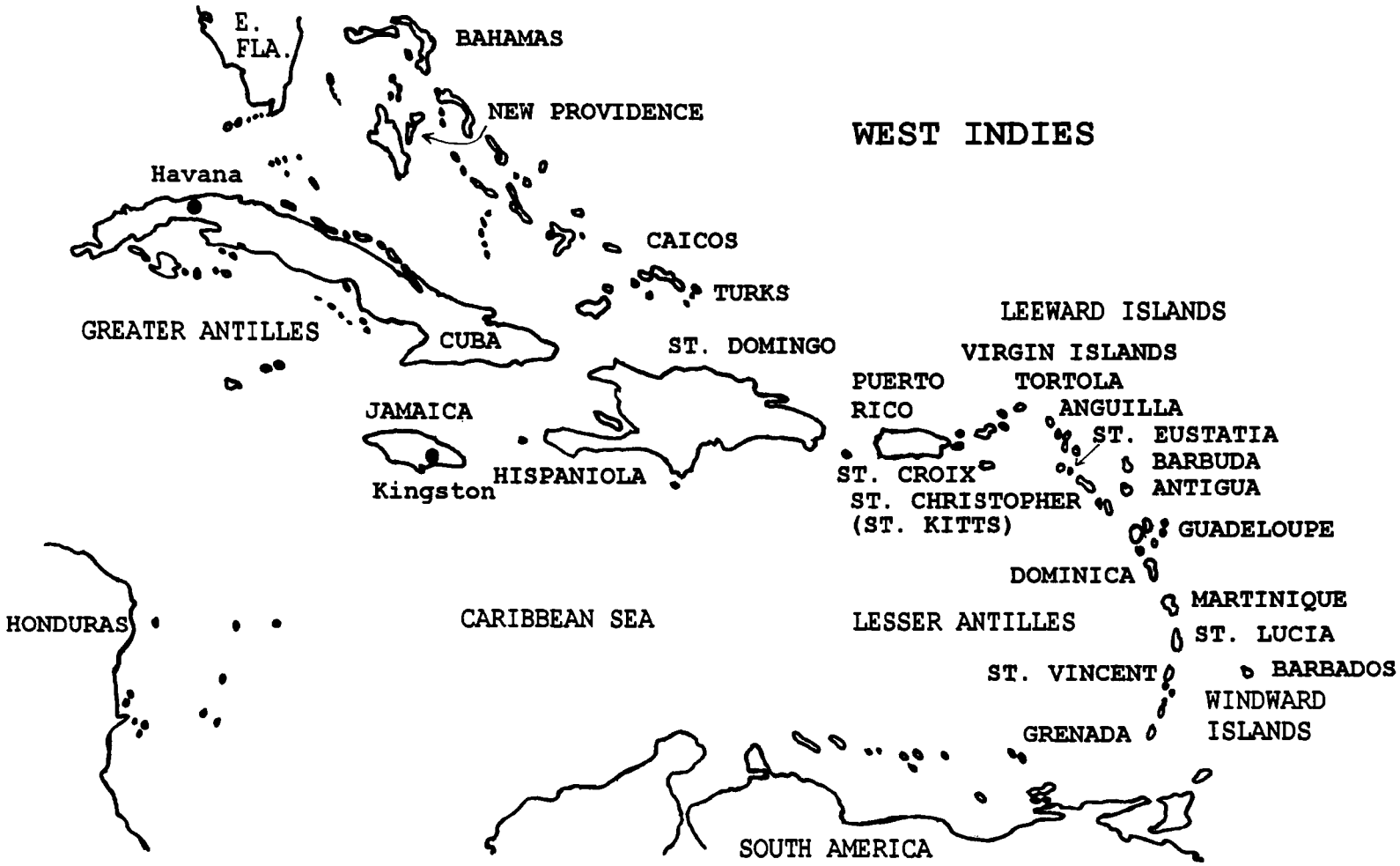


Figure 10: The West Indies.

As in most other locales, there was a shortage of Royal Navy vessels in the islands. As early as August, 1775, Vice Admiral James Young, Commander of the Leeward Island station complained of such, and in ensuing months, he continued to do so. By the summer of 1776, West Indian waters began to swarm with rebel privateers, many of which were fitted out in neutral French ports and sailed without lawful commissions. In fact, frequently, only the captains of such vessels were actually Americans. The extent of one crew's English was said to have been only "strike to Congress." Due to the shortage of protective naval vessels, the rebels were able to hurt British trade significantly.[3]

In response, fearful West Indian merchants expressed concern, requested assistance, and, when too little help was forthcoming, began to back privateers of their own for the purpose of protecting their interests. Lacking commissions, these put to sea contrary to both British and international maritime law. As early as April 13, 1776, a report indicates that after losing a vessel to the rebels and being held prisoner for awhile, merchant John Burke concerned himself in two privateers fitting out at Antigua.[4]

Despite this, vessels from Jamaica seem to have been the first to make an impact. By the summer of 1776, their presence was being felt. As of July 5, an armed schooner from Kingston reportedly took a prize. On August 18, the Kingston based and merchant owned privateer, Hunter, Captain Jacobs, engaged the rebel Congress, eighteen six-pounders, Captain Marks, off Port Au Prince. After a half hour fight, Marks struck his colors, and Jacobs took possession of a vessel loaded with gunpowder, military stores, and arms, that must have been needed by rebel troops.[5]

On December 5, a London paper published an account of another action. The Port Royal, Jamaica, privateer, British Hero, commanded by Captain Speers and owned by Messrs. Cole and Barton, engaged the rebel

privateer Sturdy Beggar, Captain Pawson, in what proved to be a particularly ugly fight. With fourteen guns and eighty crewmen to Pawson's twenty-two and 200, Speers was outgunned and outmanned, and with eighteen dead and twenty wounded, the British Hero had suffered the exceedingly high casualty rate of almost fifty percent when her opponent suddenly exploded ending the hour and a half fight. Although Speers immediately sent his boat to rescue rebel crewmen, only four were saved.[6]

So successful and popular had privateering become in Jamaica that merchant vessels putting in at the island lost large portions of their crews to what appeared the more exciting and rewarding way of making a living. Considering the common seamen of one Kingston privateer made £70 per man, it is easy to understand why others might want to try their hand.[7]

As to the other islands, at least one privateer, the Ranger, of sixteen guns, was operating out of Barbados as early as September 8, 1776. A merchant there reported her taking an American armed schooner of eight guns en route from Brest to Philadelphia. By the new year, an increasing number of privateers were growing active at Tortola and Antigua. Still, sailing without commissions, they were not viewed favorably by the Royal Navy and some government officials. Increasing numbers and successful activities were causes for even greater concerns.[8]

In January, in Antigua, events began to take an interesting turn. There, in December, the owners of a non-commissioned privateer (a vessel they called a privateer and which acted as one, but lacked authorization to do so) queried the Attorney General of the Leeward Islands, Thomas Warner, to ascertain his views concerning such craft. In turn, Warner gave his opinion on the legality of vessels without letters of marque taking prizes. He based his assertions on the inter-

pretation of King George's Proclamation of August 23, 1775 in conjunction with the edicts of the Prohibitory Act. In the Proclamation, the King decreed it was the duty of all his loyal subjects to do everything in their power to suppress the rebellion. The Prohibitory Act gave those loyal subjects the means by which to do it. Warner declared the seizure of rebel craft found trading contrary to the Act by non-commissioned vessels was duly authorized and legal. The Attorney General also felt extenuating circumstances were involved. Because the conflict was not between two established countries, the accepted Laws of Nations did not apply and the Prohibitory Act could not be interpreted as reflective of a declared state of war. Furthermore, all rebel privateers were to be treated as pirates and so, were subject to seizure as criminals. As to prize money, Warner did not feel the owners and crew members were legally entitled to any. Prizes and their cargoes were considered droits of the Admiralty, and all money proceeding from the sales of such should be held for the King's pleasure. Unauthorized privateers might only hope their sovereign would show his good grace and grant them a reward or bounty from the proceeds to compensate for their efforts. In the case of recaptures, however, Warner maintained the captors were entitled to the established 1/8 value of the prize for salvage.[9]

At some point in December or early January the non-commissioned privateer sloop Reprisal, Captain Morto Downey, brought two prizes into St. John's, Antigua. Of interest is the fact that in lieu of a legitimate commission, the Reprisal carried written copies of the Attorney General's opinions to sanction her operations. Warner lost no time putting those opinions into action and beginning proceedings against the captures as lawful prizes. At English Harbor, Vice Admiral Young, receiving word of Warner's views and the court activities, made his disapproval known. However, before Young could communicate this,

Warner penned him a lengthy missive on January 7, in which he explained his position. On the 8th, before receiving Warner's letter, Young penned one of his own to the Attorney General. Expressing his disapproval, Young declared there was no precedent or authority for such privateering activities, and in fact, in England, requests for legitimate letters of marque had been repeatedly turned down. It was Young's belief that without commissions, the mariners in question were really no better than pirates and should be treated as such. Therefore, he ordered Warner to commence legal proceedings against the men of the Reprisal immediately
with the offer of any assistance that might be needed.[10]

After dispatching this letter, Young received Warner's of the day before, provoking a second letter to the Attorney General on the same day. In this, Young argued more specifically against certain points made by Warner, and declared he would appeal any sentence of the Vice-Admiralty Court that gave any part of the value of the prize or her cargo to the Reprisal. Later, on January 16, Young noted that Governor Edward Hay of Barbados had received implicit word from England that he was not to allow armed vessels to fit out to act offensively against the rebels.[11]

On the 11th, Warner responded to Young's two letters. After reiterating his position on matters, the Attorney General informed Young that as Vice-Admiral he had no authority to give orders to the Attorney General. Warner asserted that such directives as Young made could only come from the Commander-in-Chief. Should such come from that person, he would comply.[12]

Of course, Young lost no time in writing Governor Craister Greathead of St. Christophers, acting Commander-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands. In the letter, the Vice-Admiral explained the situation in general and the activities of the Reprisal in particular. In fact,

she had recently returned to port with a third prize. Young also pointed out that the success of the Reprisal had prompted other men to fit out armed vessels, and no less than seven would be ready to sail from Antigua by the end of the week. Ultimately, he requested that Greathead do whatever was necessary to put a stop to these activities.[13]

Warner, however, was one step ahead. On the 19th Greathead replied to Young's missive, saying he had received a letter from Warner the day before he received the Vice-Admiral's. Having heard what both parties had to say, the Commander-in-Chief informed Young that he was at a loss to think of what he could do to stop matters. Furthermore, Greathead stated that, not only the Attorney General, but the Solicitor General, as well, believed the privateers acted legally, and he had to defer to their judgment. All Greathead said he would do was order the court to move closer to the naval base, and direct that proceeds from prizes remain in the hands of the Receiver of Rights and Perquisites of the Admiralty, or, adding a new wrinkle, have the privateers "give Security to refund such part as may be adjudg'd to them by the same Court in case their Proceedings shou'd be disapproved by His Majesty." In essence, prize money could be held by the captors until such time as the King decided to claim all, part, or none of it for himself.[14]

As of January 28, six prizes had been taken by non-commissioned privateers and sent into St. John's, and on that date, the sloop Mary, taken by the Reprisal, was condemned. Significantly, Warner directed that any money received from the sale of the prize and her cargo be handed over to the owners of the privateer. Of interest is the fact that John Burke acted as one of the councilors for the rather large number of fifteen owners, whose makeup was also noteworthy. Joseph, Samuel, and Campbell Brown, Thomas Montgomery, James Stilling, Robert

Addison, and Thomas Willock were merchants of the island. George Redhead was a planter. More significantly, Alexander Dover, Nicholas Taylor, and Thomas Bell were agents to the Contractor for Victualling his Majesty's Ships at Antigua. John Wilkins was Deputy Secretary of the island, and Bertie Entwisle was Surveyor of His Majesty's Customs. In other words, government officials, as well as merchants, were the primary owners.[15]

Young was making little headway in his efforts to suppress what he felt was an increasingly serious problem. For entirely different reasons, the rebels were growing uneasy as well. From Martinique, William Bingham wrote Silas Deane on February 2, that the vessels "greatly annoy & molest our Trade...I expect that these Seas will soon be covered with Privateers." The British West Indian vessels were clearly beginning to have the desired counter-effect.[16]

Having failed to get a response in the Leeward Islands from Greathead, Young, on February 3, took it upon himself to write to four Governors of the Windward chain, Valentine Morris, St. Vincent, Edward Hay, Barbados, Thomas Shirley, Dominica, and Lord George Macartney, Grenada, telling them of the situation at Antigua, warning them that they could probably expect the same at their islands, and requesting they do everything possible to prevent similar activities. Young also addressed a new and valid fear. Unauthorized vessels and crews might involve Britain in an unwanted and embarrassing international incident with a foreign power. In fact, Young had already received a complaint from the Compté D'Argout, Governor General of Martinique that a Dominican vessel had stopped French vessels, and a French frigate had been sent out with orders to treat her as a pirate. In his letter to Deane, Bingham had gone on to say that non-commissioned privateers had actually started seizing French vessels, one of which had already been libeled at Dominica.[17]

On the same day Bingham penned Deane, D'Argout had again written Young protesting the seizure mentioned by the American and offering more detail about the incident. The prize in question was the brig Le Guillaume. She was taken by the armed, sloop-rigged boat Abraham under the command of Gilbert Grant. Receipt of the Frenchman's letter undoubtedly caused the Vice Admiral to believe his fears were becoming reality. On the 7th, Young penned D'Argout expressing his disapproval of the privateers. He felt certain that, upon hearing the case, the vice admiralty court at Dominica would restore the vessel to the French. (On the contrary, she would be condemned on January 31, and sold for £1114.3.0 "current money.") Most significantly, Young informed D'Argout that he was taking matters into his own hands and ordering the King's ships to seize all privateers they encountered. He would also do all possible to prevent others from sailing.[18]

Good for his word, that same day, Young issued a proclamation announcing that H.M. Sloop Shark, Captain John Chipman, would proceed immediately to St. John's, and there, acting as a guardship, prevent any privateers from sailing. The other naval vessels on the station would be notified to seize privateers found at sea. On the 8th, a general order to this effect was issued to all captains on the Leeward Island station with the additional directive that all crewmen found on privateers, excepting master and mate, were to be taken off and detained by the navy.[19]

By February 6, another problem created by the privateers had become evident. The crews of government transports at St. John's were being enticed to jump ship and sign articles on the cruisers, leaving too few men to sail them. Young issued orders to Chipman to deal with this matter as well when he arrived at that port. The plan was to gather up all the deserters and hold them in custody on the Shark un-

til their respective transports were ready to sail. At that time, they would be returned to their original ships.[20]

On February 11, the governors of the Windward Island began to respond to Young's request for help. Shirley indicated he was in complete agreement with the Vice-Admiral's view and would do all he could to prevent non-commissioned privateers. Hay's response of February 23 was even more firm. After admitting he had no authority to issue letters of marque, he stated such privateersmen were pirates and should be treated as such in British courts. From Morris, however, Young received a more qualified and tempered statement. After telling Young that he agreed with him, and so far, had been successful in preventing armed vessels fitting out at St. Vincent, the governor proceeded to state sympathetically that with regards to activities conducted specifically against the rebels, he understood the position and views of the Attorney General and other lawyers involved at Antigua. Seemingly, Morris's main fear concerning non-commissioned privateers was not what they might do to the French, but rather how the French would treat the crews of such if captured. He maintained they would be viewed no differently than pirates and dealt with accordingly.[21]

On February 23, Young again found himself explaining matters and reiterating his position to D'Argout. This time it was because the Antigua schooner-rigged pilot boat Tryall had taken a French prize. The Vice Admiral conveyed that the capture was currently under the jurisdiction of the vice admiralty court, and therefore, he was powerless to intervene.[22]

On March 8, having done all possible, Young decided to write the Admiralty, appraising them of the situation and seeking both advice and support. He was again particularly concerned about the transports' seamen being lured aboard the privateers with high bounties and the promises of prize money. In fact, the situation had become serious.

Crewmen who had already jumped from the victualing transport Benjamin and entered on the privateer Tryall returned to their original vessel and forcibly removed two of their old mates who had remained behind. On March 3, the transport Flora had put into Antigua, where enough crewmen deserted to keep her from sailing for two months.[23]

By this time, following Young's orders, Captain Henry Bryne, H.M.S. Hind, had seized three privateers (two from Antigua and one from St. Christopher) at sea and brought them into English Harbor. Despite all his concerns, threats, and actions, Young's treatment of the vessels was actually quite moderate and reasonable. After securing known Royal Navy deserters from the crews and offering berths on His Majesty's ships to the remainder (which seem to have been accepted), Young returned the three vessels to their owners with the requisite number of men to navigate them in lawful trade under normal circumstances. Young also extracted the understanding that the three craft would no longer act as armed vessels. Still, there were threats of lawsuits against Young by the various owners for trespass, and much to Young's chagrin, two of the vessels immediately resumed their practices only to be seized by the Royal Navy yet again. Young, by now, was clearly at a loss as to how to proceed given that the courts clearly favored the privateersmen. He said he felt certain that their lordships would understand his actions and give all support and protection to himself and his officers.[24]

The ink had barely dried on his dispatch when, adding insult to injury, Young was actually arrested for trespass by the owners of the armed sloop Hamond (or Hammond). She was one of the vessels already seized and detained twice, and damages were reckoned at £1,100 (Antigua currency). Young immediately appended this information to his dispatch.[25]

On the same day, Young also penned a more confidential and personal letter addressed directly to Lord Sandwich in which he offered additional detail about the situation. He noted that Captains Henry Bryne and Charles Phipps had writs issued against them as well. He also identified the ringleader of the faction as "one Burk, a popular lawyer." Young's situation had become such that he was confined to the naval yard as a virtual prisoner. He had become so frustrated and fed up that he confided his desire to be relieved of command.[26]

A few days after filing suit against Young, the Hamond's owners filed an additional one against the officer immediately responsible for detaining her a second time, Captain Thomas Dumaresque, H.M.S. Portland. Damages were set at £950 sterling or £50 for each of the nineteen man interracial crew of "Blacks Whites and Mulattoes" that was seized. In actuality, only nine were kept by the navy, and they, supposedly, remained willingly. The rest were set ashore to do as they wished.[27]

It is curious that despite a substantial amount of documentation concerning the dispute between Young and the owners of the Hamond, nowhere are those owners mentioned by name. There is, however, strong circumstantial evidence suggesting that she was owned by the Goodriches. Relations between the family members and Young were probably not cordial after the Admiral had snubbed Bartlet the previous year. At some point prior to early March, 1777, family members, either William, Bridger, and/or Robert Sheddon purchased a Bermuda sloop, a prize to H.M.S. Galatea, and called her the Hammond (or Hamond). There can be little doubt she was named after mentor and rescuer, Captain Andrew Snape Hamond. The vessel's name certainly supports the conclusion that if the Hamond at Antigua was not owned by the Goodriches, then, in all likelihood, she was the property of some other refugee from the Chesapeake region who knew and esteemed her namesake naval

officer. Hamond's service in North America to date had been primarily limited to the mid-Atlantic coast. In any case, William and Bridger can be placed at Antigua at this time. According to William, after being picked up by the Roebuck, he was appointed prize-master, and shortly after, he was given command of a prize that was sent to Bermuda. There he was able to see his family for the first time in at least seven or eight months. On January 13, the Roebuck seized the schooner Rose which on the 14th was sent to that island. This was the only prize taken by the Roebuck during this time that was sent to Bermuda, so this must have been the vessel William commanded. Of interest, however, is the fact that the Rose must have just touched at Bermuda before, for whatever reason, William sailed on to Antigua. It was to the latter island that the prize was ultimately brought to be libeled and condemned. Furthermore, there is strong evidence that in February at Antigua one of the brothers was acting as either a mate or midshipman, a rank consistent with that of prize-master, on the Roebuck. At that time, Captain George Keith Elphinstone recounted that he specifically sought out a "Mr. Goodridge" to obtain information about the activities of Osborne and Kelly. Given the nature of Keith's query, there can be little doubt this Mr. Goodridge was a person quite familiar with maritime affairs on the mainland's southern coastline.[28]

There is no indication as to whether or not Bridger went with William to Bermuda. On the one hand, it would seem logical that he would go with his brother. On the other, it is just as likely Bridger received a naval rating similar to William's (he was certainly a skilled and experienced mariner) which would have kept him on the Roebuck. Thus, he is just as likely to have been the individual questioned by Keith. If, however, Bridger did go with William and if the Hammond was purchased in Bermuda, then he would have been in a posi-

tion to sail her to Antigua while his brother skippered the Rose. Either scenario places both brothers at Antigua.

More significant is the fact that William, in command of the Hammond, arrived in New York on March 23, after a fifteen day voyage reported to have begun at Bermuda. Unless the Hammond suffered some damage or encountered foul weather, this was a rather lengthy transit. In all likelihood, Bermuda was simply William's most recent port of call (there is undeniable evidence that he was, in fact, there) on a longer voyage that originated in the Leeward Islands. This is supported by two additional bits of circumstantial evidence. First, later in the summer, the Hammond made the passage from St. Kitts to New York in fourteen days. More significant, however, is the fact that the stated time span indicates William began his voyage on March 8. Furthermore, his intention was to petition Admiral Lord Howe. In other words, his departure coincided with the same day the owners of the Antigua Hammond filed suit against Young, and William was certainly embroiled in some maritime affair serious enough for him to sail all the way to New York to plead his case.[29]

Of course, there is a possible argument that might counter the case just made. In one of Young's later dispatches he states he did not immediately release the Hammond and tends to imply she was detained for a lengthy period of time. If this was the situation, the sloop could not have sailed to New York in March. At the same time, however, Young never specified just how long he held the vessel in custody. He only indicates it was for a longer period than the other privateers only because the owners had simply not asked for her return which he was more than willing to do if requested. In yet another letter, Young stated he never detained any of the privateers after they came into port. The Hammond was seized the second time on February 25, and suit was filed against Young twelve days later on the 8th. Several

possibilities present themselves. She was detained only until she entered port, or she was released when Young was notified of the suit. Then, she might have been released at any point in between. Captain Dumaresque attempted to bring her to court, but the judge refused to hear the case. Consequently, she should have been released fairly soon after her arrival in port.[30]

As of March 8, six privateers had made successful cruises from Antigua, bringing in a total of fourteen prizes. The sloop Reprisal, first commanded by Downey, and then, William Bell, had taken the sloop Mary, Captain Giles Mansfield, and the schooners Resolution, John Carey, Adventure, Thomas Robinson, Elizabeth, Stafford Dickenson, and Nancy, James Clarkson. Captain James Robinson in the schooner Lawrel had brought in the schooner Seaflower, Joshua Farnham, sloop Polly, Seth Griffin, and brig Freedom, Joseph Hudson. The schooner Stagg, skippered by Edward Barnes, seized the schooner boat Diana, David Davies, and the schooners Savage, Edmund Standin, and Polly, Elisha Butler. The schooner Royal George, Captain Benjamin Roberts took the sloop John, John Ducker, while William Rolland in the schooner Elizabeth recaptured the brig Juno, and William Jardine in the schooner pilot boat Tryall took the brig Three Adventurers, Ebenezar Lane. By the end of the month, the people of the island were wholly caught up in the activity. The press reported, "There is nothing talked of in Antigua, but privateering."[31]

Dominica witnessed activity as well. There, the schooner Tartar, owned by a group of local merchants, took the sloop York valued at £994.9.3. The sloop Enterprise captured the brig Warren, the sale of which fetched £1603.3.1 1/2. From Jamaica, the schooner Lady Keith was responsible for a recapture. This particular recapture offers a good glimpse of the potential complexity of the prize game. Seizure by the

Lady Keith marked the third time the vessel had changed hands within a matter of days.[32]

As noted, during this same period, non-commissioned privateers began operations out of Tortola, British Virgin Islands. Individuals there interpreted George III's "Proclamation" in the same way as the Antiguans had and acted accordingly. Some Tortolans, however, seem to have been less pure in their motives with the result that, sometimes, an element of good old-fashioned buccaneering was evident in their activities. Occasionally less scrupulous in the selection of prizes or the methods of seizure, their actions prompted diplomatic outcries from both the Danes and the French.[33]

On February 24, 1777, William Stephens, in command of a sloop owned by a Mr. Hetherington, seized the French sloop Le Solide, Captain Dominique Diusive, with a cargo of indigo and rice, in a manner deemed criminal by the Danes. In the course of pursuing the Frenchman, Stephens followed her into the neutral waters of Danish St. Thomas, where he forced her to run aground. Under the circumstances, the Danish authorities later argued the stranded vessel had automatically become Danish property, and was immune to seizure. Stephens had viewed the matter differently. After driving away the crew, he worked the Frenchman off and took possession. The Danes maintained this action was a breach of international law, viewed Stephens as a pirate, expected the return of the French sloop, and demanded Stephens be severely punished. In response, John Fahie, President of the Tortola Council to whom the complaint was made, dodged the issue by performing the age-old diplomatic shuffle combining delaying tactics, inability to act, shifting the blame, and disavowing responsibility. Fahie made it clear that the privateer in question was on a cruise so the matter could not be properly investigated at that time. In conjunction, he reminded the Danes of their many transgressions, while stating that in

any case, he was not the official they needed to talk to. At the same time, the President of the Council cast an approving wink and nod to the privateers from his island in general, making his support of their activities known. This would not be the only time the Tortolans offended a neutral.[34]

The number of privateers operating out of Tortola cannot be determined, but they were certainly effective. On March 4, Fahie wrote, the "non-commissioned, armed Vessels have made amazing Havock among the Rebels." During the previous three or four days, eight prizes had been sent in with large cargoes consisting of munitions, dry goods and a variety of provisions. The rebel press seemed genuinely shocked that a Tortolan boat with only ten men had taken two armed vessels from South Carolina. In general, the Tortolans were ecstatic, and there was "nothing to be heard or seen but the roaring of Cannon, the beating of Drums, Colours flying and the frequent Appearence of fresh Prizes coming in."[35]

While Young was diluting his force's effectiveness by using his limited number of ships to chase non-commissioned privateers as well as rebel vessels, enemy strength was building up. By one report, as of April 12, no less than twenty-six rebel privateers were operating out of French Martinique, causing serious damage to British shipping. Adding insult to injury, prizes taken into Martinique were not even being accorded a trial before being sold.[36]

In response to the growing number of enemy predators, Governor Morris, already sympathetic to the English privateers, came out in full support of them. Acting beyond his authority, he began offering commissions which were good for six months. Even Attorney General Warner admitted that the actual issue of commissions was not authorized, and Morris had gone too far. Morris, however, was not only issuing letters of marque, he was fitting out an armed vessel of his own,

twenty-six crew members of which he had recently bailed out of French jails. Needless to say, Young, feeling betrayed, was most unhappy with Morris. By late March the governor of Anguilla reportedly had his own personal privateer as well, a "little passage-boat" which had already taken two sloops prize.[37]

Young was not the only naval officer concerned about privateering. On April 20, Lord Howe sent a circular letter to the Governors of the West Indies ordering them not to grant "licenses" to vessels sailing for North America. The term license is somewhat confusing, because it would simply seem to mean that the various governors were not to authorize vessels to trade with the mainland. Two later letters from Lieutenant Governor John Dalling of Jamaica, however, show that letters of marque were meant as well.[38]

At the same time, however, while the navy's officer class generally did not regard privateering favorably, there were some individuals who were exceptions to the rule. One was Andrew Snape Hamond. While the Roebuck was refitting at Antigua, he witnessed the transpiring events and commented on them in his journal. Hamond was already of the opinion that a guerre de course was the best manner in which to prosecute the war at sea. Therefore, the employment of privateers as commerce raiders would be of great benefit.[39]

On May 2, Young again wrote the Admiralty, reiterating about the man-power problem caused by the privateers, and stating he was powerless to do anything about it without the help of the government. He seemed hopeful that Governor William Burt, who had recently arrived to take over control of the Leeward Islands from Greathead, might be of assistance. As it turned out, however, Burt's view of the situation was not what Young had in mind. The Governor stated his position in later letters to Danish Governor Peter Clausen at St. Thomas and Germain. To Germain he wrote that he was doing everything possible to ex-

plain matters to the various foreign governors of neighboring islands and maintain cordial relations. At the same time, however, to both Burt declared he stood behind all captures of American vessels and cargoes that had already been made, inclusive of those involving goods seized in foreign bottoms, and would continue to do so with prizes taken in the future. Burt's position, based on his interpretation of the Prohibitory Act, was yet another unofficial act of validation for the Leeward Islands' privateers.[40]

May 25 found Young penning yet another diplomatic letter. This time it was to the Marquis De Bouillé, the new Governor of Martinique. Once again the British Admiral stated his disapproval of non-commissioned privateers, and then, significantly, he stated he was powerless to either stop them or offer any redress for their actions. It would seem that Young was beginning to acknowledge defeat.[41]

The successes of the West Indian privateers continued to mount. On April 28, The Gazette of the State of South-Carolina reported that to date, vessels from Tortola alone had taken twenty-nine prizes. No less than twelve of these were from South Carolina. Included were the schooners Splatt, Captain Jacob Wyatt, and Wild-Cat, George Griffis, and the sloops Rutledge, Richard Minn[illeg.], Family Traders, Benjamin Wainwright, Nanny, Paul Lightbourn, Charming Nancy, Stafford Amory, and Elizabeth, William Perrot. The remaining five prizes were commanded by Boaz Bell, Richard King, a Mr. Morgan, Foster Bascom, and Richard Somerfall. The Splatt was taken by the sloop Rose commanded Liverpudlian John Adams. Another prize was the French vessel le St Antoine whose seizure on April 11 was duly protested by the governor of Martinique. The South Carolina press reported on May 26 yet another prize taken by the Tortolans, the sloop Liberty, Captain Thomas. In June, these privateers again offended the Danes by seizing two St. Croix brigantines shipping tobacco, rice, and rum, La Dorothea and

L'Elizabeth Christine. Despite their transgressions so successful were the Tortolan vessels that they were regarded as being "of infinate Service" in guarding the island.[42]

There was also considerable activity elsewhere. By April privateers were operating out of Grenada, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, Dominica, Anguilla, and of course, Antigua. During that month, the French ship le Fier of 350 tons was taken and sent into St. Kitts. On May 21, there was a report in St. Georges, Grenada, that on the previous Thursday, the privateer sloop Lord Howe of that port, mounting ten guns and commanded by James Dougal, sent in the prize sloop Orange of Boston. Her cargo consisted of fish, lumber, staves, hoops, tallow, and spermaceti candles. It may have been at this time that the Lord Howe also took the schooner Rebecca. These two prizes were valued at £1383.14.3½ and £656.12.9, respectively. On May 26, the sloop Reprisal, now commanded by Captain Phillips and reportedly cruising with a "Lawful Commission," took the sloop Swallow of Philadelphia after her skipper, Captain Gray, offered a spirited defense with a crew of only four. The Reprisal had previously taken the schooner Elliot, Captain Pitt, of Charlestown. From Dominica, the Tartar seized the French sloop St. Jacques valued at £775.9.9½ (currency?).[43]

In early June, "after a smart contest," two Jamaican privateer brigs, the Errol, Captain Sommers, and her consort, took the sloop Janet, Captain James Hodgkins. Laden with ammunition and naval stores and called a "sloop of war," all indications are the rebel was a letter of marque. From the prize's crew, Sommers and his associates learned of two French transports at St. Domingo, ready to sail with cargoes of stores for Boston. On June 4, the two privateers made contact with their quarry and after a stiff engagement of an hour and a half, took them prize.[44]

The Tortolans were not the only islanders who occasionally made a capture that was less than legitimate. On May 8, a privateer from St. Kitts seized the Spanish merchantman San Nicolas y San Pedro Felmo, and carried her into Anguilla. There, after suffering some minor indignities and the regular aggravations inherent in such a situation, the Spanish Captain, Don Francisco Xavier Garcia Ruiz, convinced the authorities he had been wrongfully seized and was allowed to go free. In the harbor at the same time was the privateer sloop Lively, also of St Kitts, commanded by James Dunevan and owned by a Mr. Strol, an innkeeper. When the Spaniard sailed, the Lively simply followed her out of port and took her a second time. Clearly aware the prize would not be tried at Anguilla, Dunevan sent her to Basseterre, St. Christopher, where additional chicanery may have occurred. By one account the privateersmen convinced a Spanish crewman to falsely testify that the vessel had been in Philadelphia. In any case, she was condemned as a legal prize, provoking a diplomatic outcry from Spanish authorities.[45]

Affairs did not always go smoothly for the West Indian vessels, which were beginning to suffer some reverses. On April 30, off the island of Sambrero, the Antigua schooner Royal George, mounting six swivels, Captain Mathew Moffat, and his consort, a sloop with eight carriage guns commanded by Captain [Gilbert?] Grant, engaged the South Carolina privateer Rutledge. The Rutledge took the Royal George. Grant's sloop was able to make her escape. Nor were all attacks on rebel vessels successful. Nathaniel King of South Carolina managed to ward off several attacks by three Tortolan privateers during the course of a single day.[46]

On June 3, the case against Dumaresque was heard and the verdict went against him. The judge specifically recommended a general verdict in order to prevent any hope of appeal in a higher court. Young immediately informed the Admiralty of the court's decision, complaining of

"a Spirit of Revenge & indignation" against the Royal Navy. Again, the station commander requested advice and help.[47]

By June 5, Lord Howe had received word of the desertion of crew members to privateers causing the transport Floras' delay. He immediately fired off a dispatch to the Admiralty expressing his disapproval of the situation.[48]

Then, on June 17, the case against Young was heard. The Vice Admiral could not have felt too confident about the outcome given that one of his councilors was Attorney General Warren, who later admitted he believed the privateersmen were justified in bringing suit against Young. Not surprisingly, the verdict went against Young with the court ordering him to pay £1201.7.3 1/2, Antigua currency, or £689.9.10 1/0 sterling.[49]

As events moved into July, privateering continued. Governor Hay of Barbados stated his disapproval of the fact that an armed sloop, Captain Roberts, fitted out at his island, went to St. Vincent to procure a commission from Governor Morris. Owned by the Irish house of Thompsons & Seed, she had already seized a Dutch vessel. The vice-admiralty court, however, judged the prize should be returned.[50]

Hay did, however, suggest a rather interesting idea indicating even he, the most strongly opposed of the Windward Island Governors, if not exactly warming to the concept of privateering, was at least coming to accept the need for provincial vessels for defensive purposes and a means to control them. His observations were unique in that, at least as far as the islands were concerned, he viewed privateering as a class-specific activity undertaken primarily by those he deemed socially deficient. He wrote:

> I am afraid it will be found, that many inconveniencies will attend the trusting of the lower Class of people of these Islands with Such powers. And Although thus late, If I may be permitted to offer my Opinion, It would be, that For the protection of the Islands, The Legislature of each Island be permitted to arm and send to Sea, as far as two Vessels, fitted out and maintained at the

> pubick Expence of the Island for the purpose of protecting the Coast; and under Such Commissions as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty may be impowered to grant; Such Commissions in blank to be lodged in the hands of the Governor of each Island, to be filled up by the Governor, with Instructions to issue them to no other Vessel than such as shall have been fitted out by the Appointment of the Legislature, and at the public Expence of the Island, and by no means to be de-livered for the Use of Individuals.[51]

According to one source, as of July 21, word was circulating that by Royal Proclamation, all non-commissioned privateers were recalled. Those choosing to ignore the directive would be treated as pirates by the Royal Navy. If this was the case, the edict had little effect and must have been quickly withdrawn as nothing more is heard about it.[52]

While the debate on privateering raged in the West Indies, related events were transpiring in England. In European waters, as 1776 progressed, an increasing number of rebel privateers swarmed out of their bases in France, seriously hurting British trade. By September, merchants were much alarmed at their mounting losses. By October, the situation looked bleak indeed. Insurance rates were expected to reach alarming war time levels, and there was considerable anticipation and concern over the safe arrival of the Jamaica convoy. As of October 28, only twenty-three of the 118 vessels had made port, and worried merchants were finding it difficult to reinsure without paying exorbitant premiums. At mid-month a conservative estimate placed British commercial losses at sea for the year to date at £600,000. Intelligence published in the rebel press in May, 1777, indicated that rebel privateers had so distressed English shipping that British merchants estimated just their West Indian losses at £1,800,000. A second rebel report in June, citing a London paper, offered a somewhat reduced figure, reflecting total losses as of January, 1777, of £1,575,500, of which £1,069,000 was attributed to the West Indian Trade. Insurance was up to twenty-eight percent, and losses had resulted in numerous

houses declaring bankruptcy. As a result, British merchants were desirous of receiving letters of marque for the protection of their trade. At least one leading merchant, Virginian Samuel Martin, later told Lord Sandwich it was a fatal error not to have issued letters of marque right from the beginning, since British privateers would have helped considerably in the war at sea.[53]

In response to the situation, a bill allowing letters of marque to be issued was finally introduced in the House of Commons where it was debated and amended between mid-January and February 6, when it passed that body. From there, it went to the House of Lords where it was expected to pass easily without further alteration. Although in its final form, the "Act for enabling the Lords of the Admiralty to grant Commissions..." indicates letters of marque could be issued as of February 20, as of February 28, the Royal assent had yet to be given. Still, applications were already being made in anticipation, and matters moved ahead quickly. On March 11, the substance of the Act was published, and on the 15th, the press reported that applications were made daily for commissions against rebel privateers. On the 27th of the month, Instructions, issued under the King's authority, appeared. By April 10, four vessels fitted out as letters of marque came out of the docks and began to take on their guns.[54]

While the Act was a major step forward, it was, in fact very limited in scope and allowed for only a controlled situation. As such, it was rather anti-climactic. There were two catches. First, letters of marque could only be obtained from the Admiralty in England. That body could, if it chose, authorize others to issue commissions, as well, but at first, it was not about to relinquish its sole control of the situation. Secondly, the documents would only be granted to vessels "employed in Trade, or retained in his Majesty's Service." Upon first glance, this could easily be interpreted to mean that the com-

missions were intended as true letters of marque, and only vessels on actual trading voyages with predetermined destinations or vessels sailing in a similar manner under government contract were eligible. Of course, this restricted the type and number of vessels qualified to apply.[55]

In reality, eligibility was interpreted to be even more limited. One individual, the French ambassador in London, the Marquis De Noailles, stated:

> [T]he Admiralty has made public that it is prepared to issue Commissions to Merchant Vessels belonging to private persons which are trading for its account, as well as to Ships engaged in the Service of the Government.[56]

Without contradiction, this offers a new slant, making it evident that some sort of official government affiliation was needed to receive a commission. In other words, only a comparatively exclusive few sailing under license or contract were eligible. Vessels which intended to sail wherever they wished for as long as they wished with the sole intention of taking prizes, and even regular merchantmen, need not have applied.

The Act, which was essentially an appendix to the Prohibitory Act, extending its authority, went on to detail a number of rules and regulations. Of course, it delineated who and what could be taken as prize. In essence, all vessels and/or cargoes owned in the rebellious colonies and any British or Irish vessel found trading with those colonies were eligible for seizure. Upon condemnation, the owners and crew were entitled to all proceeds, less customs and duties. With recaptures, the captor would be entitled to 1/8th the value of the prize and her cargo for salvage. In addition, a bonus of £5 head money would be paid for each crewman taken on a rebel man-of-war. Ransoming a prize (the act of releasing her with the assurance that in lieu of seizure and condemnation an agreed upon amount of money would simply be paid to the captors by the owners) would be viewed as an act of pi-

racy punishable by death. To receive a commission, bond had to be posted for security, and specific details had to be supplied about the vessel and crew. The latter involved a description of the privateer, including information on her design, rig, and tonnage, her cargo, number and type of guns, destination, and size of crew. A list of principal owners was to be supplied as well. This accomplished, the vessel and crew needed to be inspected to ascertain that she conformed with the information provided. If everything was in order, the vessel received certification. If caught without a certificate of inspection or with a certificate with variant information, a captain would lose his commission and could be imprisoned for up to one year. All proceedings of the court and the payment of prize money would be the same as those established in the Prohibitory Act for the navy. Owners and crews would be accorded the full value of prizes and cargoes, less the usual customs and duties. Finally, crewmen were subject to the same discipline as Royal Navy personnel as set forth in the "Articles of War."[57]

"Instructions for the Commanders of private Ships and Vessels..." was published on March 27, 1777. While reiterating the regulations mentioned above, this also set forth additional rules of conduct. This document warned against taking prizes in neutral waters or collusion with the enemy. It declared all prizes must be brought to the most convenient authorized court of admiralty as quickly as possible to be legally adjudged. Three or four captured crewmen, of which two had to be the master, mate, or boatswain, were to accompany the prize to be interrogated for information concerning her. All paperwork seized on a prize was to be delivered to the court. No part of a prize could be sold nor bulk broken until she was legally condemned. At sea, letters of marque were required to assist all friendly vessels in trouble and make every effort to recapture vessels already seized by the enemy. They were also to stay in regular contact with admiralty

officials and report any intelligence that came their way. Only the red ensign with the union jack canton prescribed for merchant vessels in general could be flown. Privateers were obliged to conform to any new regulations that might be issued in the future. Towards the end of the "Instructions" there were several outlining the proper treatment of prisoners and the dire consequences that would befall anyone who broke the rules.[58]

Although there were a number of owners and captains who took advantage of the opportunity to acquire a letter of marque, there was some surprise and disappointment at the Admiralty over the response in general. A newspaper report of April 20 stated the Admiralty considered that few commissions had been requested, "notwithstanding the Merchants were in a Hurry to have the Bill passed."[59] Perhaps this is not so surprising in light of the limited number of merchants who were both eligible and in a position in England to get them. All in all, this initial Act was really quite weak.

By late May, British vessels with letters of marque began to appear in the Caribbean. As of the 28th of the month, the London based Union, Captain Hamilton, was en route from Jamaica to New York. Others were preparing to sail. Although no response has been found conveying how West Indian privateersmen felt about such legitimized interlopers, the presence of British commissioned vessels could not have failed to harden their resolve to continue on their chosen course and become legitimate themselves.[60]

Despite the fact Britain had made some concessions towards acknowledging privateering, the news of the situation in the Lesser Antilles, which reached Britain in Young's March 8 dispatch sometime in April, provoked considerable debate. On April 28, King George sent a note to Sandwich expressing his concern.

> I should hope that the dispatches from Admiral Young will be carefully weighed, and proper directions given to the Governor; for if privateers are to be wantonly fitted out, we shall have some unpleasant scenes with our neighbors. I hint this because the pen in that part of the world does not seem to feel the risk we may easily run.[61]

On May 6, Sandwich and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, pursuing a curious course of action, cautiously requested the King's opinion on how to instruct Young through an intermediary, Germain. Copies of relevant documents sent by Young were forwarded to the Secretary of State at that time. Germain, supported by his Under-Secretary, William Knox, would become the main opposition to Sandwich on the issue of privateering. Sandwich also submitted the same materials to the King's Advocate General, James Marriot and the Advocate for the Affairs of the Admiralty, George Harris, to solicit their august opinions on whether appeals should be filed against the verdict of the Antigua Vice Admiralty Court. Both agreed such proceedings should be implemented, and on May 7, Sandwich duly notified Germain of this development.[62]

After this exchange of correspondence, Sandwich pointedly asked Marriott and Harris if non-commissioned privateers were legal. The same was also asked of the Attorney General, E. Thurlow and the Solicitor General, A. Wedderburn. The responses are of interest given that there was little real agreement between them. In no uncertain terms, and perhaps not surprisingly given his Admiralty position, Harris stated the activity was not legal. Furthermore, it was not necessary and would only serve to embroil Britain in a confrontation with a foreign power. The king should claim the value of the prizes for himself and the practice should be stopped.[63]

Offering a completely polarized view were Thurlow and Wedderburn. According to them non-commissioned privateers were completely legal. It was their belief that if it was the intent to put an end to

the activity, the only way it might be achieved would be by the King withholding the prize money.[64]

Then there was the cautious and qualified response of Marriott. He maintained that under the circumstances, the non-commissioned privateers were acting illegally. In conjunction, however, he also stated that if the islands were threatened or the naval presence was insufficient for their defense, then the Governors and Admiral would have the power to authorize privateers that would act under Royal Navy supervision. Marriott then added that letters of marque should, in fact, be issued to vessels of specific size and tonnage to assist in the defense of the islands if the Royal Navy was not up to the job. Without letters of marque, Marriott feared a resumption of blatant buccaneering.[65]

Marriott's opinions are particularly interesting. Inadvertently, perhaps, he sanctioned the actions of the various governors on the North American mainland who had taken loyalist vessels into government service or issued letters of marque without due authority to do so when vessels were needed for defense.

By June 4, Sandwich had received Harris's and Marriott's views supporting his own. Without waiting for Thurlow's and Wedderburn's, he forwarded the two opinions to Germain. On June 9, Germain decided to conduct his own selective poll. Perhaps taking a hint from Marriott, but ignoring both him and Harris, the Secretary of State took matters a step further when he asked Thurlow and Wedderburn if the West Indian governors had the authority to issue letters of marque under the Act passed in February. Thurlow and Wedderburn stated, if Commissioners for the High Court of Admiralty in England authorized the governors to do so, then they could in fact issue such documents. Germain lost no time in conveying these views to the Admiralty.[66]

The stage was set for a major change in the privateering system. On June 13, Germain positively gloated over the impending victory over Sandwich, who faced overwhelming opposition in favor of letters of marque being issued. On the 15th, Germain reported great progress towards the acceptance of non-commissioned privateers, while indicating that properly commissioned vessels would be an even better idea.[67]

By June 27, matters had been settled in favor of Germain. On that date, Sandwich finally penned a response to Young who must have been feeling ignored and abandoned by this point. Young was told to back off and not push matters with the non-commissioned privateers. At the same time, he was also told not to encourage the activity. More importantly, the Vice Admiral was notified that the governors would be allowed to issue letters of marque. Finally, Sandwich conveyed that it had been insinuated that if the owners of the various privateers who had brought suit dropped the charges, they would then receive all prize money due them. It would not be until January 10, 1778, however, that Germain would actually send word that the West Indian governors could officially grant letters of marque. As will be seen, in the interim commissions were in fact given out. Technically still illegal, these were undoubtedly issued based on the knowledge that authorization was forthcoming. Also in January, 1778, the Admiralty conceded to pay prize money to non-commissioned privateers in general if the appropriate supporting paperwork was sent to England.[68]

Young received Sandwich's dispatch on August 23. On the 25th, he responded with his views. He pointed out he had already taken the pressure off by directing his captains at some earlier date to stop seizing the privateers in question. Young then made it clear that he did not think issuing letters of marque was a good idea.[69]

Despite Sandwich's news, Young's problems were not over. He pointed out that while the King's deal would meet with the satisfac-

tion of the majority of the privateer owners, it would not be acceptable to the owners of the Hamond. Because that vessel had not taken prizes of consequence, there was no prize money to offer in exchange for dropping the charges. It was, therefore, in the interest of the owners to press for the damages awarded by the court. The situation dragged on until late October, at which time Young informed Sandwich that closure had finally been achieved. The owners of the more successful privateers banded together to put up the money to pay the damages claimed for the Hamond which her owners accepted.[70]

With settlement, privateering was free to move forward. Apart from Young, the only individual in the islands who did not respond favorably was Governor Hay. He still disagreed with issuing letters of marque and felt the policy would result in trouble. After acknowledging his grudging compliance with the new policy, Hay vowed: "I shall ever be very cautious how I grant such Commissions. I have no great opinion of many of the Traders and Seafaring people of the West Indies; and I wish such Commissions be not often much abused."[71]

Although not adverse to the idea of issuing letters of marque, Lieutenant Governor Dalling of Jamaica was in a quandary over the matter. Despite pending authorization from Britain, he felt uncertain if he, as only an acting interim governor, had the same power. He was also troubled about having ignored Howe's earlier order against issuing letters of marque to vessels sailing for mainland North America. That directive was seemingly still in effect in November, 1777.[72]

While the debates over non-commissioned vessels progressed in England, the activities of West Indian privateers continued and remained steady for the rest of the year. Captain Phillips, with the ten gun Reprisal added to that sloop's growing list of successes on July 19. The Antiguan met rebel Captain Joseph White's privateer sloop Christiana, heavily armed with sixteen double-fortified four and six-

pounders. By one account, the action was stiff, lasting three and a half hours and resulting in the death of White and three of his crew and the wounding of several others. By another account, the first broadside from the Reprisal ended White's life, and his death so disheartened his crew that they immediately surrendered.[73]

Also in July, Tortolan crews continued to upset the Danes. On the 9th, Governor Peter Clausen wrote Burt a lengthy letter outlining the illegalities of the privateers' actions in general and complaining specifically about another seizure. A schooner that had arrived from the rebel mainland, but which was owned by two local Danes, was taken in Danish waters after arriving at St. Thomas. Another Danish owned vessel, a sloop which Clausen admitted was carrying American goods, was also seized. The nature of her cargo did not, however, stop the Danish governor from registering a protest.[74]

Armed vessels from St. Christopher, as well, continued to sail against the rebels. On August 20, the brig Friendship, Captain Campbell, arrived in New York with the prize sloop Hannah, Captain Read, of North Carolina. Her cargo consisted of naval stores and lumber.[75]

Some West Indian captains were capable of tenacity and boldness, as was evident by the conduct of James Morris and his crew when their schooner, the Surprise, attacked, and after a nine hour fight, captured the schooner Mars, Captain Tatum. Tatum's schooner held the advantage in weight of metal, being armed with four four-pounders and two two-pounders, a five barreled organ gun, and small arms. Furthermore, her appearance of superiority was enhanced with six faux wooden guns. Despite this, armed with only swivel guns, Morris pressed a successful attack for which, in addition to the prize and her cargo of "superfine and common flour, bread, bisquit, &c. &c. &c.," he received the accolades of the press.[76]

In early August, the fourteen gun ship Mary, commanded by Henry Johnson and owned by Hercules Ross of Kingston, Jamaica, sailed from New York for Jamaica in convoy with a brig, a schooner, and a sloop. Shortly after clearing Sandy Hook, the group caught the eye of Captain Rathbun on the Providence. Not intimidated by either the size or number of the opposition, the next day Rathbun commenced his attack on what he must have thought would be easy pickings. He was wrong. In the first part of what would be a three hour action, the Mary, joined later by the brig and schooner, gave the Providence a drubbing. At one point during this time, the two key antagonists became fouled, enabling the crew of the Mary to resort to blunderbusses and other small arms at extremely close range, clearing the rebel's quarter-deck in the process. The Providence managed to disentangle herself only to be raked fore and aft by her opponent. Eventually, the rebel was forced to bear away, make repairs, and deal with several killed and wounded. Then, just after sunset, Rathbun made a second attack on the Mary which again was warded off. The schooner, however, had become separated from the group, and the rebel captain snapped her up before breaking off the engagement. Losses on the Mary totaled only one man seriously wounded.[77]

Rathbun had picked the wrong opponent in Johnson. As the Mary's Log shows, despite the fact she did not have a commission at this time, Johnson was looking for trouble. Throughout the voyage, the crew was kept busy caring for and practicing with both the great guns and small arms. Furthermore, Johnson stopped a French snow, and would have seized her had there been enough men for a prize crew. In November, after arriving in Jamaica, Johnson applied for and received a letter of marque.[78]

Other craft were making forays out of Jamaica. On September 15, on their first cruise, a privateer schooner and sloop out of Kingston,

sent in as prize, the eighteen gun, 160 man, rebel privateer Prosperous. This vessel had been sailing about the island for some while, causing trouble, and on several occasions, her crew had even raided ashore. In addition, the Jamaican privateer schooners Lady Keith and Rovewell were also successful, taking five prizes during the month prior to September 24. These were sloops and brigs with cargoes primarily consisting of lumber, rice, and flour. On two, however, a total of £500 in Spanish dollars was found.[79]

Vessels out of Grenada and Dominica were active too. From the former island, the privateer brig Revenge, Daniel Campbell, cruised during the summer and fall. On July 24, she took the Charleston schooner Driver, Captain Nog. On October 4, ten leagues to windward of Martinique, Campbell recaptured the brig Venus of Liverpool, initially taken by the rebels on her return from the Greenland whale fisheries with a cargo of blubber. The privateer sloop Lord Howe of Grenada remained active during this same time, but towards the end of the year, she was taken by the rebels. On November 6, the Antiguan schooner Revenge, with eight swivels and eight carriage guns, took the South Carolina sloop Owner's Delight, Captain Clement Conyers. The Revenge was both owned and commanded by Hugh Stevenson. At Dominica, on October 23, the sloop Unity was condemned as prize to the Lancashire Witch, and on November 7, the schooner Hawk was condemned to the sloop, Harlequin. These last two vessels actually letters of marque. While the legitimacy of these documents is questionable, their existence lent a new air of respectability to privateering in the islands.[80]

Once again, on December 12, off St. Eustatia, Captain Phillips and the Reprisal of Antigua enhanced their reputations as fighters. There, Phillips intercepted the rebel letter of marque brig Experiment, twelve guns, Captain Francis Morgan. In a fight lasting over an

hour, the rebel First Lieutenant, Mr. Ford, claimed the Experiment inflicted serious damage on the sloop and would have captured her had not the Experiment blown up. Ford and four others managed to survive to censor Phillips for what they perceived as his failure to send a boat to assist thirteen other crewmen who survived the blast only to drown.[81]

Of course, the Goodriches were active as well. On July 30 or 31, William, in command of the Hammond, arrived in New York from St. Kitts. During the passage, on the 25th, the forty ton Boston schooner Neptune, Arthur Wharf, Master, had been taken with a cargo of four-hundred and one barrels of flour.[82]

The arrival of the Hammond at New York at this time put her in a position to participate in a significant event, the Howe's campaign against Philadelphia. On July 23, the large British fleet (250 vessels by one account) passed Sandy Hook and headed for Chesapeake Bay. On the 31st, it was off the mouth of the Delaware. In all probability, the Hammond encountered at least elements of this armada as she made her way to New York. In fact, one rebel account states that she did. In September, the rebel press reported that a small squadron of between eight and ten privateers had followed Howe's fleet from New York and were intent on raiding in the Bay. The identity of these vessels and whether or not the Hammond was included is unknown, but in light of the situation it is difficult to imagine her not participating.[83]

Bermuda's place in the revolution was interesting and unique. An insignificant little part of the empire, a large part of the population was sympathetic to the rebel cause. With little to export and incapable of self-sufficiency, the island was reliant on other locales, especially the mainland colonies, for provisions. Consequently, Con-

gress's embargo on exports to other parts of the empire caused a serious problem for the island. In response, a faction of Bermudans led by Colonel Henry Tucker proclaimed support for the rebels and petitioned Congress to allow provisions to still be sent to the island lest the inhabitants starve. Fortunately for the islanders, they were in a position to negotiate by possessing two things much needed by the rebels, munitions and salt. So, a deal was struck. Bermudan vessels arriving with the designated trade goods were exempted from the embargo and would be sent home with a cargo of provisions.[84]

Although not in a state of open revolt, the initial lack of a naval or military presence allowed the pro-rebel faction to dominate the governor, control the island, and continue commercial activities with the rebels. The Prohibitory Act compounded the supply problem by making it illegal for Bermudans to trade with the mainland colonies in revolt. Not only did it make getting provisions far more difficult, Bermudan vessels dealing with the rebels became fair game for naval vessels when they arrived on station.[85]

Bermuda was important to the rebels for strategic as well as commercial reasons. Beautifully located for conducting operations in a number of widespread locales, the island had already proven its value as a privateering base during the Seven Years War. Because of this, in 1776, Washington wanted to make it a privateer "nest of hornets to annoy British commerce." Though this did not come to pass, the island was still important to rebel privateering because it supplied numerous fast, maneuverable, "Bermuda built" vessels.[86]

The rebels were not the only ones who recognized the island's potential as a privateering base. The Goodriches chose it also, because it was a good location from which to distress rebel trade. In early June, the South Carolina press reported: "Lord Dunmore's Gang there not only increases, but is exceedingly mischievous." It is dif-

ficult to determine which family members established any regular association with the island during the spring or summer of 1777. All indications are that Robert Sheddon, the Goodrich son-in-law, was there. William was certainly at the island in January and again in March, and it would be surprising if he was not there at other times after that given the presence of his wife and family. It is also quite probable that Bartlet Goodrich arrived there as well.[87]

At some point in late April or early May, Bartlet had also managed to escape his imprisonment. Having been initially sent to New London, Bedford County, Virginia, he there broke parole in early February. As a result, the Virginia Council ordered him placed under close confinement in Amherst County with a guard consisting of a sergeant and six men. For some unknown reason, following this, Bartlet was moved to Alexandria, and it was from there that he made his escape, possibly with the help of an outside sympathizer. He later claimed to have suffered great hardships while spending thirty days walking what he estimated to be three-hundred miles across country to Yorktown, Virginia. Bartlett either lacked a sense of distance or took a very round-about route while moving very slowly. Still, he would have covered at least a hundred and fifty miles, and there can be little doubt that pursuit forced him to move with caution. Upon reaching Yorktown, he was picked up by H.M.S. Senegal.[88]

By the fall, the Goodriches had established a firm presence in Bermuda. At some point after August, Bridger took over command of the Hammond, and though based in Bermuda, he conducted operations along the mainland coast. On December 12, he arrived in Philadelphia and then cleared the following day for his island base.[89]

Other loyalists, recognizing the advantages of Bermuda as a privateering base, arrived as well. The Goodriches were accompanied by a number of men of Scottish and Irish background, some of whom were

from New York. Unfortunately, most members of this initial group of arrivals have as yet defied being identified. One, however, was Pendock Neale, nephew to the governor's wife and later, a son-in-law. Neale fitted out a sixteen gun brig in late 1777 or early 1778 and went to sea. Another individual, Willoughby Morgan, was a bona fide member of "Dunmore's Gang" and directly associated with the Goodriches. Commanding a sloop named the Bartlet, he arrived in Philadelphia with Bridger in December. Following its instigation by these men, privateering fast became a significant facet of Bermuda's existence.[90]

The situation in the Bahamas was similar to that in Bermuda although not as serious or advanced. These islands, too, constituted an insignificant part of the empire and were treated as such. A pro-rebel element existed there as well. To a degree, however, rebel support was prompted more by profit than a shared or sympathetic political ideology. The poor Bahamas had long been a center of illicit trade for the continental colonies, and the locals, who naturally received a percentage of the action, were loathe to let business slip from their grasp. Furthermore, like Bermuda, the Bahamas relied heavily on the continent for basic provisions for survival. As a result of the islander's support, the Continental Congress granted the same trade concessions to Bahamian vessels as they had to Bermudan. Still, this did not prevent Bahamian ports from becoming bases for Loyalist privateers.[91]

As of July, 1777, the Bahamas had begun to emerge as a center of privateering operations. Captain William Chambers (possibly from New York and associated with Jamaica as well as the Bahamas) commanded the non-commissioned six gun sloop Gayton and a crew of twenty out of New Providence, beginning a career as one of the premier privateer cap-

tains of the war. On July 10, he captured two schooners from Charleston, South Carolina, and by mid-September, he had several prizes to his credit. During the summer, another unidentified New Providence captain expressed his intention of requesting a letter of marque from Lord Howe when in New York. Given Howe's views this must have fallen on deaf ears.[92]

By October, a Captain Mayes was operating out of the islands. While most privateers were enjoying some degree of success, affairs did not go quite so well for Mayes. On October 24, the North Carolina Gazette reported his Bahamian letter of marque Liverpool of 30 tons, armed with swivels and carrying a cargo of fruit and turtle to Lord Howe, was boarded at night and taken in Cape Lookout Bay by the local independent company.[93]

Forty-two specific privateers have been identified as being active in the islands during 1776 and 1777. As elsewhere, the vessels employed were a varied and ad hoc collection. Young claimed the majority were quite small and ill-armed, generally carrying only swivel guns. Described as mounting between four and eight swivels, the privateers of Tortola definitely fall into this category. It is evident, however, that a considerable number of vessels were much larger. Of the fourteen privateers for which specific armaments are given, only four fall into the small-arms/swivel gun category. The remaining ten carried far more substantial ordnance. These mounted between six and eighteen carriage guns. The disbursement of this ordnance was evenly spread out as follows: one vessel with six cannon, two with eight, two with ten, two with fourteen, two with sixteen, and one with eighteen.[94]

Vessel type is known for thirty-five privateers. These reflect a nascent trend for larger craft in that there were six brigs and one

ship. Still, the preference was for sloops and schooners with the first category represented by thirteen vessels and the second by eleven. Four more were classed as boats. One of these was sloop-rigged, another was referred to as a passage boat, and a third was defined as a schooner- rigged pilot boat.

With regards to crew sizes, all evidence points to them generally having been between twenty and thirty men. Apart from the boat with only ten crew members, the diminutive Tortolan privateers were described as being manned with such numbers. In conjunction, another vessel had thirty, the Gayton's crew totaled twenty, the Hammond had a compliment of nineteen, seemingly in addition to officers, and Governor Morris's privateer carried at least twenty-six. These figures reflect a tendency for crews comparatively larger than Dunmore's, but not as large as those from East Florida and Nova Scotia. There were, of course exceptions with larger compliments. The Lord Howe's crew included forty-seven individuals, while the British Hero had eighty. Still, between twenty and thirty men seems to have been the norm. If this figure is accepted, then at least about a thousand men served on the forty-one identified vessels. On the two vessels for which racial composition was noted, both appear to have been heavily mixed.[95]

As has been evident the capture of a prize generally occurred after a chase, sometimes followed by a traditional gun duel. Other methods involving deception and subterfuge were also employed. The tactics of one crew were described in the Pennsylvania Gazette.

> The Governor of Anguilla's little passage-boat, Bermudian built, lies ready, and a number of whites, molattoes and negroes go on board, with each a musket, whenever they see a vessel off that will answer their purpose; - this vessel sails fast, and not more than two or three men are seen on the deck at a time, until they are along side, when they immediately board. In this manner they took a sloop belonging to your port, and another belonging to North Carolina, three days ago, on one cruize.[96]

The following story offers a classic example of privateer chicanery. On October 20, in the harbor at St. Eustatia, Captain Benjamin

Tucker of the Connecticut sloop Welcome (perhaps misnamed in light of what was about to happen) signed on four new hands. Little did Tucker realize they were Tortolan privateersmen. Clearly having been unable to enter the neutral harbor to take the Welcome by force, the privateers put four of their mates ashore with orders to seize her by means of trickery. At 6:30 p.m. they took control of the unsuspecting Yankee, cutting her out of the harbor and sailing for their home island.[97]

Despite the fact that this redistribution of wealth at sea could get rather rough at times, at least some of the island privateers were kind and considerate enough in their treatment of prisoners to receive testimonials from them in the rebel press. One of these, in reference to William Chambers stated:

> He put us all on Shore at Providence next Day, and behaved very genteelly to us, never suffering either Passengers or Seamens Chests to be searched, and gave us many small Articles. He gave Mr. Petrie his Negroe Fellow. Should Capt. Chambers be taken by any American Vessel, I hope he may be treated in as genteel a Manner, and it may not be amiss to make this publick.[98]

A similar notice was published regarding Hugh Stevenson's conduct.

> [W]e learn, that they received the most polite and humane usage from Capt. Stevenson, as well as from his first Lieutenant, Mr. Whipple: Their treatment of them was so uncommonly kind and generous that they cannot help desiring this account may be published.[99]

Finally, it need be noted that although French, Danish, Dutch, and Spanish vessels were occasionally seized, they might also be assisted when in need. In late June or early July, 1777, a Spanish seventy-four gun man-of-war became ensnared within a reef called the Anagada Shoals. Upon signaling her distress, a Tortolan armed vessel came to the rescue, piloting the Spaniard to safety and saving her from almost certain destruction.[100]

By the end of 1777, privateering was firmly established in the West Indies, the Bahamas, and Bermuda, and well on the road to becoming legitimate. Numbers, successes, and losses, however, cannot be determined definitively given the incompleteness of the documentary rec-

ord. Still, some fairly substantial figures indicating a good level of activity resulting in considerable success with comparatively few losses can be computed. As indicated, no less than forty-two privateers were active. They captured no less than eighty-eight prizes. Of these, the nationality is known for forty-three. Thirty were rebel vessels, seven were French, four were Danish, one was Spanish, and another was Dutch. When stated, the English sounding names of captains or vessels indicate the majority of the remainder were probably American as well. The type of vessel is recorded for fifty-one prizes and included twenty-three sloops, twenty schooners, nine brigs or brigantines, and one ship. Significantly, five of the vessels seized were privateers or letters of marque. This, in conjunction with the intensity of a number of the actions serves to illustrate these men were generally sincere in their purpose to use privateers to fight fire with fire and thus, protect their trade. The record of success just outlined was achieved while suffering the known loss of only three vessels.

The nature of the seized cargoes was also significant. Several carried arms and munitions. A number of others carried significant amounts of provisions and materials. The value (as far as is known in local currency) was reported for six vessels and their cargoes, and range between £655 and £1605, with the remaining four figures, £775, £995, £1115, and £1385, being fairly evenly spaced between. As such, they seem representative. When averaged, a rough value figure of £1090 per prize, local currency, is derived. If accepted and extrapolated, the total value of all the prizes might have been as high as £93,480, a rather tidy sum. In any case, the evidence supports a significant total.[101]

The islands' privateers had proven their value by seizing a large number of prizes while suffering relatively few losses. Their

success can be counted in another way. It was estimated their activities forced rebel insurance up another five percent over the standard twenty. Also, the prize goods brought in went a long way to help supply the needy islands.[102]

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 11

[1]King George's Proclamation, August 23, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 1:1216.

[2]Dixon & Hunter's Virginia Gazette, February 7, 1777, p. 2; Maryland Gazette, December 31, 1776, Master's Log, Roebuck, January 10, 1777, and Narrative of Hamond, [January 21 to 27, 1777], in Morgan, NDAR, 7:670, 915, 1048-1049; Maryland Council to Robert Townsend Hooe, May 30, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:1045; and Abstracts, James Calhoun to Governor Thomas Johnson, April 23, 1777, and Deposition of Lawrence Sanford, May 31, 1777, in Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 4, Pt. 2, The Red Books, The Hall of Records Commission No. 8 (State of Maryland, 1953), pp. 154, 166.

[3]Vice Admiral James Young to Philip Stephens, August 30, 1775, and April 7, 1776, in George F. Tyson, Jr. ed., Powder Profits & Privateers: A Documentary History of the Virgin Islands During the Era of the American Revolution, Occasional Papers I (Virgin Islands Bureau of Libraries, Museums & Archaeological Services, Department of Conservation & Cultural Affairs, 1977), pp. 34, 35-36; Young to Stephens, August 10, 1776, Public Advertiser, July 15, July 29, and August 14, 1776, Journal of Ambrose Serle, September 14, 1776, and Young to Stephens, September 30, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 6:142, 476, 512, 543, 823, 1075; Young to Stephens, December 7 and 13, 1776, Young to Governor Johannes De Graaff, December 14, 1776, Public Advertiser, October 25, 1776, Governor Thomas Shirley to Count D'Argout, January 8, 1777, Young to Stephens, January 27, 1777, Young to D'Argout, February 7, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:407, 479, 486-487, 711, 902, 1049, 1139; News from St. Christopher, April 12, 1777, in Morgan NDAR, 8:333; Samuel Martin, to the Earl of Sandwich, April 4, 1777, in G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owen, eds., The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich First Lord of the Admiralty 1771-1782, 4 vols. (Navy Records Society, MDCCCCXXXII-MDCCCCXXXVIII), 1:402-403; and Governor Edward Hay to Germain, July 17, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:295.

[4]Young to Stephens, April 7, 1776, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, p. 36 (see also NDAR, 4:704-705); Jack Thompson to S. Burling, April 13, 1776, George Jackson to Vice Admiral Clark Gayton, February 17, 1776, Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to Vice Admiral John Montagu, March 23, 1776, in Clark, NDAR, 4:807, 918, 989; Public Advertiser, July 15, and July 29, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 6:476, 512; Governor Edward Hay to Young, February 23, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:1272; Samuel Martin to Sandwich, April 4, 1777, in Barnes and Owen,

Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:402-403; Governor Thomas Shirley to Young, February 11, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/300 (see also NDAR, 7:1175); Germain to H.M. Attorney and Solicitor General, June 9, 1777, PRO, CO5/160/83; and Hay to Germain, July 17, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:295.

[5]Gaine's New-York Gazette, January 6, 1777, p. 2, and January 13, 1777, p. 1.

[6]Gaine's New-York Gazette, March 17, 1777, p. 2.

[7]Public Advertiser, October 30, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:718.

[8]Dixon & Hunter's Virginia Gazette, April 4, 1777, p. 2; Editorial text and Nicholas Cruger to Coxe, Truman & Coxe, March 15, 1777, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, pp. 34, 37; Thomas Warner to Young, January 7 and 11, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/276, 286 (see also NDAR, 7:880-883, 932-935); and William Bingham to Silas Deane, February 2, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:1090.

[9]King George's Proclamation, August 23, 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 1:1216; and Warner to Young, January 7, and January 11, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/276, 286.

[10]Young to Warner, January 8, 1777, and Warner to Young, January 7 and 11, 1777, CO5/126/274, 276, 286 (see also NDAR, 7:902-903); and Owner's Instructions to Captain William Bell, armed sloop Reprisal, January 31, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:1075-1076. For a brief narrative based on the principal correspondence of some of the key figures and outlining a number of the events involving Young and the Leeward Island privateers discussed in the following pages, see A. G. Jamieson, "Admiral James Young and the 'Pirateers', 1777," The Mariner's Mirror 65 (February, 1979) 69-75.

[11]Young to Warner, January 8, 1777, and Young to Governor Craister Greathead, January 16, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/274, 290 (see also NDAR, 7:903-904, 976-977).

[12]Warner to Young, January 11, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/286.

[13]Young to Greathead, January 16, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/290.

[14]Greathead to Young, January 19, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/291 (see also NDAR, 7:999).

[15]London Chronicle, March 25-27, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:721; Report and Decree, Morto Downey vs. sloop Mary, January 28, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/308 (see also NDAR, 7:1055-1058); and Owner's Instructions to Captain William Bell, armed sloop Reprisal, [January 31, 1777] and editorial note, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:1074-1076, 1076 n. 3.

[16]Bingham to Deane, February 2, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:1090.

[17]Young to Governor Thomas Shirley, February 3, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/296; and Bingham to Deane, February 2, 1777, and Young to the Governors of Grenada, Barbados, and St. Vincent, February 3, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:1090, 1099-1100.

[18]Compté D'Argout to Young, February 2, 1777, and Young to D'Argout, February 7, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:1088-1089, 1138-1140; and A

List of All Captures...Condemned, Dominica, enclosure with Thomas Wilson to Stephens, December 12, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:723.

[19]Proclamation of Young, February 7, 1777, Young to Captain John Chapman, H.M. Sloop Shark, February 6, 1777, and Young to squadron's captains, Leeward Islands, February 8, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/293, 294 (see also NDAR, 7:1133, 1140, 1151).

[20]Young to Chapman, February 6, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/294.

[21]Governor Valentine Morris to Young, February 12, 1777, and Governor Thomas Shirley, February 11, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/300, 302 (see also NDAR, 7:1175, 1184-1186); and Hay to Young, February 23, 1777, in Morgan NDAR, 7:1271-1272.

[22]Young to D'Argout, February 23, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:1270-1271; and A List of Vessels...Condemned, Antigua, March 8, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/312.

[23]Young to Stephens, March 8, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/268 (see also NDAR, 8:62-64); Affidavit of James Clark and John Hannah, February 18, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/272; and Vice Admiral Lord Howe to Stephens, June 5, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:27.

[24]Young to Stephens, March 8, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/268.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Young to Sandwich, March 8, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:389-390.

[27]Young to Stephens, June 12, 1777, PRO, CO5/127/138 (see also NDAR, 9:98-99).

[28]Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, p. 396; Gaine's New-York Gazette, March 24, 1777, p. 3; Master's Log, Roebuck, January 10-14, 1777, and Narrative of Hamond, [January 21 to 27, 1777], in Morgan, NDAR, 7:915, 932, 954, 1048-1049; Maryland Council to Hooe, May 30, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:1045; and Abstracts, Calhoun to Johnson, April 23, 1777, and Deposition of Sanford, May 31, 1777, in Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 4, Pt. 2, Red Books, pp. 154, 166; Memorial of William Goodrich, PRO, AO13/95/pt. 1/G; Admiral Lord Howe's List of Vessels seized as Prizes, June 5, 1777, London, House of Lords Records Office, Main Papers, American Prizes, .301.4; and Keith Elphinstone to Tonyn, August 15, 1778, in Perrin, Keith Papers, 1:79.

[29]Gaine's New-York Gazette, March 24, 1777, p. 3, and August 4, 1777, p. 3; Hugh Gaine, The Journals of Hugh Gaine, Printer, ed. Paul Leicester Ford, 2 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, MCMII), July 30, 1777, 2:42; Purdie's Virginia Gazette, March 28, 1777, p. 1; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 2, 1777, p. 3.

[30]Young to Stephens, August 24, 1777, PRO, CO5/128/3; Young to Sandwich, August 25, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:399; Young to Stephens, March 8, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/268; Journal, H.M.S. Hind, Captain Henry Bryne, February 8, 1777, editorial note, and Journal, H.M.S. Portland, Captain Thomas Dumaresque, February 24, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:1149, 1149 n.2, 1291; and Young to Stephens, June 12, 1777, PRO, CO5/127/138.

[31]A List of Vessels...Condemned, Antigua, March 8, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/312; Young to D'Argout, February 23, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:1271; and Pennsylvania Gazette, April 23, 1777, p. 2.

[32]List of All Captures...Condemned, Dominica, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:723; London Chronicle, May 20 to May 22, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:62; and London Chronicle, December 18 to December 20, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:962.

[33]Text and Governor William M. Burt to Germain, June 14, 1778, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, pp. 57, 76.

[34]Commandant Thomas Malleville to John Fahie, February 27, 1777, and Fahie to Craister Greathead, March 4, 1777, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, pp. 59-61.

[35]Fahie to Greathead, March 4, 1777, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, pp. 60-61; and Pennsylvania Gazette, April 23, 1777, p. 2.

[36]News from St. Christopher, April 12, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:333.

[37]Ibid.; Young to Sandwich, May 1, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:393; Pennsylvania Gazette, April 23, 1777, p. 2.

[38]Circular letter, Admiral Lord Howe to West Indian Governors, April 20, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:388; and Governor John Dalling to Admiral Lord Howe and General Howe, October 18, and November 14, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:209, 494.

[39]Captain Andrew Snape Hamond to Hans Stanley, September 24, 1776, A. S. Hamond/Hans Stanley Correspondence, and Hamond's Account, circa March 18, 1777, Book 3, [pp. 15-16], Hamond Naval Papers, Vols. 1 and 2, respectively, University of Virginia Library.

[40]Young to Stephens May 2, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:900-901; Young to Sandwich, May 1, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:392-393; and Governor William M. Burt to Governor Peter Clausen, July 15, 1777, and same to Germain, July 30 1777, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, pp. 66-67, 69.

[41]Young to the Marquis DeBouillé, May 25, 177, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:1030-1031.

[42]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, April 28, 1777, p. 3, and May 26, 1777, p. 6; Affidavit of John Adams, April 18, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:95; Enclosure, French Vessels taken by English Privateers, with Marquis DeBouillé to Young, May 15, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:976; and H. K. to Lord George Macartney, April 11, 1777, Germain to Governor William M. Burt, March 10, 1778, and Burt to Germain, June 14, 1778, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, pp. 37, 75-76.

[43]Pennsylvania Gazette, April 23, 1777, p. 2; Enclosure, DeBouillé to Young, May 15, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:976; Articles of Agreement, privateer sloop Howe, November 1, 1777, and List of All Captures...Condemned, Dominica, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:373-374, 723;

Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, April 28, 1777, p. 3, and July 7, 1777, p. 3; Governor Peter Clausen to Governor William M. Burt, July 9, 1777, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, p. 64; Accounts for sale of schooner Rebecca, July 14, 1777, and sale of sloop Orange, July 14, 1777, Letter Books of George, Earl Macartney, CO101/21/1/6, 8; and Pennsylvania Gazette, July 23, 1777, p. 2.

[44]Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 13, 1777, p. 2.

[45]Declaration of Manuel Del Zerro Rubio (translation), October 4, 1777, and editorial notes, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:872-873, 873 n. 1 and 2.

[46]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, May 19, 1777, p. 3, and May 26, 1777, p. 6. and Dixon & Hunter's Virginia Gazette, June 20, 1777, p. 1.

[47]Young to Stephens, June 12, 1777, PRO, CO5/127/138.

[48]Admiral Lord Howe to Stephens, June 5, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:27-28.

[49]Thomas Warner to Samuel Seddon, September 17, 1777, PRO, CO5/128/5 (see also NDAR, 9:937).

[50]Hay to Germain, July 17, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:294-295.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, July 21, 1777, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

[53]Boston Gazette, December 30, 1776, editorial text, Silas Deane to the Committee of Secret Correspondence, October 8, 1776, Public Advertiser, October 16 and 28, 1777, and M. Garnier to Vergennes, October 18, 1776, in Morgan, NDAR, 7:625, 677, 682, 692, 698, 716-717; Continental Journal, June 5, 1777, Public Advertiser, May 20, 1777, and Maryland Journal, May 6, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:538, 854, 921; Purdie's Virginia Gazette, March 28, 1777, p. 1, and May 30, 1777, p. 2; Boston Gazette, May 5, 1777, p. 3; and Samuel Martin to Sandwich, January 13, 1777, and February 12, 1778, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:218-219, 267.

[54]Martin to Sandwich, January 13, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:218; The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803, vol. XIX, January 29, 1777 to December 4, 1778 (London: T. C. Hansard, 1814), p. 3; Lord Weymouth to Lord Stormont, February 7, 1777, London Chronicle, February 27 to March 1, March 13 to March 15, and April 8 to April 10, 1777, Public Advertiser, March 11, 1777, and "Instructions for the Commanders of private Ships and Vessels...," March 27, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:572, 621, 662-663, 678, 715, 754, 758.

[55]Public Advertiser, March 11, 1777, and "Instructions for the Commanders of private Ships and Vessels...," March 27, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:662-663, 715- 717; and Germain to William Knox, June 13 and 15, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:376-377.

[56]Marquis De Noailles to Vergennes, April 4, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:472.

[57]"Act for enabling the Lords of the Admiralty to grant Commissions..." printed in Gaine's New-York Gazette, June 2, 1777, p. 2; and Public Advertiser, March 11, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:662-664.

[58]"Instructions for the Commanders of private Ships and Vessels...," March 27, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:715-720

[59]Public Advertiser, May 20, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:854.

[60]Deposition of William Bray Concerning the Sloop Chester, October 28, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:950; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, August 18, 1777, p. 2.

[61]George III to Sandwich, April 28, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:392.

[62]Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Germain, May 6, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 8:821-822; and Sandwich to Germain May 7, 1777, and James Marriott and George Harris to Sandwich, May 6, 1777, PRO, CO5/126/319, 321.

[63]Sandwich to Germain, June 4, 1777, George Harris to Sandwich, May 30, 1777 (X2), E. Thurlow and A. Wedderburn to Sandwich, June 6, 1777, and James Marriott to Sandwich, May 8, 1777, PRO, CO5/127/3, 5, 7, 9, 12.

[64]Thurlow and Wedderburn to Sandwich, June 6,1777, PRO, CO5/127/9.

[65]Marriott to Sandwich, May 8, 1777, PRO, CO5/127/12.

[66]Sandwich to Germain, June 4, 1777, PRO, CO5/127/3; Germain to H. M. Attorney and Solicitor General June 9, 1777, and E. Thurlow and A. Wedderburn to Germain, June 11, 1777, PRO, CO5/160/83, 87; and Germain to Sandwich, June 12, 1777, PRO, CO5/127/38.

[67]Germain to Knox, June 13 and 15, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:376-377.

[68]Sandwich to Young, June 27, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:395; Germain to certain Governors in America, January 10, 1778, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:737; and Stephens to Knox, January 9, 1778, PRO, CO5/128/9.

[69]Young to Sandwich, August 25, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:399-401; and Extract, Young to Stephens, August 24, 1777, PRO, CO5/128/3 (see also NDAR, 9:800-801).

[70]Young to Sandwich, August 25, and October 28, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:399-401, 402-403; Young to Stephens, August 24, 1777, PRO, CO5/128/3; and Extract, Young to Stephens, October 27, 1777, PRO, CO5/128/25 (see also NDAR, 10:326).

[71]Hay to Germain, October 24, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:272.

[72]Dalling to Admiral Lord Howe and General Howe, October 18, and November 14, 1777, and same to Germain, December 10, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:209, 494, 705-706.

[73]The Newport Gazette, September 18, 1777, p. 3; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, Supplement, September 15, 1777, p. 1.

[74]Clausen to Burt, July 9, 1777, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, pp. 62-65.

[75]Gaine's New-York Gazette, August 25, 1777, p. 3.

[76]Gaine's New-York Gazette, June 2, 1777, p. 1.

[77]Commission for ship Mary, Captain Henry Johnson, November 4, 1777, Log Book, ship Mary, Captain Henry Johnson, August 8-10, 1777, [pp. 2-3], in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/67/11, 12; Dalling to Admiral Lord Howe and General Howe, November 14, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:494; E. Arnot Robertson, The Spanish Town Papers: Some Sidelights on the American War of Independence (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959), p. 42; and Text and Trevett Diary cited and quoted in Rider, Valour Fore & Aft, pp. 126-128.

[78]Commission for ship Mary, and Log of Mary, August 19 and 29, and September 1, 8, 10, 11, 16, 24, 1777, [pp. 5-7, 11-13, 15, 20], in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/67/11, 12; and Dalling to Admiral Lord Howe and General Howe, November 14, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:494.

[79]Extract of a Letter from Jamaica, September 20, 1777, and A Letter from Jamaica, September 24, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:947, 961.

[80]Gaine's New-York Gazette, December 15, 1777, p. 2; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, January 8, 1778, p. 2; and Governor Lord Macartney to Germain, October 25, 1777, Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, December 20, 1777, List of All Captures...Condemned, Dominica, Deposition of Josiah Durham, December 23, 1777, and editorial note, in Crawford, NDAR, 10;296, 655, 723, 732, 733 n. 5.

[81]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, January 8, 1778, p. 2; and Deposition of William Bray Concerning the Sloop Chester, October 28, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:950.

[82]Libel, Advocate General, John Tabor Kempe, on behalf of the King, vs. the schooner Neptune, November 12, 1777, Deposition of Arthur Wharf and Benjamin Noble, August 17, 1777, and Invoice for cargo of the Neptune, n.d. PRO, HCA32/415/f (CW); Gaine' New-York Gazette, August 4, 1777, p. 3; and Gaine, Journals, July 30, 1777, 2:42. Some of the specifics in Gaine's versions are at odds with the more official vice admiralty documents.

[83]Journal, H.M.S. Eagle, Captain Roger Curtis, July 23, 1777, and Narrative of Hamond, July 31, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:320, 363; Purdie's Virginia Gazette, September 26, 1777, p. 2; Boston Gazette, August 18, 1777, p. 2; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 14, 1777, p. 3.

[84]Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, pp. 375-380, 386; and Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution, pp. 54-55.

[85]Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, pp. 380-385, 387-389, 397, 400-401; Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution, pp. 54-55, 82-83, 84; and Hereward T. Watlington, "William Browne, Esq. Governor of Bermuda 1782-1788," Bermuda Historical Quarterly XXXIII (Autumn, 1976): 53-54.

[86]Text and Washington quoted in Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, pp. 376, 379, 385, 386; and Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution, pp. 55, 105.

[87]Watlington, "William Browne," p. 54; Wallace Brown, "The American Loyalists in Bermuda," Bermuda Historical Quarterly, XXXIII (Winter, 1976): 82; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 2, 1777, p. 3; Memorial of Robert Sheddon, PRO, AO12/56/104; Purdie's Virginia Gazette, March 28, 1777, p. 1; and Memorial of William Goodrich, PRO, AO13/95/pt. 1/G.

[88]Purdie's Virginia Gazette, May 9, 1777, p. 2; Memorial of Bartlet Goodrich, PRO, CO5/95/54; Journal, Council of the State of Virginia, February 13, 1777, in McIlwaine, Journals of the Council, 1:341; and [Jos'a Beall to Governor Lee], June 21, 1780, in Archives of Maryland, XLIII, Journal and Correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, vol. 5, 1779-1780, Edited by Bernard Christian Steiner (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1924), p. 521.

[89]Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, p. 396; Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution, p. 84; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, May 21, 1778, p. 3; and Pennsylvania Ledger, December 13, 1777, p. 2.

[90]Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, p. 396; Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution, p. 84; Watlington, "William Browne," p. 54; Brown, "Loyalists in Bermuda," p. 82; and Pennsylvania Ledger, December 13, 1777, p. 2.

[91]Craton, History of the Bahamas, pp. 149-154, 156-157; and Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, 1:168.

[92]Gazette, of the State of South-Carolina, August 4, 1777, p. 3 and Supplement, September 15, 1777, p. 1; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, August 28, 1777, p. 3.

[93]North-Carolina Gazette, October 24, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:270.

[94]Analysis of vessels, here and in following paragraphs, is based on data previously offered in the course of this chapter which has already been documented. In the interest of saving space, this material will not be documented again here. The figures also include Pendock Neale's brig which may not have gotten to sea until early 1778.

[95]Pennsylvania Gazette, April 23, 1777, p. 2.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, November 25, 1777, p. 3.

[98]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, August 28, 1777, p. 3.

[99]Ibid., January 8, 1778, p. 2.

[100]Burt to Germain, July 30, 1777, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, p. 68.

[101]All figures are rounded off to the nearest £5.

[102]H. K. to Lord George Macartney, April 11, 1777, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, p. 37; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, December 2, 1777, p. 2; and Martin to Sandwich, April 4, 1777, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:391.

CHAPTER 12

"I APPREHEND...THE OPPORTUNITY WILL BE LOST:" NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1777 TO AUGUST, 1778.[1]

During 1777 and 1778, New York, already a bastion of loyalism, developed further in that capacity. As it did, the port emerged as the primary base of operations for privateering. The story of the activity's evolution during this time is often inextricably linked with trade. At the beginning of the period, the situation was bleak for both undertakings. Trade labored under the severe restrictions of the Prohibitory Act while privateering was simply not allowed. Numerous individuals desired a change in the state of affairs and with some there was an increasing awareness that the situation was actually doing more harm than good. Such attitudes in conjunction with several key events began to help push open the gates to allow privateering to be ushered in as a major loyalist activity. Progress was not, however, without opposition.

Regarding trade at New York, the Prohibitory Act simply dictated that nothing could be exported. As for imports, only certain commodities, various stores and provisions needed by the army, navy, and civilian populace, could be brought in, and this could only be done under government license. The severity of the situation was compounded by the virtually unrestricted power of the peace commissioners, the brothers Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Richard and General Sir William Howe. They actually possessed the power to suspend the Prohibitory Act for any colony, county, city, port, etc., which they deemed to be in a

state of peace with Britain and to have returned to the King's fold. Yet, despite New York's occupied status and loyalist population, the brothers never chose to use that power. In addition, Lord Howe, as Naval Commander-in-Chief in a locale under military law, had the authority to establish his own trade restrictions if circumstances dictated they might prove advantageous. In the same capacity, he could ignore relaxations of restrictions on trade and privateering if he felt it was for the good of the war effort. In any case, the obstacles facing individuals desirous of trading or cruising were two-fold: the Prohibitory Act and the Howe brothers, in particular, Admiral Lord Richard. The situation resulted in serious suffering for the loyalist merchants of New York.[2]

As of April, 1777, the negative effects of the Prohibitory Act on loyalist merchants at New York were being severely felt. There were complaints that even the limited licensed import trade was dominated by British merchants leaving the loyalists with at best only a small taste of that already reduced slice of the mercantile pie. Furthermore, most of the revenues generated by this trade did not remain in New York. The British importers were paid in cash by the army and navy, and they carried their profits home.[3]

The situation for loyalist merchants must have been aggravated by the actions of some of their British counterparts who, taking advantage of their licenses to sail to New York, carried additional, unauthorized goods as well. Basically, the game was played as follows. Having attained a license to convey a cargo of acceptable goods to New York, the shippers proceeded to fill out their ladings with other commodities which might also be considered necessary stores or provisions. These supplemental cargoes would be shipped on cockets for an authorized port, such as Halifax, which theoretically legitimized them, but the same would be consigned to an individual in New York,

and bills of lading and insurance policies were drawn up for that port. Because the licensed portions of the cargoes involved perishable or much needed goods, it was imperative that they be delivered first, which of course, made New York the initial port of call. Upon arrival, the captain or agent would inquire if any of the additional items might be needed, and if so, he would apply for dispensation to land them as well. If these commodities could not be landed, then the ship simply continued on her voyage to the second port. It need be noted that undertakings of this nature did involve an element of serious financial risk. There might not be a market for the goods at the second port, and the cargo could not be returned to Great Britain. Worse, the additional cargo could be judged illegal and claimed as prize by the navy. This is what happened with the ship Sir William Erskine during the summer, 1777. Carrying both licensed and unlicensed goods, she was taken by a rebel privateer on her passage to New York and then recaptured by a British man-of-war. Sent in to Halifax, the unlicensed portion of the lading was condemned as lawful prize.[4]

More flagrant were some West Indian merchants who, not having a license for New York, would stop there regardless during the course of a voyage to Halifax for which they were cleared. They would put into New York under the pretense of simply stopping to make sure nothing they carried was needed, or to request the protection of a convoy before proceeding. Officials were at a loss to seize and prosecute such vessels, because who was to say they were not actually bound for Halifax as their clearances stated, and certainly they could not refuse naval protection when asked. Few of these West Indian vessels were actually allowed to follow through with their schemes, but some were permitted to off-load, because they carried perishable cargoes and seasonal factors prevented them from continuing their voyage north.

Some others were allowed to sail for Philadelphia, after it fell to the British, where stores and provisions were needed as well.[5]

On July 17, 1777, General Howe issued a proclamation appointing Andrew Eliot Superintendent of Imports and Exports and outlining the procedures governing such activities. The wording of this document is general and rather positive in nature making it easily misinterpreted, if read out of context, as evidence of a relaxation of trade restrictions. For instance, the very fact Eliot was placed in charge of exports implies that exports were not only to be allowed but allowed on a significant scale. This is supported by the understated passage stating no exports could be made without first obtaining permission in writing. It all sounds very positive and simple.[6]

In reality, as documents of a later date attest, Howe's proclamation was anything but lenient. Rather than relax restrictions it served not only to remind people of the strictures of the Prohibitory Act and to back it up, but also to announce and reinforce Howe's immediate control over matters. Furthermore, regarding imports, greater restrictions were actually imposed on the licensed cargoes allowed into port. Owners or importers thereof were required to securely warehouse the stores and provisions slated for the armed services at their own expense. In turn, the storage facilities were to be locked and the keys deposited with Eliot or one of his officials. Finally, sale of the goods was contingent upon receiving permission from the superintendent. In essence, the merchants had just lost even more control over the situation.[7]

As to exports, the proclamation's implication was misleading in that in reality very little, if any, were allowed. Later correspondence indicates the only things that might be exported were the same stores and provisions that could be imported as per the Prohibitory Act. Of course, this could only be done on a licensed vessel. In turn,

such goods could only be shipped to other North American ports under British control where such commodities were needed. In practice, shipments of this nature were rare and subject to additional restrictions. For all practical purposes, exportation was still not allowed. Even vessels in ballast were not permitted to sail without the necessary authorization. From Howe's point of view, there was a degree of logic to his impositions. He believed they would prevent both smuggling and the loss of cargoes through seizure, by which the rebels could obtain much needed provisions and materials. Howe's regulations would remain in effect for the remainder of the period covered in this study.[8]

In terms of exports, it was bad enough to be unable to ship goods, but worse, New York merchants were forced to sit on accumulating inventories. Warehouses contained large quantities of goods acquired before the outbreak of hostilities, items imported under the classification of necessary stores and provisions which the army and navy then failed to purchase, and the collected produce of the region immediately surrounding New York. All these goods were in an inert state, tying up venture capital, creating additional expenses to store, and in general, resulting in an even greater stagnation of trade. As if this were not enough, there was an even greater accumulation of commodities due to the heavy influx of prize goods with which extremely little could be done.[9]

The first problem concerning prize goods at New York was the lack of a vice admiralty court that could legally condemn cargoes and thus get them back into circulation. Out of necessity, despite the fact the Prohibitory Act made it illegal to do so, the Royal Navy regularly sent prizes into New York for safe keeping. Once there, however, nothing official could be done with them due to the lack of a court. Tryon acted directly under the watchful eyes of the Howe brothers whose authority, in light of the suspension of civil government at

New York, superseded his. Therefore it was difficult for the governor to defy authority and simply set up an extra-legal court as Dunmore and Martin had done.[10]

Still, by December, 1776, if not earlier, Tryon was seriously considering opening a court because of the accumulation of prizes. He even went so far as to appoint Robert Bayard as Judge and David Mathews as Registrar. Thomas Jones, who, in keeping with his normal disgruntled demeanor, was greatly displeased with the state of the legal system in New York in general, declared Bayard "a person of very inferior abilities, and totally ignorant as to all matters of the law." Despite this view, all indications are that the judge proved himself at least competent during the course of his tenure. The court, however, did not open at that time. Nevertheless, Tryon continued to discuss the matter with some frequency. On January 9, 1777, he even declared he would open the court the following week, but then, on the 15th, he announced its postponement. Germain was privy to Tryon's intentions. On March 3, he penned the governor a letter conveying his doubts about the propriety of such an establishment given the circumstances. Basically, Germain felt there was some merit to the views of naval officers (Lord Howe?) that a vice admiralty court at New York would lack the proper authority to condemn prizes while that port remained under the strictures of the Prohibitory Act. This is significant, because it proves the position of the naval officers was not governed by some hidden, pro-navy agenda. Having a court could only serve to their advantage. As of June, 1777, an official court had yet to open. By then it was deemed that an act of Parliament would be required to make such a facility legitimate.[11]

Of course, throughout this period prize vessels and cargoes seized by the navy continued to accumulate, and there was considerable damage and waste with both, as in many cases they literally sat rot-

ting. Although a legal court had yet to be set up and acknowledged, necessity dictated, and some form of extra-legal system was in operation by early June. Tryon mentioned that many perishable cargoes had been sold and so would require Parliament's sanction after the fact. Samuel Martin asserted that numerous prize goods, including non-perishable items, were sold during the period preceding an official court. Martin, himself, was upset, because he had bought a considerable amount of prize tobacco only to find it could not be shipped from New York. In terms of imports and exports, prize goods were no different under the Prohibitory Act than any other commodity. They were subject to the same rules and restrictions. Compounding matters was the fact that undoubtedly a considerable amount of captured goods did not fall under the category of necessary stores and provisions, and as a result they would have been frozen in place with absolutely no hope of export. This posed a major problem not only for those involved at this point in a general mercantile sense, but also for anyone considering privateering. Even if prize goods were legally condemned, unless a local market existed for commodities, there was little, if anything, that could be done with them, and it would be impossible to realize any rewards for one's efforts. The situation was not encouraging.[12]

Martin made a second complaint. He asserted that New York officials were, in fact, allowing some prize goods to be shipped regardless, and the system smacked of patronage. He maintained that certain individuals who purchased an entire prize and her cargo together were able to obtain licenses to sail, while those who only purchased a portion of a lading were unable to receive authorization to depart.[13]

The practice Martin referred to was probably legitimate and reflected a loophole in the system. He further indicated that those who made the questionable purchases and who received permission to sail intended to take the prizes to England for condemnation. Therein lies

the catch that Martin apparently failed to understand. A prize which had not been condemned, which had not broken bulk, and which had not arrived in one of the ports prescribed by the Prohibitory Act, legally, must have been in a suspended state. A prize's presence at New York could certainly be viewed as temporary due to expediency, and an uncondemned cargo that had not been opened could technically be viewed as not having officially entered the port in the first place. Thus, it could easily be argued that both vessel and cargo were free to go to a prescribed port with a recognized court for proper condemnation.[14]

With the story of the brig Elizabeth, there is an example of such a situation as described by Martin. Seized by H.M.S. Daphne in May, 1777, the Elizabeth was carried into New York. There, because there was no court she and her cargo were sold as a single entity to Hugh and Alexander Wallace. They, in turn, sent her to Britain to be condemned and sold, which occurred at Glasgow in November. Of significance is the fact that in court, the Elizabeth was still treated as a prize to the Daphne and her crew rather than a possession of the Wallaces. What seems to have happened is that the Wallaces, acting upon speculation and perhaps as agents for the man-of-war, undoubtedly having had the prize appraised, gave the naval crew a fair market price for her, thus releasing them from the bind they were in. Then, manning the prize with a crew of their own, the Wallaces sent her to Scotland, where, upon being sold, they were reimbursed for their outlay. Of course, there must have been at least some profit involved, especially in light of the inherent risks in taking the prize across the Atlantic. What remains unanswered is whether or not the Wallaces were officially acting as prize agents for the Daphne at this time. Their actions were not inconsistent with functioning in that capacity. If so, it would add even greater legitimacy to the venture. In fact, all indications are that under the circumstances this system was far better

than going through the illegal channels existing in New York. Just how common this practice was remains unknown. At one point, Neil Jamieson appointed a prize captain to such a vessel, and another single source refers to several vessels at one time. Martin, himself, however, stated only a few individuals were accorded such consideration, and the amount of prize goods reported as going to waste indicates the lion's share remained in New York.[15]

This system was not without pitfalls. Before sailing, a license was procured for the Elizabeth to return with a cargo of wine from Bordeaux. After her sale in Scotland, she went to France and picked up her cargo as intended. (Of course, this all indicates the new owners were associates of the Wallaces, aware of the extended voyage, and willing to continue it.) During the voyage back to New York, the Elizabeth fell prey to a rebel privateer. Then, retaken by H.M.S. Rainbow, she was sent into Halifax. There, despite her license, she was condemned as a lawful prize for having defied the Prohibitory Act. The court of appeals later upheld the verdict.[16]

In comparison, those merchants who had only purchased a portion of a cargo faced an entirely different set of circumstances. To have bought only a part clearly means bulk had been broken, which tends to indicate the cargo had actually been libeled and condemned, albeit illegally. This would put the prize cargo in a position of having been officially entered into the port, making it impossible for it to leave, because it had technically become a commercially viable commodity for reexport.

An admiralty court was certainly needed, and this view was maintained by officials such as Eliot and even Jones, as well as Tryon. The static situation with the court lasted throughout the summer of 1777. Then, in early September, news arrived of "An Act to authorize the carrying of the Captures therein mentioned into any Part of his

Majesty's Dominions in North America..." (commonly simply referred to as the Prize Act) and the text of the Act was duly printed by Gaine on September 8th. This cleared the way for establishing a vice admiralty court and caused immediate anticipation over the opening of one.[17]

The Prize Act was, in effect, an amendment superseding specific parts of the Prohibitory Act. It allowed prizes to be sent into ports in rebellious colonies occupied by the British; in other words, New York. Furthermore, prize goods could be legally exported. While all this sounds like great news, there were, of course, some catches. The Prohibitory Act remained the dominant set of regulations governing conduct, and the Prize Act echoed its mandates. Licenses were still required, both to enter the port with a prize and ship captured articles. Needless to say and much to the chagrin of the merchants, the Howes were not willing to conform by granting authorization to export prize goods. Samuel Martin, among others, was particularly outraged later at being unable to ship legally condemned and purchased prize tobacco. At least one of his complaints to Germain was forwarded to Lord Howe.[18]

Of note is the fact that after all that had transpired, the Prize Act does not specifically authorize the establishment of a vice admiralty court at New York. Given the nature of the Act's content, however, concerning prizes and prize goods, it clearly takes for granted and presumes the existence of such a facility. The primary obstacles keeping the court from opening were the strictures of the Prohibitory Act, and those had just been removed. That the opening of the court at this point had become a foregone conclusion merely held up by technicalities is evident from the fact that in August, Germain had sent Tryon advice on how to operate it. The only remaining obstacle was attaining authorization from Lord Howe. Despite the fact Tryon lacked Lord Howe's sanction, but aware he clearly had the backing of

government, the governor moved ahead. The New York vice admiralty court was operational as of September 16, and the first case was heard the following day. Lord Howe gave his approval via a warrant officially authorizing the court's existence in October.[19]

Two significant obstacles blocking the instigation of privateering had been surmounted. In practice, a facility existed which could legally judge captures. In theory, it was possible to export prize goods. Prizes that had been waiting for hearings could finally be dealt with. For instance, William Goodrich's prize, the Neptune, which had been taken in July, was finally libeled in November and condemned in December.[20]

Still, licenses were required to ship prize goods, and the Howes refused to grant them. In late November, merchantmen still waited for the Commissioners to reverse their position, but the existing state of affairs remained unchanged until early 1778. As of the beginning of January, only a single license had been issued to export prize commodities. Of course simple practicality dictated that such a situation could not continue indefinitely, and seemingly, the Howes' restrictions soon began to loosen. This relaxation lasted until June 21, 1778, at which time Lord Howe, using his authority as naval commander-in-chief, placed an embargo on exports from the port. As of that date, only licensed vessels carrying only stores or provisions for the army and navy were allowed to sail.[21]

As noted, in January, 1776, Tryon had commented on New York's potential as a privateer base. Little progress was made in that direction, however, until early in 1778. In mid-April, 1777, word arrived in New York about the "Act for enabling the Lords of the Admiralty to grant Commissions...," and notice was promptly given in The New-York Gazette. On June 2, that paper printed the text of the Act. Just as in the West Indies, it was not too long before British letters of marque

began appearing in increasing numbers. They started arriving with regularity in New York waters in mid-summer. Between July and December, the Sarah Goulburn, the Sir William Erskine, the Brilliant, the Blenheim, the General Howe, the Britannia, the Ellis and the Patty made port at New York, while the Fanny and the Marlborough put into Newport. As in the West Indies, there is no record of how New York loyalists felt about the presence of these vessels when they were unable to procure commissions of their own, but there can be little doubt that their desire to be involved themselves was tweaked. Motivation was undoubtedly prompted further by the fact that some of these vessels, the Marlborough, the Sarah Goulburn, and the General Howe, took prizes on their passages. At the same time, the Fanny and the Patty had been involved in very serious engagements with rebel privateers. Encounters of this nature must have served to convince anyone who might have erroneously thought privateering would be easy that they were wrong.[22]

Another British letter of marque that arrived in New York, probably in July, was the ship George, Captain John Askew. Owned by Samuel Martin, the George can be considered a loyalist vessel. On her passage from Britain she seized a Connecticut merchantman with a cargo of tobacco, flax seed, and pot ash.[23]

Also appearing in late summer was Daniel Squier (occasionally David and sometimes Squires). Nothing has been found out about Squier's background to indicate he was a colonist. In fact, his letter of marque, the one-hundred-ton, two-masted, red Favorite Betsey, with twelve carriage guns, twelve swivel guns, and twenty-five men, was commissioned in England on April 16, and owned there. Still, Squier would spend all of his relatively lengthy privateering career on the North American coast affiliated in one way or another with New York. In light of this, it is safe to say that even if he was not a true co-

lonial loyalist, substantial portions of his crews were. Furthermore, his later vessels were actually fitted out, commissioned and owned at either New York or Bermuda. Consequently, by virtue of these associations, his vessels should be regarded as loyalist. In September, Squier was quite active, taking three prizes and sending them into New York. The first was the forty to sixty ton Boston owned schooner, Hannah, Captain John Hallett. Though in ballast she carried "a despicable Cargo of between two and three thousand Congress Dollars." Next, Squier seized the one-hundred and thirty-ton French brigantine L'Este off Ocracoke bar. Unfortunately for Squier, his commission did not allow him to take French vessels, so the proceeds of £796.4.1 (probably New York currency) for the prize were awarded to the Crown. In addition, the sloop Lovely Lass of Bermuda, with one-thousand bushels of salt, was destroyed. At this same time, the schooner Little Hope, with logwood and mahogany, was also taken. Declared a recapture in the New York Vice Admiralty Court, Squier received 1/8th of her value of £892.4.1, New York currency, for salvage.[24]

This leads to an important point requiring some explanation. A commission was only good for use against a single designated opponent. Therefore, if the owners and captain of a privateer intended to sail against both rebel and French vessels, they needed to obtain separate letters of marque for each.[25]

Another figure making his first appearance as a privateer at this time was Stephen Snell. Snell is as enigmatic as Squier and given the time frame, it is evident his commission was issued at some other locale, as well, but for all the same reasons of association, his vessels will be considered loyalist. In September, the schooner Sportsman was libeled at New York as prize to Snell. The vessel, itself, brought £200.0.0, New York currency, at auction. After costs, Snell and his associates received £117.8.9 for their efforts.[26]

Although the captures just mentioned were minimal in number, each helped counter the effects of rebel privateers on British shipping which remained significant. For the year 1777, Lloyd's estimated that 331 British vessels were seized, of which fifty-two were subsequently recaptured. While these figures cannot be considered precise, they do offer an indication that losses were substantial. No better proof exists of just how serious the situation was for British trade than the fact that to avoid losses, merchants adopted the practice of shipping in not just neutral foreign bottoms, but French ones.[27]

Little can be discerned about what transpired at New York during 1777 with regards to establishing privateering other than that a strong desire to do so existed. Joseph Galloway would later argue that the "Act for enabling the Lords of the Admiralty to grant Commissions" of 1777, allowing privateering in England, applied to New York as well and the activity should have been allowed at that time. Of course, that act authorized no such thing. Unable to procure commissions at New York, the people there began to seek them elsewhere. In mid-October, the rebel press reported that loyalists of that port had sent two vessels of twenty guns each to Antigua to fit out as privateers and obtain commissions. By late 1777, events were transpiring in Europe that would further facilitate the establishment of privateering for the King's supporters.[28]

The war had not been going as planned for the British, especially with the loss of Lieutenant General John Burgoyne's entire army at Saratoga in October, 1777. Consequently, by December, Germain was in the process of formulating a new strategy for prosecuting the war. Offering a radical departure from previous ideas, the secretary's scheme was presented in writing on March 8, 1778. Germain concluded that efforts to destroy Washington's army and attempt to occupy large tracts of uncontrollable territory were no longer viable. His new

plan, which to a degree was supported by Sandwich, almost exclusively emphasized a marine war. The intent was to start with a campaign of raids on the rebel New England coast. The proposed objective was the destruction of all vessels, warehouses, wharves, trade commodities, shipyards, and naval stores; anything connected with the rebel war effort at sea and their maritime commerce. Germain believed such a course of action was required to give some backbone to the Prohibitory Act, which, he realized, was otherwise really only serving to curtail and hurt both British and loyalist trade. Severely hurting the rebels at sea would, in turn, serve to create a safe environment for British maritime commerce. After the New England coast had been dealt with, the focus would shift in the Fall, 1778, and the same attention would then be paid to southern shores. General Lord Jeffrey Amherst, Commander-n-Chief in Great Britain, also supported Germain's views on refocusing the war effort.[29]

Germain's plans had circulated only briefly when a major event upset the proverbial apple cart. On March 13, Britain received word that France and the rebels had entered into a treaty of commerce and friendship and established a formal alliance. That France would soon commence hostilities in support of the rebels seemed a foregone conclusion. It was a whole new game. The probability of France's entry into the war forced the British to rethink the proposed strategy, and in doing so, significantly expand the scope and scale of operations. The naval aspect of the war remained a key element, but to conduct it successfully would require a much greater number of ships and men operating on additional far flung seas to protect commerce and colonial possessions. Within the British cabinet, the pressing concern was whether to concentrate the ships of the Royal Navy in North America or retain them in a defensive mode in home waters. Once again, the debate centered on Germain, who favored the first option, and Sandwich, who,

while backing a naval war, believed the second was better. Contentions between the two men were severe enough to provoke a cabinet crisis. Matters ultimately came to a head on April 29, 1778, with Germain getting his way and more vessels being assigned to the America theater. The bottom line of this situation was that the marine aspect of the war escalated significantly, requiring considerably more ships and men which were already in short supply in the Western Hemisphere. It needs to be noted that while the threat of France's entry into the war forced an alteration in strategy, negating a cohesive implementation of Germain's earlier ideas, various elements of his concept were later put into effect at various points in the war. With this new emphasis on a naval war resulting from the situation in North America and France's likely entry into the fray, the complexion of the conflict changed radically. The war escalated from an internal revolt to yet another international trade war, the final chapter in an international trade war that had been going on intermittently throughout the century.[30]

As early as March 17, Germain directed a chain of naval cruisers be established to watch the rebel coast. Unlike the earlier deployment of naval craft in which they were assigned relatively static positions off preestablished points on shore, the vessels were now to keep in motion patrolling larger areas. With the old method, the rebels knew where to expect men-of-war and so were able to avoid them. With the new plan there was no such security, and the chance of a random encounter was greatly enhanced. Upon receipt of the new strategy Howe put the plan into effect directing his captains to redouble their attention to the destruction of rebel shipping and trade.[31]

The reader is undoubtedly asking how this new role for the navy differed from the earlier one. In fact the purpose and desired results remained essentially the same, but there was, in fact, a significant

change due to new considerations. In essence, the navy went from being a police force attempting to control a rebellious populace to a true naval force fighting a real war.

Coinciding with these events was a growing reemphasis on employing loyalists in the war effort. Between the opening stages of the conflict and this point, the British had been treating loyalists as second rate associates, using them poorly, if not completely neglecting them. This attitude only served to offend loyalist sensibilities.[32]

Commenting on the situation, arch loyalist Joseph Galloway later stated:

> Indeed, it is difficult to determine, whether in the *naval* or in the *land* service greater discouragement was given to the tendered services of the faithful Americans. In both, the *spirit of loyalty* was suppressed, and would have been utterly extinguished, if it had not been fixed in a reliance on its Sovereign, which no policy or difficulties could shake.[33]

While some turned up their noses at drinking from the loyalist fountain of assistance, others did not. Germain had always believed the loyalists would prove invaluable assets, and he still did. Reliance on them was a primary element of the proposed southern campaign. In any case, increasing thought was being given to employing loyalists in more significant capacities.[34]

At this point in late 1777 and early 1778, there is no direct evidence indicating that these developing situations, incidents, or views influenced the commencement of loyalist privateering. All indications are, however, that privateering was considered a key element in the new plans, both before and after the advent of the French threat. As will be seen, the activity was viewed by at least some as ideally suited for the planned course of action against rebel trade and shipping. Certainly, privateers would also be of great assistance as an additional auxiliary force to help combat the French. That privateers were to play a role is evident from the fact that on January

10, 1778, Germain officially notified the North American governors by circular letter that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty had finally officially consented to allow them to issue letters of marque. In conjunction, another dispatch penned by Germain much later in the year strongly suggests he considered privateers as part of the strategic equation at this earlier date. Despite the fact a number of governors had already been issuing commissions and had been told that authorization for them to do so was forthcoming, this was the first official declaration stating they were finally free to do so. Of the utmost significance is the fact that Tryon at New York was included as a recipient of the notification. The news arrived in New York during the third week of March. On the 20th, Tryon acknowledged receipt of Germain's dispatch, and on the 21st, The Royal Gazette heralded the news. One might think this would have signaled the end of the debate on the matter. In reality, it was just beginning.[35]

Although the tenor of Tryon's dispatch to Germain did not convey the impression that there was an immediate problem, the governor did point out he had not received direct authorization from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to issue letters of marque. This was essential before he could do so. Tryon did note that the news was well received by the populace, so well in fact that several privateers were already fitting out on speculation and would be ready to sail immediately upon receipt of their commissions. Addressing the topic of the advantages of employing these vessels, Tryon continued: "Great expectations are form'd of their Success as the Commanders of these Privateers have a perfect knowledge of the Coasts, and will go into Creeks and Harbours, that will not admit of the King's Ships." Then, Tryon voiced an interesting and seemingly generally held belief that "Numbers of men in the Rebel Ships, will quit that Service, to enter aboard these Privateers." In other words privateering was believed to

be an enticement strong enough to cause rebels to change allegiance. If nothing else, this says a great deal about the low opinion loyalists maintained for the level of commitment of their opponents' mariners. As things turned out, the whole situation was a flash in the pan. Authorization from the Admiralty failed to arrive.[36]

That there was a problem and the Admiralty was having second thoughts about the propriety of allowing loyalists at New York to privateer is apparent from a dispatch sent by Germain on April 1. Another circular letter to the various governors, this stated that, because war with France was deemed inevitable, encouragement should be given to privateers to prepare to cruise against that country's shipping. Tryon, however, was not included as a recipient. This document certainly does indicate that using privateers was considered a part of the overall strategy in an expanded conflict.[37]

The entire issue of Admiralty authorization, however, was really moot, because there was an even greater, more immediate obstacle to overcome. Lord Howe, utilizing his powers as both Admiral and Peace Commissioner, was not about to allow privateering from New York. Having received a copy of Germain's circular letter, Howe wrote Tryon on April 11, expressing his views on the matter. The Admirals' primary concern centered on the ill consequences letters of marque would have on naval manpower. Believing their existence would hurt the King's service by luring away so many seamen as to effect operations negatively, the Admiral stated:

> I trust that you will, in regard thereof, be prevailed on to postpone the Issue of such Letters of Marque; at least in the present Circumstances of the War, or until the King's further Pleasure (if deemed necessary to be taken) can be had upon the Matter.[38]

Clearly, Howe had adopted a "We'll see about this" attitude, and intended to buy time while he took his case to a higher authority with the hope that his position on the matter would be sustained.

Howe continued with his opinion that Germain's directives were not obligatory, nor were they even applicable given the state of affairs in New York. It was Howe's view that only colonies in which civil government and law were still in effect were in a position to act accordingly. Howe next pointed out that the provincial assembly needed to sit to consider how to deal with rebel prisoners taken at sea by letters of marque, because the maintenance and security thereof was designated as that body's responsibility. With civil government in a state of suspension, however, the assembly lacked authority. Consequently, there was no means of dealing with rebel prisoners as directed, and so, by default, privateering could not exist. Of course, Howe ended his letter by bringing up the Prohibitory Act in conjunction with the fact that all vessels departing the port were still subject to licensing by the commissioners, and while he did not say so directly, the intent was certainly conveyed that he had no intention of issuing such documents.[39]

Tryon lost no time in penning a response to Howe on the following day. While noting that he would not immediately be issuing letters of marque, the governor was not about to acknowledge that it was Howe's authority that kept him from doing so. Instead, truthfully enough, Tryon simply mentioned as his reason the fact he had not received official sanction from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. He then pushed the issue by stating that only when he had received the Admiralty's authorization could he "determine on the Expediency of Postponing or Issuing the Letters of Marque." Then, subtly making it clear that two could play at Howe's game Tryon declared, "In the mean time, I shall loose no opportunity of communicating to the Secretary of State your Sentiments on this Subject, by transmitting him a Copy of your Lordships Letter." The situation was becoming an affair of chest thumping between governor and admiral for dominance.[40]

On April 15, Tryon again wrote Germain. After reiterating that he had not received the Lords Commissioner's authorization, he addressed the manpower issue that so concerned Howe. Basically, Tryon did not foresee the loss of naval manpower as a real problem, because if it occurred, the situation could be easily rectified. Letters of marque were subject to search by naval officers at their discretion, and authority could be given transport captains to do the same. Therefore, it was within the navy's power to search for and retrieve any crewmen who might desert. Tryon added that he did not think too many men would or could be secreted away in efforts to avoid being returned to their vessels. The governor's brief note to the secretary ended with reference to the fact that many loyalists would suffer "a deep chagrin and Disappointment" if not allowed to obtain commissions.[41]

Howe's letter to Tryon accompanied this dispatch to Germain. Also sent were the written views of John Tabor Kempe, the Attorney General, which Tryon seemingly solicited upon receipt of Howe's letter. Kempe's views are noteworthy not only with regard to the immediate situation of addressing Lord Howe's concerns, but also for their detailed discussion of the state and potential of loyalist privateering in general. Kempe's discourse opened with an assessment of how privateering would effect the manning of naval vessels and transports. In his opinion, problems were to be expected, and unlike Tryon, he could foresee no effective means of completely alleviating the situation.[42]

The Attorney General then proceeded to point out the positive effects of privateering that might counter the negative manpower issue. The activity would employ a large number of idle and otherwise useless vessels, some of which might otherwise cruise against the British. There is a thinly veiled warning here indicating some loyalists were becoming very disgruntled with British policy. In any case,

by instigating privateering, a large number of vessels would be put to good use in the service of the King against the rebels at no expense to the Crown. Because these privateers would primarily be smaller vessels commanded by men familiar with the finer points of the North American coastline, they were well suited to go where Royal Navy craft could not, penetrating the heart of rebel shipping regions and destroying their import/export operations. Then, Kempe stated that he, too, felt the existence of loyalist privateers would induce rebels to desert on the grounds that they were assured of beneficial employment in conjunction with a generally safer and more secure existence. Furthermore, Kempe maintained the activity would serve as an incentive to attract loyalist landsmen who still remained behind rebel lines and had not come in, because they feared the lack of means of subsistence or service in the army. In essence, Kempe was saying that while privateering posed a potential problem for naval manning, it would act to enhance the situation overall. "Add to this that the spirit of Privateering is so prevalent in this Province in particular, and in the Colonies in general, that we may expect the most vigorous Exertions will be made."[43]

On the issue of whether or not the directives of Germain's circular dispatch were obligatory, Kempe claimed he was not qualified to comment. He did, however, have a great deal to say on whether or not the letter applied to New York in light of the colony's governmental status. Basically, Kempe argued that the directives did apply, and Tryon could issue letters of marque upon receipt of the Lords Commissioners' authorization. As to the issue of caring for rebel prisoners of war, the Attorney General agreed with Howe's point of view, but then went on to say that there were ways to circumvent the problem.[44]

Finally, Kempe arrived at a discussion of the last point of contention which he believed posed an insurmountable obstacle. Even if

commissioned, letters of marque still required licenses to sail, bring in prizes, and export prize goods. The Attorney General then commented: "The want of these Licenses tis probable will give such a check to the Letters of Marque that few will choose to meddle with them."[45]

Others felt privateers would prove advantageous. Joseph Galloway and Samuel Martin maintained loyalist privateers would be extremely useful in suppressing their rebel counterparts. Some thought loyalist vessels could be employed effectively and profitably to disrupt the rebel tobacco trade, a commodity as equitable as specie and used by them to procure war materials. Others believed the activity would serve to hurt rebel trade with the West Indies.[46]

At this point it is necessary to clear up some confusion over the seemingly conflicting usage of the terms "privateer" and "letter of marque" in the primary source materials, and thus, in this text. What is apparent from the various documents is that the two opposing parties on the issue of granting commissions were thinking on two very different levels. The intent of the British was to commission only true letters of marque. There is no evidence indicating the rules and regulations of 1777 were in any way amended at this time to increase the scope of eligibility or activity. The existing laws and regulations were merely extended to incorporate a new region. As true letters of marque, vessels would have functioned in the capacity of cargo carrying merchantmen. As such, they also required licenses to clear and enter port. Thus, a vessel was subject to two controls. Yet, in the documents generated by Tryon and other colonists, the term "privateer" is often encountered. This, combined with references to their being able go where the navy could not and penetrate coastal areas with which they were familiar indicates loyalists planned to use their

vessels differently. They were thinking in terms of employing their craft aggressively as free-roving cruisers.

In his efforts, Howe had blocked not only loyalist mariners at New York from becoming involved in the war, but those at Philadelphia as well. When the British seized that city in 1777, they came into possession of a number of rebel galleys. Resident loyalists, familiar with the Delaware River and Bay offered to raise a force of 300 men to serve on these craft. Their intention was to engage the enemy, distress their trade, and protect British supply lines. Initially, the proposal was viewed favorably by Howe, and its implementation moved forward. Then, Howe suddenly directed that the idea be abandoned. The reason he gave for his decision was that there was concern among the lesser naval officers about the possibility they might have to take orders from a provincial of superior rank. This indicates the proposed force would have had a status more in keeping with a provincial navy rather than an independent, private concern. In any case, Galloway refused the proffered explanation, asserting that the real one was that the navy feared competition which could result in the loss of prize money.[47]

Galloway did not confine voicing his displeasure with Lord Howe to the situation at Philadelphia. He criticized Howe's handling of the naval situation in general as well as his response to privateering. With regards to the naval aspect of Howe's conduct, Galloway believed the Lord Admiral had failed grievously on two significant counts. First, the might of the Royal Navy under his direction had been unable to destroy what amounted to a much lesser rebel force at sea. The loyalist also maintained Howe had been unsuccessful in blockading rebel ports and hurting their trade.[48]

Then, the pamphleteer went a step further declaring Howe guilty of even worse conduct in conjunction with directing naval operations. The Lord Admiral's

> influence was made use of to suppress the zeal and exertions of others in the service of your country....Many of these Loyalists who had taken refuge under the protection of your Lordship and your Brother, and who had saved from the wrecks of their confiscated estates a small portion of them, were desirous of assisting the Crown in suppressing the rebellion. Many of these applied to the Governors for those commissions, and many privateers would have been immediately fitted out, could they have been obtained. But through your *influence and interference, those commissions were refused*. The zeal and proferred services of his Majesty's faithful subjects in the Colonies were suppressed - the orders of your Sovereign through the Admiralty were superseded - and the Rebel privateers permitted to commit their piracies on the British merchandise wherever they could find it, and even to seize your own supplies on the coast you was sent to guard.[49]

Galloway was aware of Howe's reasoning as to how privateering would negatively effect manning the fleet. Not accepting this, the loyalist countered with an argument along the same lines as Tryon's. In fact, they may have arrived at the same answer together given that they were known to each other and traveled in the same circles. In any case, Galloway maintained that the Royal Navy controlled the harbor and no privateer could sail without Howe's authorization. Consequently, all Howe had to do was issue a strong proclamation stating the consequences for harboring deserters on privateers. The fear this would instill would keep loyalists from letting such men sign articles.[50]

Galloway then proceeded to express his view on what he believed to be the real reason for Howe's recalcitrance in allowing privateers. As with the situation at Philadelphia, he believed the Admiral saw privateering as a potential conflict of interest. Privateers might seriously reduce the percentage of prize money available.[51]

In Lord Howe's defense, while there was considerable basis for Galloway's beliefs and his opinions were generally well founded, he was no naval expert, and he was being critical of matters he may not

have fully understood. All indications are that Howe was actually sincere and simply took his positions as Admiral and Peace Commissioner seriously. His task of bringing about a peaceful conclusion to hostilities was fast becoming impossible, if it had ever been within reach in the first place. Despite this, he persevered in his commitments. There is no evidence of his having had a hidden, pro-navy agenda.

With regards to his conduct of the naval war, despite the large fleet he commanded, its numbers were still insufficient for the task at hand. By mid-summer, 1778, in keeping with the new emphasis on a marine war, the navy was viewing as its primary role the destruction of rebel warships and the disruption of rebel trade. There was frustration, however, because there simply were not sufficient vessels to patrol and blockade the entire North American coastline.[52]

As to Howe's response to privateering, his concerns about the potential loss of men from the service to privateers were, in fact, legitimate, and he was not alone in this view. The situation that had evolved in the West Indies was evidence enough to warrant his fears. There was, however, an even more significant and legitimate reason for the Lord Admiral's actions. This stemmed from the role entrusted to him as Peace Commissioner. His purpose was to bring an end to the conflict rather than promote means of escalating it. In general, to use loyalists would have been tantamount to promoting civil war, which, of course, would not have been at all conducive to bringing about a peaceful settlement. Furthermore, as noted, the British, and even some loyalists, viewed loyalists as a group requiring the strictest control to keep them in line when in the service of the King. To a degree, there was some justification for this outlook. Many loyalists were clearly bent on revenge. In Howe's opinion, to allow loyalist mariners a free hand to go privateering was courting disaster. Without direct

supervision, what was to keep them from committing atrocities and even turning buccaneer? In turn, such actions would seriously jeopardize the peace negotiations, if they did not cause them to cease immediately. On one occasion when loyalists inquired about receiving letters of marque, an irritated Howe responded, "Will you never give these poor people [the rebels] an opportunity of comeing in." On another the Lord Admiral responded even more vehemently, "Good God! will you never have done teazing me? will you leave no room for a Reconciliation?"[53]

This argument concerning privateering's potential to upset the peace negotiations was, however, only valid up to a point. On May 12, 1778, Howe had a frank conversation with his personal secretary, Ambrose Serle. During the course of it, he expressed his opinion that the peace mission was at an end, and he was no longer needed. This being the case, he could no longer in good conscience rely on this particular argument to hold back letters of marque.[54]

The merchants and mariners of New York were upset over the inability to obtain letters of marque. For those actually fitting out vessels on speculation there were serious setbacks making the situation even worse. The navy pressed their crews. Unhappy with the situation, some chose to depart, and following the lead of their brethren in the West Indies, cruise without commissions. This practice does not, however, seem to have been widespread. One of the non-commissioned vessels was the sixteen- gun brig Tryon. She was commanded by George Sibbles who, after giving up command of the General Gage, had arrived in New York in February.[55]

The prospect of being able to ship prize goods and obtain letters of marque both was undoubtedly very attractive to merchants whose business had been severely restricted, if not brought to a complete standstill. The two activities were not only compatible, but mutually supportive as well, offering a chance to resume some form of business

and creating employment and investment opportunities. At the same time, these men had an appropriate venue in which to show their support of King and country.[56]

One noted loyalist historian is on record as saying that in light of the trade situation, he could not understand why any merchant remained loyal to the Crown.[57] This is quite an interesting statement in that it illustrates just how badly that writer missed the point. He was completely unable to understand that loyalist merchants could possibly be motivated by anything other than money. Rather than be critical of them, he should have been awed by their virtuous character which kept them faithful despite the fact remaining so hurt them economically. Yet, this was clearly beyond comprehension. Significantly, if this same view is examined in reverse, there is the unstated implication that merchants who became rebels did so simply to make money rather than for ideological reasons.

Whether or not Tryon was grudgingly bending to Howe's authority, he continued to refrain from issuing letters of marque into the summer. After Lord Howe, the governor's most daunting hurdle was obtaining authorization from the Lords Commissioners. On July 8, Tryon wrote Germain again, commenting not only on the fact he had yet to hear from the Admiralty, but also remarking on the negative effects the delay was having on the populace.

> [T]wo or three private Ships have gone from hence indeed to East Florida and got letters of Marque from that Government: such is the present discouragement the inhabitants here labor under: I apprehend when the Powers do arrive, the opportunity will be lost.[58]

In addition to those craft sailing to St. Augustine, at least one vessel fitted out at New York was taken to Bermuda to obtain a commission. This was the sixteen-gun brigantine Enterprize commanded by Daniel Squier and owned by New Yorkers George Moore and Pendock Neale.

The Enterprize received her commission from Governor Bruere on May 12. Squier's reputation as a privateer skipper was about to ascend.[59]

Captains who relocated and received letters of marque elsewhere were in a position to obtain licenses as well and so circumvent the restrictions of the Prohibitory Act and Lord Howe to a degree. Although they could not export any goods after the embargo of June 21, they could bring prizes into New York and the cargoes could be auctioned there. Although the competition must have been fierce, New York at least offered a market for provisions and stores. More importantly, these individuals had the option to send prizes to other ports outside the rebellious colonies where, if market conditions were not better, prize goods could be exported to other locales within the empire.

At this point, while progress had been made in allowing loyalists to undertake privateering operations, affairs had reached a state of impasse. Though discouraged, the loyalists did have a couple of reasons to be hopeful that the situation might change. In April, word had arrived of General Howe's recall for what was perceived as his lacklustre performance. At the same time, there was news of the imminent arrival of a newly appointed peace commission comprised of the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden. Lord Howe's powers would be reduced. The merchants and mariners of New York waited.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 12

[1]Tryon to Germain, July 8, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/258 (see also Documents Relative to New-York, 8:747).

[2]"An Act to Prohibit all Trade and Intercourse...," in Force, American Archives, fourth series, 5:1667, 1674-1676; The Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, to the Merchants, Traders and others...of New York, August 29, 1778, in B. F. Stevens, ed., Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-

1783, 24 vols. (reprint ed., Wilmington, Delaware: Mellifont Press, 1970), vol. 11, #1137; Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Germain, October 15, and November 17, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1179, 1219; Proclamation of General Sir William Howe, July 17, 1777, William Howe to Andrew Elliot, December 10, 1777, and January 22, 1778, and Memorandum [1778], Headquarters Papers, 6/621, 7/794, 8/901, 14/1651, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg (see also Howe to Elliot, January 22, 1777, in Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, 4 vols. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904-1909), 1:185; Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 28, 1777, p. 1; Memorial of the President, Isaac Low, and Corporation of the New York Chamber of Commerce, March 6, 1781, PRO, CO5/101/275; Memorial of James Wilson and Company, n.d., PRO, CO5/116/103; Wertenbaker, Father Knickerbocker, p. 206; Barck, New York City, p. 120-121; and Ira D. Gruber, The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972; New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., The Norton Library, 1975), p. 291.

[3]Serle, Journal, April 4, 1777, pp. 217-218.

[4]Memorandum [1778], Headquarters Papers, 14/1651, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; and Memorial of Wilson, PRO, CO5/116/103.

[5]Memorandum, Headquarters Papers, 14/1651, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library.

[6]Proclamation of William Howe, July 17, 1777, Headquarters Papers, 6/621, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 28, 1777, p. 1.

[7]Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 28, 1777, p. 1; Proclamation of William Howe, July 17, 1777, William Howe to Elliot, January 22, 1777, and Memorandum, Headquarters Papers, 6/621, 8/901, 14/1651, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Petition of the Merchants and Traders of New York, November 14, 1778, and Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, to Germain, November 17, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1212, 1219; Memorial of Wilson, PRO, CO5/116/103; Memorial of the President, Low, and Corporation, New York Chamber of Commerce, PRO, CO5/101/275; and Andrew Elliot to General James Robertson, January 19, 1781, in Milton M. Klein and Ronald W. Howard, eds., The Twilight of British Rule in Revolutionary America: The New York Letter Book of General James Robertson, 1780-1783 (Cooperstown, New York: The New York State Historical Association, 1983), pp. 179-182.

[8]Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 28, 1777, p. 1; Proclamation of William Howe, July 17, 1777, Andrew Elliot to William Howe, October 27, 1777, William Howe to Elliot, December 10, 1777, and January 22, 1778, Headquarters Papers, 6/621, 721, 7/794, 8/901, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Proclamation of Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, September 26, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 5/527; New York Merchants, Traders & Others to Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, n.d. (probably August, 1778 given that the response was dated August 29, 1778), Carlisle, Clinton and Eden to New York Merchants, August 29, 1778, and Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Elliot, September 26, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1136, 1137, 1164; Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Germain, October 15, 1778,

in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1179; Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce, March 6, 1781, PRO, CO5/101/275; and Elliot to Robertson, January 19, 1781, in Klein and Howard, Twilight of British Rule, pp. 179-182.

[9]New York Merchants, Traders to Carlisle, Clinton and Eden, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1136; Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Germain, October 15, and November 17, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1179, 1219; Elliot to Robertson, January 19, 1781, in Klein and Howard, Twilight of British Rule, pp. 179-180; Tryon to Germain, June 8, 1777, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:711; Martin to Germain, January 20, 1778, PRO, CO5/177/89; Samuel Martin to Germain, June 29, 1778, PRO, CO5/155/299; Serle, Journal, January 8, 1777, p. 172; and Gruber, Howe Brothers, p. 265.

[10]Elliot to Robertson, January 19, 1781, in Klein and Howard, Twilight of British Rule, pp. 179-180; Tryon to Germain, June 8, 1777, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:711; Serle, Journal, January 8, 10, and 15, 1777, p. 172, 173, 175; Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Germain, November 17, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1219; and Gruber, Howe Brothers, p. 265.

[11]Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, September 16, 1777 to February 4, 1778, September 16, 1777, PRO, HCA49/93/1; Tryon to Germain, January 7, 1777, in K. G. Davies, ed., Documents of the American Revolution, 21 vols. (Dublin: 1972-1981), 13:16; Serle, Journal, January 8, 10, and 15, 1777, p. 172, 173, 175; Ubbelohde, Vice-Admiralty Courts, p. 194; Jones, History of New York, 2:97-105, 104 n. 1; Germain to Tryon, March 3, 1777, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:705; Paul David Nelson, William Tryon and the Course of Empire: A Life in British Imperial Service (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. 147; and Gruber, Howe Brothers, p. 138 n. 23.

[12]Elliot to Robertson, January 19, 1781, in Klein and Howard, Twilight of British Rule, pp. 179-180, 182; Serle, Journal, January 8 and 10, 1777, pp. 172, 173; Tryon to Germain, June 8, 1777, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:711; Martin to Germain, December 25, 1777, and Martin to William Knox, June 29, 1778, PRO, CO5/155/189, 299; Martin to Germain, February 4, 1778, PRO, CO5/177/89; "Act to prohibit all Trade and Intercourse," in Force, American Archives, fourth series, 5:1671-1672; Martin to Sandwich, February 12, 1778, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:266; and Gruber, Howe Brothers, p. 265.

[13]Martin to Germain, December 25, 1777, and Martin to Knox, June 29, 1778, PRO, CO5/155/189, 299; and Serle, Journal, April 14, 1778, p. 285.

[14]Martin to Germain, December 25, 1777, and June 29, 1778, CO5/155/189, 299.

[15]Instructions, Neil Jamieson to Captain Thomas Wallece [sic ?], August 22, 1777, Extract of letter, Hugh and Alexander Wallace to Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet, June 4, 1777, and Affidavit of [illeg.], May 1, 1780, Papers of Neil Jamieson, 21/4800, 4813, 4910, Library of Congress; and Martin to Germain, December 25, 1777, PRO, CO5/155/189.

[16]License for brig Elizabeth, June 3, 1777, and Affidavit, May 1, 1780, Papers of Jamieson, 20/4795, 4910, Library of Congress.

[17]Elliot to Robertson, January 19, 1781, in Klein and Howard, Twilight of British Rule, p. 179; Jones, History of New York, 2:103; "An Act to authorize the carrying of the Captures therein mentioned into any Part of his Majesty's Dominions in North America...," in Gaine's New-York Gazette, September 8, 1777, pp. 2-3; and Commodore William Hotham to Marquis DeBouillé, September 9, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:901.

[18]"Act to authorize the carrying of the Captures...," in Gaine's New-York Gazette, September 8, 1777, pp. 2-3; Elliot to Robertson, January 19, 1781, in Klein and Howard, Twilight of British Rule, pp. 179-180, 182, 185 n. 16; Andrew Elliot to General Sir William Howe, January 5, 1778, and William Howe to Elliot, January 22, 1778, Headquarters Papers, 7/842, 8/901, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Martin to Sandwich, February 12, 1778, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:266; Martin to Germain, December 25, 1777, Extract of a letter from Maclean and Kelsick, November 14, 1777 and Martin to Knox, June 29, 1778, PRO, CO5/155/189, 192, 299; Germain to Lord Howe, February 4, 1778, and Martin to Germain, January 20, 1778, PRO, CO5/177/87, 89; and Serle, Journal, April 14, 1778, p. 285.

[19]Germain to Tryon, August 6, 1777, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:716; Hotham to DeBouillé, September 9, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR, 9:901 Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, September 16, 1777, PRO, HCA49/93/1; Elliot to Robertson, January 19, 1781, Klein and Howard, Twilight of British Rule, p. 180; Nelson, William Tryon, p. 147; and Lord Howe to Stephens, October 8, 1777, in Crawford, NDAR, 10:75.

[20]Libel, Advocate General on behalf of the King vs. schooner, Neptune, November 12, 1777, PRO, HCA32/415/f.

[21]Rivington's New-York Loyal Gazette, November 29, 1777, p. 3; Elliot to William Howe, January 5, 1778, Headquarters Papers, 7/842, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Martin to Knox, June 29, 1778, PRO, CO5/155/299; and Carlisle, Clinton and Eden to the Merchants, Traders and others of New York, August 29, 1778, and Rear Admiral James Gambier to Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden September 25, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1137, 1163.

[22]Galloway, Letter to...Lord Viscount H_ E., p. 36, in Selected Tracts, p. 282; Gaine's New-York Gazette, April 14, 1777, p. 2, June 2, 1777, p. 2, August 18, 1777, p. 3, August 25, 1777, pp. 1-2, September 29, 1777, p. 3, October 13, 1777, p. 3, December 22, 1777, p. 3, December 29, 1777, p. 3; Rivington's New-York Loyal Gazette, October 18, 1777, pp. 3, 4, and November 8, 1777, p. 1; Rivington's Royal Gazette, December 27, 1777, p. 3; and The Newport Gazette, August 14, 1777, p. 3.

[23]Notification from William Shaw and George Hall, Customs House, Whitehaven, Great Britain, September 17, 1777, PRO, CO5/149/495; and Martin to Germain, December 25, 1777, and Extract of a letter, Maclean and Kelsick to Martin, August 19, 1777, PRO, CO5/155/189, 192.

[24]Commission for letter of marque Favorite Betsey, Captain Daniel Squier, April 16, 1777, Libel, Daniel Squier vs. schooner Hannah, October 3, 1777, Deposition of Benjamin Crowell, October 17, 1777, Clearance for Hannah, August 20, 1777, and Register for Hannah, July 1, 1777, PRO, HCA32/347/12 (NC); Libel, Daniel Squier vs. brigantine L'Este, October 13, 1777, PRO, HCA32/325/15 (NC); Account of sale of brigantine Le Este [sic], December 1, 1777, PRO, HCA49/91/5/37; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, October 13, 15, and 27, and November 6, 1777, PRO, HCA49/93/32,35,71, 101, 129; Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 13, 1777, p. 2. In this account, the Little Hope is referred to as the Little Polly; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 24, 1778, p. 2.

[25]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82; and Three commissions for privateer schooner Active, one dated August 7, and the others dated September 19, in the twentieth year of the reign, Maryland Admiralty, 7871-1-34, Maryland State Archives.

[26]Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, October 17, 1777, PRO, HCA49/93/41; Account of sales of schooner Sportsman, November 7, 1777, PRO, HCA49/91/5/27; and North Carolina Gazette, September 11, 1778, in Clark State Records of North Carolina, 13:482.

[27]Middleton, Connecticut Privateers, p. 5; and South-Carolina and American General Gazette, November 2, 1777, p. 2.

[28]Tryon to Germain, March 20, 1778, April 15, 1778, and Mr. [John Tabor] Kempe's (Attorney General) Opinion on fitting out Letters of Marque, PRO, CO5/1108/185, 189, 195 (see also Documents Relative to New-York, 8:742-744); Galloway, Letter to...Lord Viscount H E., p. 36, in Selected Tracts, 1:282; Martin to Sandwich, February 12, 1778, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:267; A Loyalist, Historical Anecdotes, Civil and Military in a Series of Letters Written from America in the Years 1777 and 1778 to Different Persons in England, quote and editorial text in Crary, Price of Loyalty, p. 291; Davies, "Privateering Around Long Island," p. 283; Van Tyne, Loyalists, p. 179; Gruber, Howe Brothers, pp. 273, 278; Troyer Steele Anderson, The Command of the Howe Brothers During the American Revolution (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 312-313, 316; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 14, 1777, p. 3.

[29]Political Remedies on the Present State of Affairs in America..., March 17, 1778, and Germain to Clinton March 8, 1778, Germain Papers, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor Michigan (see also Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1062); Gerald Saxon Brown, The American Secretary: The Colonial Policy of Lord George Germain, 1775-1778, (Ann Arbor, Michigan; University of Michigan Press, 1963), 149-150; Middleton, Glorious Cause, p. 406; Gruber, Howe Brothers, pp. 273, 278; and Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats, p. 82.

[30]Brown, American Secretary, pp. 149, 152-154, 157-159, 162; Observation on the Trade of America & its Effects in the Present Rebellion, May, 1779, Germain Papers, William L. Clements Library; Middlekauf, Glorious Cause, pp. 404, 406-407; Brown, Good Americans, p. 109; and Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats, pp. 79, 84-85, 169.

[31]Political Remedies..., March 17, 1778, Germain to Clinton, March 8, 1778, and Observation on the Trade, May, 1779, Germain Papers, William L. Clements Library; and Gruber, Howe Brothers, pp. 273, 278, 290-291.

[32]Brown, Good Americans, pp. 109-110, 113, 117; Tebbenhoff, "Associated Loyalists," p. 121-124; Nelson, American Tory, p. 138; and Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats, p. 169.

[33]Galloway, Letter to...Lord Viscount H E., p. 42, in Selected Tracts, 1:288.

[34]Alan Valentine, Lord George Germain (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 433-436; Germain to Clinton, March 8, 1778, Germain Papers, William L. Clements Library; Germain to the Commissioners, November 28, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 5/543; John Shy, quoted in Tebbenhoff, "Associated Loyalists," p. 117; Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats, pp. 76-77, 83-84, 86-87, 168-169; and Brown, Good Americans, p. 109.

[35]Germain to certain Governors in America, January 10, 1778, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:737; Germain to the Commissioners, November 28, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 5/543; Germain to Clinton, March 8, 1778, Germain Papers, William L. Clements Library; and Rivington's Royal Gazette, March 21, 1778, p. 3.

[36]Tryon to Germain, March 20, and April 15, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/185, 189 (see also Documents Relative to New York, 8:742).

[37]Germain to Governors, April 1, 1778, cited in Davies, Documents of the American Revolution, 13/264.

[38]Vice Admiral Lord Richard Howe to Tryon, April 11, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/191 (see also Documents Relative to New-York, p. 743).

[39]Lord Howe to Tryon, April 11, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/191 (see also Documents Relative to New-York, 8:743).

[40]Tryon to Lord Howe, April 12, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/193.

[41]Tryon to Germain, April 15, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/189.

[42]Ibid.; and Kempe's Opinion on Letters of Marque, PRO, CO5/1108/195.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Galloway, Letter to...Lord Viscount H E., pp. 35-36, in Selected Tracts, 1:281-282; Samuel Martin to Sandwich, February 12, 1778, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 1:267; John Cruden Jr. to the Reverend Mr. Cruden, January 28, 1778, in Historic Manuscripts Division, The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth, vol. II, American Papers (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1895), p. 458; Historical Anecdotes, quoted in Crary, Price of Loyalty, p.

291; Messrs. Thos. Benbury & Rob. Smith to Gov. Caswell, December 10, 1778, Rob. Smith to Caswell December 11, 1778, North Carolina Senate Journal, February 5, 1778, and May 15, 1779, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13: 324, 326, 588, 776; and Observations on the Trade of North America & its Effects in the Present Rebellion, May, 1779, Germain Papers, William L. Clements Library.

[47]Galloway, Letter to...Lord Viscount H__E., pp. 40-41, in Selected Tracts, 1:286-287.

[48]Ibid., pp. 19-23, 29-31, 34-35 (1:265-269, 275-277, 280-281).

[49]Ibid., pp. 35-36 (1:281-281); and Serle, Journal, pp. 170-299, passim. Serle's Journal contains numerous references to meetings with Galloway and Tryon.

[50]Galloway, Letter to...Lord Viscount H__E., p. 37, in Selected Tracts, 1:283.

[51]Ibid., pp. 41-43 (pp. 287-289).

[52][Thomas L. O'Beirne], A Candid and Impartial Narrative of the Transactions of the Fleet, under the Command of Lord Howe (London: J. Almon; reprint ed., Narrative of the Fleet Under Lord Howe, Eyewitness Accounts of the American Revolution, New York: The New York Times & Arno Press, 1969), pp. 19, 43-44.

[53]Gambier to Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, September 25, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1163; Brown, Good Americans, p. 113; Tebbenhoff, "Associated Loyalists," 121-122; Van Tyne, Loyalists, p. 178; Cruden, Jr. to Reverend Cruden, January 28, 1778, in Historic Manuscripts Division, Manuscripts of Dartmouth, 2/458; and Historical Anecdotes, quoted in Crary, Price of Loyalty, p. 291 (see also Anderson, Command of the Howe Brothers, pp. 312-313, 317).

[54]Serle, Journal, May 12, 1778, pp. 291-292.

[55]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, May 21, 1778, p. 3; Gruber, Howe Brothers, p. 291; Tryon to Germain, October 24, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/285; Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 1, 1778, p. 2; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, February 6, to October 9, 1778, July, 1, and September 7, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/159, 208; Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, February, 2, 1778, p. 2.

[56]Barck, New York City, p. 231.

[57]Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 1:495.

[58]Tryon to Germain, July 8, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/258 (see also Documents Relative to New-York, 8:747).

[59]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, June 18, 1778, p. 3; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 24, 1778, p. 2; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, October 13, and November 7, 1777, PRO, HCA49/93/32, 107-108; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, September 11, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/209; Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 25, 1778, p. 3, July 29, 1778, p. 2, and August 12, 1778, p. 3; Neil Jamieson, Day Book (Account Book), 1777-1782, July 1, 1778, [p. 53],

New York Historical Society, New York, New York; Further List of Prizes, December 17, 1778, PRO, T1/540/6; and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

CHAPTER 13

"I MEAN TO GO TO BERMUDA, BUILD ME A VESSEL, AND COME AND SEE YOU:" OPERATIONS, JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1778[1]

Although efforts to establish privateering at New York had stagnated, between January and October, 1778, operations continued in other theaters throughout the western North Atlantic. At St. Augustine and Bermuda, activities escalated with an increase in truly loyalist vessels, some with New York affiliations. During this same period, the Goodrich family, especially Bridger, emerged as leaders in the enterprise. Throughout the different regions, privateers achieved a high level of success, and from the Chesapeake bay to Georgia, they forced the rebels to take considerable measures in response.

On April 11, 1778, the following announcement appeared in Rivington's Royal Gazette.

> On board his Majesty's Ship, St. Albans
> Hampton Roads,
>
> John Goodrich, [illeg.] having extricated himself from the Hands of the Virginia REBELS, (a Set of perfidious, cruel villians) wishes to see his Friends and Sons, to fall on ways and means to square the yards with his persecutors.[2]

Clearly reflecting Goodrich's anger, views, and intent, it is difficult to imagine a more direct one-man declaration of war. It is also difficult to imagine a saltier one. The reader almost expects a con-

tinuation with John Silver's declaration, "Them that die'll be the lucky ones."[3]

Except for one period, John, Sr.'s life had generally been unpleasant since being sent to Charlottesville for imprisonment in July, 1776. He later stated that at various times during the course of his detention and as a result of it, he suffered poor physical and mental health. He was also regularly ill-treated by his captors and often placed in irons. As of January 20, 1777, Goodrich had been held in a small room, seemingly in a private residence, for about two months. There, in a communication to Thomas Jefferson, he asserted he was frequently abused by a Mr. Jouette, and a guard, George Bruce, had threatened his life on a number of occasions. As a result, Goodrich was moved to the house of Nicholas Lewis.[4]

For a change, Goodrich's period of confinement at the Lewis household seems to have been comparatively easy. Margaret, his wife, was allowed to visit, and indications are she struck up a friendship with Mary Lewis. Certainly, the Lewis hospitality, if it could be called that under the circumstances, was appreciated by both John, Sr. and his wife.[5]

John, Sr.'s conduct as a prisoner must have been exemplary, because by February, 1777, there was discussion among more lenient rebels of allowing him parole within the environs of Charlottesville. This same element made it clear, however, that if allowed, the slightest infraction on the part of the prisoner would result in his being remanded to a sergeant's guard. Nothing came of the proposal at this point, but in June the idea was suggested again with a new twist. This time, Goodrich would be transported even further inland to Staunton. Again there was the stipulation that even a hint of trouble would result in Goodrich being placed in close confinement. Apparently throughout his captivity, John, Sr.'s case had remained a regular

topic of discussion among a number of Virginia rebels. Considering him a dangerous man, this group was quite apprehensive about authorizing his parole.[6]

The question became rather moot when on August 18, John Goodrich, Sr. escaped. With him went seven other prisoners, three white and four black. John, Sr.'s actions just prior to making his break for freedom are of interest. On August 10, he audaciously drew up a bill tallying the various expenses, debts owed him, and losses that had accrued directly and indirectly as a result of the family's involvement in the gunpowder affair and the consequences that resulted from it. Totaling £15,581.2.6, the account was left with Lewis with instructions to forward it to the Convention for payment. With this, he also left personal notes for both Mary and Nicholas Lewis. In these he expressed his gratitude for the favor each had shown him and his family, and he stated his regrets that he was unable to offer any recompense at that time. In the correspondence to Nicholas, however, Goodrich made it clear his efforts would not be forgotten when peace was restored. In the same, he willed the possessions he left behind to members of the Lewis family. In both notes, he explained that had he been allowed to remain a prisoner at either his own plantation or even in Charlottesville, he would not have considered escape. He was simply "Determined not to go among the Savages" at Staunton.[7]

In the letter to Nicholas Lewis, Goodrich expressed his views and feelings in greater depth. This convincingly shows that, at least in his own mind, John, Sr. sincerely believed he had done nothing wrong, and he had been much maligned and ill-used.

> I mean with Gods Permission to Extricate myself from my Ungrateful Countrymen att the Risk of life and all that is Dear to me, I Repeat it Ungratefull, and Void of humanity and truth, as I am to Answer at the day of Judgement, their D[illeg.] against me was Partial, Judging from False Depositions Contrary to Law Equity and Justice (may god forgive them) Burning Stealing Rendering my Property without a Sanction of their Own S[illeg.] to Support [them?],

> taking the words of those Plunderers to Condemn me who were want to Secure from making known their Villiany.[8]

To Mary Nicholas Goodrich briefly outlined his plans for the future. "I mean to go to Bermuda, Build me a Vessel, and Come and See You."[9]

Upon receipt of the news that Goodrich was at large, the Council of the State of Virginia ordered a major manhunt. In addition to civil and military officials, the populace in general was directed to search for the escapees believed to be moving east along the James River corridor. A $100 reward was posted for Goodrich's apprehension.[10]

Despite hunger, fatigue, and cold as he traversed roughly one-hundred and fifty miles, Goodrich managed to elude his pursuers for six days and make it as far as his Isle of Wight plantation at Day's Neck. There, time ran out. A Captain Wells and a detachment of militia recaptured John, Sr. as he hid in a tree. As evidence of just how well known Goodrich had become and the magnitude of his escape, the event received coverage in the rebel press as far south as Charlestown.[11]

Upon being retaken, John, Sr. was sent to Williamsburg, and from there, he was moved in irons to Botetourt County to be kept under heavy guard. At Botetourt, he remained bound, probably because the Council had failed to ascertain there was no jail at that place. The prisoner's stay in that county was, however, relatively brief. By the end of October, the Council realized the lack of a secure facility at that locale, and so, redirected Goodrich to the Bedford County jail.[12]

His escape attempt having failed, John, Sr. despaired of ever attaining his freedom. As he languished in Bedford County, both his physical and mental health deteriorated. In his depressed state, he penned letters to his sons in which he identified his chief antagonists. The father even went so far as to not only call on his sons to avenge him, but also suggest the means of their doing so. Unfortunately, exactly who he named and what was suggested at this point remains unknown.[13]

The conduit for getting this correspondence out of the colony was not secure. At least some of the letters were intercepted. The information they contained resulted in new charges against Goodrich and plans for a new trial. Accordingly, the prisoner was sent to Charlottesville in late February to be examined to determine if he should be tried. After interrogating, his captors decided that Goodrich should stand trial in Richmond with Attorney General Edmund Randolph as prosecutor. Goodrich feared events would culminate "as his Enemies wished." He believed he would suffer "an ignominious Death on a Gibbet."[14]

As will be recalled, Randolph was the person who later strongly hinted that there was more than met the eye and all was not right with the case of the Goodriches. At this point, too, in a letter to Jefferson, Randolph expressed his confusion and doubts about the situation. Just prior to Goodrich's examination, the Attorney General stated he could not discern any basis for a trial in the intercepted letters. He also indicated that he felt those desiring a trial were not in agreement as to the nature of Goodrich's alleged crime. Randolph's letter conveys the distinct impression that Goodrich's enemies were straining to arrive at a legitimate reason for a trial, and so the charges were at least somewhat contrived if not wholly trumped up. Of course, all this lends additional support to the idea that the Goodriches were treated unjustly.[15]

Despite ill-health, because he feared for his life, John, Sr. determined to make another bid for freedom. This he attained by bribing the captain of the guard and part of his command, and in the dead of winter, successfully completing another grueling cross-country trek to the coast. There, he was picked up by H.M.S. St. Albans. After several weeks spent recuperating on board the man-of-war, John Goodrich Sr. arrived safely in New York.[16]

An interesting aspect of this second escape is the fact it was accomplished not just by bribing a single guard, but rather the captain and a large part of his detachment. Even more interesting is the fact they accompanied Goodrich to the St. Albans. This does not reflect the rebels in a very good light. Either the guard was so lacking in conviction that they could be easily bought, or there was a faction who disapproved of Goodrich's treatment and sympathized with him.[17]

Goodrich made New York on April 25, shortly after word had first arrived that the merchants and mariners of that port could fit out privateers. This, of course, resulted in the months of confrontation between Tryon and Lord Howe. Despite the obstacles, with the gathering of family and friends, John Sr. outlined his proposal for "distressing the Enemies of the British Governmt. by the Equipmt. of private Ships of War." The war at sea was about to take on a new complexion.[18]

Of course, William and Bridger were already immersed in privateering. Whether their involvement was coincidental or some of John, Sr.'s correspondence from jail managed to get through with the suggestion that privateering offered the means of avenging their captive father remains unknown. In any case, operating out of Bermuda, thereby avoiding the restrictions at New York, the Goodrich brothers were making names for themselves. They were not the only ones. During the late winter, spring and summer of 1778, a resolute group of loyalists, intent on becoming privateers, procured commissions in Bermuda, St. Augustine, Halifax, England, and the West Indies. They caused considerable disruption to rebel trade, and on a couple of occasions in specific locales, they managed to at least come close to bringing that commerce to a complete standstill.

On January 10, 1778, Bridger Goodrich legitimized his privateering activities when he received a commission for the Hammond from Governor James Bruere of Bermuda. Described as a large Bermuda-built sloop, she mounted ten or twelve carriage guns. Goodrich did not waste any time putting it to use. On his first short cruise he seized five prizes. Two prizes in the first batch, however, proved problematic.[19]

As will be recalled, there was a strong pro-rebel faction in Bermuda. Among the leaders were members of the influential Tucker clan. These rebel supporters had negotiated a trade agreement with the Continental Congress whereby the island's shippers would receive provisions in return for salt and munitions they carried to the mainland. Of course, such activity ran counter to the dictates of the Prohibitory Act making any vessel involved in the trade subject to legal seizure.

The two prizes in question that had been taken by Bridger were Bermuda owned and had been caught in the act of trading with the North Carolina rebels. These were the sloops Ranger, Captain Dunscomb, and Dorothy, Captain Higs. Bridger duly put prize crews on each and sent them to Bermuda to be libeled and condemned. The seizure of these two sloops provoked considerable uproar among the inhabitants. When Bridger himself docked at the island, he and Robert Sheddon, a part owner of the Hammond, were confronted by an angry mob of four-hundred men. Led by the Tuckers and a Mr. Hinson, this group demanded that Goodrich and Sheddon relinquish the prizes, threatening them with the loss of their lives and the destruction of their property if they failed to comply. Somehow, the two loyalists managed to reach Government House where they had an audience with the Governor and sought his counsel. The mob, however, had followed, and its members demanded that Bruere hand over the two loyalists. In the process, Goodrich and Sheddon were labeled pirates who had acted without proper authority.

Again, their lives were threatened. Affairs were clearly getting ugly. Fearing the worst, Goodrich got word of the situation to the marines aboard the Hammond who proceeded to extricate the two men and, under cover of darkness, escort them back to the sloop.[20]

The next day, the mob, armed and manning a number of boats, communicated their intention of boarding the Hammond, destroying her, and killing her crew. At the same time, other locals seized the harbor's fortifications in order to prevent the privateer from sailing. During the course of the confrontation, the angry denizens stoned the sloop's sentries. Surrounded, outmanned, and probably outgunned, Bridger had no real alternative other than to go ashore and give up the two prizes. The mob then coerced a promise from the privateer that he would never again attack a Bermudan vessel. Seemingly at the same time Bridger was ashore placating the locals, despite his return of the prizes and his promise, elements of the crowd still boarded the Hammond and cut away her mast in an effort to destroy her. Clearly many residents of Bermuda were not happy about the possibility of their illegal trade being disrupted, especially by outsiders.[21]

Although there are indications Pendock Neale had also been operating from Bermuda for some time, his letter of marque for the sloop George and Elizabeth was not issued at that island until March 28, 1778. This sixty-five ton vessel mounted ten three-pound carriage guns and had a crew of thirty. The rather loose wording of the commission is noteworthy. It was clearly written with the intent of allowing the George and Elizabeth to circumvent always having to act as a true letter of marque and so give her greater latitude for activity. While only authorized to travel between Bermuda and New York, she was allowed to sail "in Ballast or Carrying Dispatchs for the Army & Navy as Occassion may Require or such [torn] merchandize as he shall be Authorized by a Regular License or proper Clearance." In other words,

Neale was fairly free to come and go, and there were several ways he could account for his presence at any point between the two ports of call.[22]

While clearly intent on capturing rebel shipping, Neale adopted a stance polarized from that of Goodrich on the issue of seizing Bermudan vessels. He declared he simply would not disturb local shipping, because he did not wish to cause any trouble with the island's inhabitants, his new neighbors. It is impossible to determine if Neale was sincere in adopting this position. Perhaps he was, and as Henry Tucker maintained, Neale was just a good-natured individual. On the other hand, maybe he was just a better diplomat than Bridger, and after what had happened to his colleague, he simply thought that abstaining from Bermudan shipping for awhile was the best course to steer.[23]

By late April, Bridger had again managed to anger the locals. He announced he would henceforth seize all Bermudan vessels caught trading with the rebels except those procuring provisions. Of course this tends to indicate Goodrich had broken his word. This was not, however, really the case in that he was not stating he would act in a manner significantly different from what he had promised. He was really only putting a face saving "spin" on the agreement he had been coerced into making. Just why any Bermudan other than one who was a blatant rebel supporter intent on breaking the rules at any cost should be upset with Goodrich's announcement is difficult to conceive. Theoretically, the only Bermudan vessels in contact with the rebels were those trading for essential provisions. These would still be allowed to pass and so, had nothing to worry about. If the Bermuda merchants were honest men acting within the limits of what they, themselves, deemed acceptable commerce, then they had nothing to be concerned about. Under the circumstances, any others caught trading any other commodities would have truly been acting beyond the pale and could offer no justifica-

tion, legal or otherwise, for their actions. At the same time, in Bridger's defense, if more is required, on a strictly moral level, just how binding is a coerced promise countenancing illegal activity?[24]

At this same point, Bridger seems to have endeared himself even further with the Tuckers. There are indications that he at least detained one of their vessels. Somehow, he had come into possession of the register for the Tucker-owned Adolphi. It is difficult to conceive how this could have happened if he had not at least stopped and searched her. The stage was set for a growing conflict between the Goodriches and the Tucker-led Bermudans.[25]

During February and March, while Bridger was at Bermuda, Bartlet was in London promoting the family and negotiating a role for them in the war effort. There, with Dunmore making introductions, he made a point of bringing the family's situation to the attention of Germain and Lord North. Both took notice and were duly impressed.[26]

In a memorial to Germain, Bartlet recounted the family's efforts in support of the King and the circumstances resulting from them. He continued:

> That your Memorialist & the male Branches of his family... voluntarily fought in defence of their King and Country, without the most distant idea of private or pecuniary emolument...they have yet a small fortune at their command, which with their Lives they are ambitious still to hazard in support of the Crown and Dignity of their most gracious Sovereign[27]

Having said this, Bartlet then unveiled how the family proposed to assist the Crown by asking Germain

> that they may be Authorized and permitted to cruise in Vessels fitted out by themselves in particular or general Latitudes in order to distress the Rebels and to succour and assist his Majesty's liege Subjects.[28]

There was a price for this proffered help, but it was a reasonable one. In return for their support, the family wanted two things. First, they hoped

> that his Majesty would be graciuosly pleased to permit our claim to such a portion of his Royal Countenance & protection towards

> reinstating us in our just Rights & Properties as He shall in his Royal Wisdom think our Service and Sufferings merit.

Secondly, they requested that the commander-in-chief in America be directed to help obtain the release of both John, Sr. and John, Jr.[29]

Germain responded by forwarding Bartlet's memorial to Sir William Howe. In the cover letter, the Secretary conveyed that John, Sr. and John, Jr. were potentially very useful subjects. Consequently, the General should give them priority in the course of future prisoner exchanges.[30]

Although no reference has been found detailing what exactly transpired during Bartlet's audience with Lord North other than an account of the family's involvement in the war, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was clearly convinced the Virginian would be of service to the Crown. When Bartlet returned to America, he carried a letter of recommendation to Howe, written at North's direction by a John Robinson, noting Bartlet's intention to assist the King. Robinson directed Howe to give Goodrich "Countenance and protection."[31]

Bartlet sailed on his own ship, the Bellona, for which he had been able to obtain a letter of marque. For some unexplained reason, when the Bellona arrived in New York waters, Bartlet went ashore at Long Island's eastern end. Upon doing so, he was taken prisoner by a party of rebel whaleboat men who had secluded themselves along the coast. Once again, however, the loyalist managed to effect a successful escape and arrive in New York to tell about it. Whether or not the captors were aware at the time of who they had seized remains unknown. Regardless, they soon learned their prisoner's identity when the Royal Gazette recounted the affair. The chiding these men must have received for allowing such an important prisoner to slip from their grasp can only be imagined.[32]

In Nova Scotia, through 1778, the state of affairs was little different from the year before. Rebel privateers continued to plague the coast and disrupt the colony's trade. Despite this and the fact word had been sent early in 1778 authorizing the issue of commissions, conclusive evidence has yet to be found that any were granted to private vessels until much later in the year. Instead, in defensive response, the Nova Scotians met the threat primarily with a continued reliance on government and military affiliated provincial craft. Though few in number, they did their best to protect the coast.

If the onslaught of rebel privateers had ebbed, it was minimal. Between February and November, 1778, there is scarcely a page in Simeon Perkin's diary without at least one reference to the activities of an enemy cruiser. A recently compiled list of Nova Scotian vessels seized and libeled in New England prize courts shows thirty-four craft were taken during 1778. This is only one less than the total figure for 1777. The situation in 1778 was dire enough that as early as March 25, Perkins and a Mr. Braman were preparing a petition to the Lieutenant Governor and the Council requesting the protection of an armed vessel specifically for Liverpool, Nova Scotia.[33]

Records referencing the activities of local vessels countering the rebels are virtually non-existent for the first half of the year. The Nova Scotian, at least, was at sea during this time, and on February 17, she had a lively shoot-out with a rebel privateer of twelve guns. The provincial vessel survived the encounter. The fate of the rebel is not known. As of mid-April, the Nova Scotian was at Halifax fitting out for another cruise.[34]

By June, if not before, provincial vessels were becoming increasingly active. The army's sloops Howe and Gage cruised in consort. Jones Fawson of Nova Scotia, former skipper of the Revenge, commanded the Howe. Loyalist Charles Callahan from the Maine coast now commanded

the Gage. Together, on June 15, they took a rebel privateer sloop. This may have been the same vessel as the privateer sloop Packet taken that same month by the Howe and Gage. Also during June, the two Nova Scotian cruisers captured the rebel privateer Fox. The pair performed convoy duty as well.[35]

During July and August, Fawson and Callahan became audacious enough to act offensively against the Maine coast. There, they caused considerable trouble and apprehension. On July 7, the Howe, with seventy men, was off Machias disguised as a Bermudan lumber sloop attempting to decoy the rebel armed schooner Meresheete out of the harbor. The Howe already had a small prize schooner in company. Failing to lure the rebel vessel out, the Howe proceeded to keep her bottled up for several days. By the 15th, both the Howe and Gage were off Pasquamoddy (Eastport). According to a rebel report the main objective of Fawson and Callahan was the destruction of Machias. Though they did not succeed in this, by the same account they did destroy Naskegg at some point prior to July 27. As of August 9, the two vessels were still on the coast causing considerable concern among the rebels. On August 11, the Howe recaptured the brigantine Davis, John Pepard, master, and received 1/8th of her £594.9.7 1/2 value. Also during July, the Nova Scotian under a Captain Rowe was cruising again.[36]

Somewhat later in the summer, Callahan and the Gage in consort with an unidentified sloop (quite probably the Howe) made a foray into Casco Bay. There, they reportedly seized eleven rebel vessels. In addition, they went ashore and burned the houses of some noted rebel leaders.[37]

To augment this small seagoing force, the army, on August 10, purchased the armed, sixty-ton schooner Buckram. With eight carriage guns and a crew of twenty, she was placed under the command of Archibald Allardice. In the records, the Buckram is referred to as a letter

of marque indicating these provincial vessels were commissioned as such despite their official connections with the government and army. In late August or early September, the Buckram recaptured the brig Polly. The 1/8th salvage amounted to £113.13.1/4. It may have been around this time that the armed schooner Insulter, Captain John Shepperd, was also taken into government service.[38]

In early September, the Nova Scotia Vice Admiralty Court began issuing letters of marque with regularity. By the end of the year, thirteen had been granted. Most went to British based merchantmen who seemingly were preparing for their return voyage. Three, however, went to Nova Scotian vessels. The seventy-six-ton schooner Rachael with four two-pound carriage guns, six swivels, twenty muskets, and twenty men, was commanded by Samuel Little and owned by William Handfield. Ephraim Farnam was both master and owner of the diminutive fifteen-ton pink-sterned schooner Retaliate. She carried two two-pound carriage guns, six swivels, and twenty-one muskets for her crew of twenty. In contrast, there was the three-hundred-ton ship Blaze Castle skippered by Ebenezer Forster and owned by John Butler. With her crew of forty, she possessed eighteen six-pound guns, two howitzers, and eight swivels, plus muskets and pikes. The Blaze Castle's commission records indicate she was to be employed in government service, but fails to mention specifics.[39]

In addition, two other North American vessels received commissions at Halifax during the last months of 1778. One was the one-hundred and forty-ton brigantine Betsey commanded by William Williams and owned by Simon Frazier. Armed with twelve carriage guns firing three and four-pound shot and eight swivels, her complement totaled forty men. Finally, there was the thirty-ton brigantine Loyalist built and owned in Antigua by Alexander Dover and commanded by James Morris.

Her crew of forty men was well armed with ten carriage guns, ten swivels, and thirty-six muskets.[40]

The four or five active Nova Scotian provincial vessels had not done badly. By the fall of 1778, without suffering any losses to their own numbers, they had seized as many as sixteen or seventeen rebel vessels. Of these, two or three were privateers. Of course, this was in addition to the prizes taken by naval vessels. An extremely quick and rough count indicates at least twenty-four prizes were sent into Halifax by the Royal Navy during 1778. Although the events are beyond the scope of this study, the provincial vessels continued their efforts throughout the remainder of the year, taking additional prizes, distressing the Maine coast to an even greater degree, blockading harbors there, and causing considerable anxiety among the rebels of that region. The Nova Scotians were beginning to return payment in kind, and both their own mariners and those with the loyalist refugees were proving their worth to the war effort.[41]

Information on activities in the West Indies during 1778 is sketchy at best. Fortunately, as noted, operations there were peripheral to the main focus of this study. Nevertheless, what information has been located will be presented so more pertinent data can be viewed in context and its significance better assessed. Despite an overall lack of specifics in terms of the identities and exact numbers of captors and prizes, there is still enough evidence to conclude that West Indian privateering operations during 1778 were considerable, producing significant results. Furthermore, while many remained in the islands to cruise, some vessels, in the capacity of letters of marque or acting as true privateers, began sailing further afield to operate off the southern mainland. In fact, during 1778, the southern coast

was a primary focus of numerous predatory vessels regardless of their regional affiliations. It need be noted that vessels operating as true, free ranging privateers were still not officially sanctioned at this point. In such cases, the rules were being loosely interpreted, if not ignored completely, at some level of authority, or, as with the George and Elizabeth, loopholes were found or created to circumvent restrictions.

The new year started off with an interesting confrontation involving two old adversaries and a new one. In late November, 1777, while in passage from Jamaica to New York, Captain Henry Johnson and the letter of marque Mary encountered heavy weather and sprung a serious leak. In distress, Johnson decided to put in to Nassau, New Providence, the Bahamas to make repairs and spent December and most of January doing so. As work was nearing completion, who should arrive but Captain John Peck Rathbun with the Continental Sloop Providence. By one account, Rathbun had heard of Johnson's predicament and had purposely sailed to the island to settle old scores made when the two vessels first encountered each other off New York, and the Mary had clearly claimed the victory.[42]

On January 27, Rathbun put Captain John Trevett and a party of marines ashore at the west end of the island. They proceeded to march to the harbor and secure Forts Nassau and Montagu. The crew of the Mary, who had placed their vessel under the protective guns of the first fort, now found their once safe position untenable and surrendered the letter of marque upon demand. Four or five other vessels, including two sloops, the Washington and Tryal, and two schooners, prizes belonging to Chambers and the Gayton were also in port and recaptured. By one account, four had been condemned but remained to be sold. In truth, the sloop Tryal, at least, had already been put on the auction block.[43]

During the afternoon, Rathbun, himself, arrived with the Providence, followed by Chambers in the Gayton. The rebel captain's intention was to lure the larger Gayton into the harbor, and with the aid of Fort Nassau's heavier ordnance, capture her as well. As part of the plan, Rathbun rehoisted British colors over the fort to create the illusion that all was well. Aware of what was happening, a number of loyal citizens rushed to the water's edge, shouting and waving in an effort to warn Chambers off. Not having the desired effect, a boat pushed off carrying the alarm. The reality of the situation became apparent to Chambers just in time. Even so, he had already entered the fort's field of fire, and the Gayton was hit once or twice with heavy shot from the fort before sailing out of range.[44]

Chambers moved the Gayton to a safe anchorage from which he was able to threaten the men at Fort Montagu. An assessment of the new situation resulted in a forced rebel withdrawal from that installation. Chambers then moved his vessel to a position in which he could cover the Providence. At this point, a stalemate set in for two days during which the rebels finished seizing everything of military and naval value they could carry off and destroying what they could not, including the two recaptured schooners.[45]

Chambers was, however, planning an attack. On the evening of the second day, leaving the Gayton with a partial crew under the command of her first officer, Chambers went ashore with a landing party. With the added strength of numerous locals who joined them, the privateersmen moved on Fort Nassau. As this was happening the Gayton moved in concert to engage the Providence. The Continental vessel was well named, because as the larger and better armed Gayton approached, she ran aground and was immobilized. With the Gayton out of action, the Providence was free to sail the following day with the Mary, Tryal, and another recaptured sloop.[46]

Just as the rebel press, particularly South Carolina's, regaled the exploits of Rathbun, so they reacted with abject horror to the consequences. There were Bahamians with rebel sympathies who had openly assisted Rathbun and his crew and who were left behind to answer for their actions. Supposedly without the sanction or interference of the vested authorities, Chambers, Johnson, and a Mr. Shorldan (John Shuldham?), leading the Gayton's crew, proceeded to apprehend all the offenders, beating, shackling, and imprisoning them. One pro-rebel, a Mr. Dennis, was reportedly taken on board the privateer and there seriously flogged by the crew. As if this were not bad enough, The South-Carolina and American General Gazette made it clear that a large number of the men responsible for this offensive behavior were the Gayton's mulatto and Negro mariners whose conduct had clearly been sanctioned by their white officers. Of course, the rebel press was able to put their own twist on the story making it appear the rebel sympathizers had done nothing to warrant such treatment while damning the King's supporters for punishing traitors found in their midst. The conduct of the loyal mariners was said to "reflect the infamy of Barbarians" and the "lawless ruffians...exercised a tyranny on defence-less citizens that a Turkish Bashaw would be ashamed" of. Note how the jurisdiction of the rebellious colonies suddenly extended to these traitors in another colony who, as "defence-less citizens" had only hours before openly taken up arms against the lawful government, and somehow made them appear the injured and innocent party. This incident perhaps serves to delineate the racial views separating many loyalist mariners from their rebel counterparts.[47]

For the next couple of months, there is little evidence of significant activity in the islands. The Harlequin and William & Sarah, possibly in March, recaptured the Union and sent her into Dominica. During the same month, the twenty-five-ton schooner Hope was, coinci-

dentally, taken by the letter of marque schooner Hope and condemned at Jamaica. At some point early in the year, the Boston-owned schooner Britannia, with a cargo of lumber, was seized by the Governor Dalling.[48]

There was, however, an important development during this time affecting West Indian privateering. On March 10, Germain wrote Governor Macartney of Grenada informing him of a new directive. Non-commissioned privateers were now to receive only 2/3rds the value of any prizes they brought in. Clearly, this regulation was established to discourage the actions of such vessels and exert tighter government control over the situation. It would act as an incentive for privateers to acquire letters of marque and operate in a more legitimate, legal fashion in which the authorities could better regulate activities.[49]

In April, a significant new face emerged among West Indian privateers. John Ceary (sometimes Carey and even misspelled as Casey) with the sloop General Howe, commissioned at Dominica on March 20, began to run up a respectable tally while sailing between the islands and New York as a letter of marque. On April 12, Ceary took the 350-ton ship St. Jago, Joseph Benites, Master, with rum, 1,000 tierces of rice, indigo, and lumber. Sailing under Spanish colors, this capture provoked questions in court concerning her real ownership (and thus the legitimacy of the prize), Ceary's conduct, and the propriety of having taken her. Ultimately, the St. Jago was declared a recapture. Her total value was £5,088.12.5, New York currency. The value of the cargo, after costs, £4,204.8.3, went to the Crown, and Ceary received 1/8th the value of the vessel itself for salvage.[50]

As of April 11, the Lord Sandwich was in possession of a prize schooner. On the 12th, Chambers took the eighty-five-ton sloop Kitty which he sent to Jamaica. Despite the increasing presence and effec-

tiveness of colonial and British letters of marque in the West Indies, rebel privateers were still a considerable nuisance. This is apparent from the fact that in late May or early June, the merchants of Tobago petitioned to have an armed vessel fitted out specifically to patrol that island. In late May, the rebel privateer Eagle of Boston seized a loyalist sloop fitted out at Antigua. Owned by a Mr. Whipple, a refugee from Providence, Rhode Island, this vessel, mounting six carriage guns and seven swivels, and having a crew of twenty-five at the time capture, reportedly had had a successful cruise up to that point.[51]

In late May or early June, Ceary took the sloop Delight with a cargo of tobacco and sent her into New York. On June 8 and 9, off North Carolina, he took two merchantmen. One, the seventy to one-hundred ton North Carolina-owned brig, Benjamin, Captain Jonathan Walke, was reckoned a very valuable prize. Her cargo consisted of arms, dry goods, salt, lead, shot, medicines, wines, liquors, tea, cartridge paper, seven pieces of ordnance, cordage, cables, and a hawser, shipped at Bordeaux and the Isle of St. Martins. The other was the four-gun sixty to sixty-five- ton schooner Hampden (Hamden) of Virginia, Joshua Folger, master, with a cargo of fifty-one hogsheads of tobacco, sixty barrels of flour, bread, and 3,420 staves valued at £1,365.0.6, probably Virginia currency. These prizes were sent to New York as well.[52]

As June progressed, activities continued. On the 15th, Antiguan losses increased when the rebel Blaze Castle took the twenty-five-ton privateer Greyhound carrying two six-pound carriage guns and four swivels. Also, on June 18 and 20, two prizes to the schooner Lord Sandwich, the schooners Hawke, thirty-five tons, and Fame, thirty tons, were condemned in Jamaica.[53]

During the same month, Captain Thomas Symmer and the letter of marque schooner Delight of Grenada became the focus of an interna-

tional incident involving the Dutch at the Demerara River (Guiana). On June 20, the Delight took the Massachusetts schooner Polly off that coast. On the 22nd, she attempted to seize a rebel brig being escorted to sea by a Dutch warship. The Dutch protested that Symmer and the Delight had acted illegally by attempting to take the brig in what they felt were neutral waters. The Dutch warship had, however, pursued the Delight and the Polly out to sea and retook the latter fourteen leagues from land, provoking a justified cry of foul from Symmer. The Dutch also accused Symmer of harassing their shipping in general as he attempted to blockade the river's mouth. Following in July, the Dutch at Demerara also protested the seizure of the sloop Dolphin by the privateer Sandwich, Captain Robert Hyndman, on the grounds that Hyndman had entered neutral Dutch waters to make the capture.[54]

In July, the rebel press reported the preparations being made by privateers in the islands. After spending time in St. Augustine, John Shuldham (Shorldan?) had returned to New Providence, the Bahamas, and was busy fitting out a sloop with the intention of cruising off the southern mainland. At Montego Bay, Jamaica, another privateer was in the process of being equipped. This was the sixteen-gun brig Wasp, Captain John Smith. There was apprehension among the rebels that she too would soon appear off the southern shore.[55]

Early in the month, on July 2 and 3, Ceary added to his score when he captured the Beggars Bennison (Benison) and Sally off the Virginia/North Carolina coast and sent them into New York. The first, a twenty-ton schooner commanded by Seth Ewell, carried a load of sugar, dry goods, spices and other goods valued at 2,392.5.2, (probably Danish). The second, also a twenty-ton schooner, was skippered by a Master Bates (either Andrew or John) and was laden with rum and sugar. Later, on July 14, Ceary again made his presence known when he seized the sixty to eighty-ton sloop Polly of Philadelphia, Captain Davidson

Durham, off Cape Henry with a cargo consisting of rum, sugar, molasses, salt, coffee, tea, and some chests of medicine. She, too, was libeled and condemned at New York.[56]

By August, two other Jamaican privateers were cruising further afield. William Chambers in the Gayton and John Atkinson in the schooner Revenge were also off the South Carolina coast. The pink-sterned Revenge with a crew of twenty-four, bristled with twenty-two swivel guns and four cohorns. On August 6, Atkinson forced the Charlestown schooner Charlotte, John Proby, Master, to run ashore and be wrecked. The same day, the Jamaican took the schooner Betsey, of the same port, Captain Thomas Seymour, with a cargo of salt. The prize crew was to take the Betsey to Jamaica, but after finding an insufficient supply of water on board and then losing her masts in a storm, they were obliged to alter their plans. In a state of distress, they sailed the prize into Charlestown, instead, where she was reclaimed by the rebels. In addition, on August 9, the Revenge made prize of a third Charlestown vessel, the schooner Hannah, Captain Widger, laden with dry goods.[57]

Chambers was busy as well. On August 16, he seized the Charlestown sloop Chatham with a cargo of indigo. Following this, off Winyah Bar, he decoyed local pilots aboard to gain intelligence, and acting on what he learned, sent a boat party into the anchorage. There, they cut out Joseph Driscoll's sloop, Little-Robert. She was from Charlestown as well. Apparently, Chambers decided the Chatham was of little value as a vessel, because after removing her cargo, he presented her to his prisoners so they could go ashore.[58]

In response to this activity of Chambers and Atkinson, South Carolina directed Captain Charles Morgan and the brig Fair American to go in search of the two privateers. On August 29, with a crew that in-

cluded a number of volunteers, The Fair American put to sea only to return that same day after springing her foremast.[59]

A substantial force of successful privateers was exactly what the British needed in the West Indies at this point. French and rebel counter activity was considerable. At mid-August, intelligence indicated over forty commissions for privateers had been signed at Martinique alone. At this same time the continued success of the Tortolan privateer sloops was noted, their having captured "many" rebel merchantmen and armed vessels. At the end of the month, the Brigantine, Loyalist, Captain John Gregg, from Antigua to New York took the schooner Lark with a cargo of rum. [60]

On September 2, an event transpired that illustrates the nature of privateering in the islands and the efforts of the authorities to control it. Governor Macartney of Grenada and Governor de Bouille of Martinique agreed to restrain their respective privateers from attacking the other's island for the purpose of plunder. In conjunction, any slaves that might be stolen would be returned. Apparently, this was undertaken in the tradition of similar arrangements made between islands during prior colonial conflicts. It was, however, quickly ignored by the French who were raiding Grenada by October despite de Bouille's efforts to keep them in check. At some point during the late summer or early fall, word arrived in the West Indies that it was permissible to issue letters of marque against the French.[61]

Another incident helps convey the extent of privateering in the West Indies. On September 10, Lieutenant Bartholomew James, commanding the navy's schooner-tender Dolphin, was captured by the French near the Caicos Islands (south-eastern Bahamas). Before being boarded, he managed to deep-six the no less than thirty-four letters he carried from the various merchants of Jamaica who were owners of privateers cruising in just that one vicinity. This indicates there were not only

a considerable number of Jamaican privateers at sea, but also that the Caicos were a popular cruising ground for them. As of late July or early August, seven privateers were reported to be in the process of fitting out at Jamaica. One was commanded by Charles Kelly. Another was commanded by a Captain Murray and owned by a Jewish partnership. This abundance of Jamaican privateers was confirmed by the rebel press which stated they were so numerous and spread out in the Keys, it was almost impossible to escape them.[62]

The only known privateer activity of September occurred on the 23rd and involved an obstinate two hour ship to ship action between the South Carolina privateer General Moultrie, Captain Downham Newton, and William Smith's brig, the Wasp from Montego Bay. The Jamaican carried fourteen four-pounders, twelve swivels, and four cohorns. Despite this respectable armament and a crew of seventy-six men, the Wasp was pounded into submission. The number of casualties on board her testifies to the intensity of the engagement. The Wasp reportedly suffered between ten and twelve killed and nineteen and twenty-five wounded. Smith suffered three wounds himself. The General Moultrie had about five wounded, one mortally.[63]

For some reason, when Germain sent his circular dispatch authorizing the various governors to issue letters of marque, Governor Montfort Browne of the Bahamas was not mentioned. Consequently, Bahamian privateers were initially forced to seek commissions elsewhere, and that is exactly what John Shuldham did. He went to St. Augustine, received one from Tonyn, and then stayed during October to cruise the southern coast. Not until August 5, 1778, was authorization sent allowing the Governor of the Bahamas to grant commissions.[64]
As November progressed, two privateers, one from Tortola and one from St. Christopher, provoked another outcry from the Danes. According to the offended party, the two privateers were in pursuit of the schooner

Nancy, commanded by a Captain Lasay and owned in St. Croix. In an effort to escape, Lasay took the Nancy through a reef and ran her aground on the neutral island. This did not stop the privateers. One sent in a boat to cut her out. They refloated her and got her to sea with her rich cargo of 300 barrels of flour, 4,500 lbs. of ham, 12,000 lbs. of tobacco, plus other goods. Of course, the Danes protested this affront, but whether or not anything came of their efforts is unknown.[65]

November was not a particularly good month for West Indian privateers. Noted rebel skipper Gustav Conyngham was at sea in his famous cutter, the Revenge. Off St. Eustatia, he seized the privateer schooner Admiral Barrington, Captain Pelham, with six or eight carriage guns and fourteen swivels. To windward of St. Martins Conyngham captured the letter of marque brig Loyalist, Captain Morris, with ten or twelve carriage guns and fourteen swivels. This latter was the Antiguan vessel recently commissioned at Halifax.[66]

As the year wound down, Chambers and the Gayton were heard from again. On December 10, off Cape Francois they recaptured the ninety-ton schooner Bob & Joan, Captain Littlefield Sibley, with a cargo of staves, hoops, and planks. Also, at some point during the year, Captain Cuthbert Watson with the letter of marque Golden Grove captured the brig Del Rosario, Captain Lopez. Despite the vessel's and captain's name, she was condemned at Jamaica as French. Also, the Lord Sandwich took the schooner La Déirée, Captain Louis Roux.[67]

At the end of the year, the rebel press printed a partial list of British colonial privateers operating in the West Indies which again offers some indication of the extent of activities there. Granada had a twelve-gun brig, Captain Merry, and a boat with twelve swivels, Captain M'Tall. At Barbados, there was Captain Reed's ten-gun schooner. Antigua possessed no less than twelve privateers classed as

schooners, sloops, and boats with armaments ranging from ten swivels to ten carriage guns. Captain Phillips in a sixteen-gun brig sailed from Dominica. At St. Christopher, there was a six-gun schooner and an eight-gun sloop. Two sloops were based at Anguilla, one with ten guns and one with eight. The latter was commanded by a Captain Blydon. Altogether, these five small islands alone had twenty privateers at sea at the end of 1778.[68]

West Indian privateering activity was clearly considerable. Twenty-three privateers have been identified by name, captain, or owner(s), there are specific references for as many as another seventeen, and there is much evidence to support the existence of many more. Known prizes taken during 1778 totaled thirty, and there was a possible thirty-first. Two of these were recaptures, one had a Spanish association, another had a Danish, and a third had a French. The prize tally included eighteen schooners, eight sloops, two brigs, one ship, and one vessel of unknown type. Five or six of these were retaken by the rebels, and of these, two or three were destroyed. The tonnage for eleven prizes is recorded, and taking into account variant figures, amounts to between 845 and 900 tons. This gives an average of seventy-seven to eighty-two tons per vessel, which when extrapolated by the whole number of prizes offers a possible figure of 2,310 to 2,460 total tons seized. The inclusion, however of the large 350 ton St. Jago tends to skew these figures. If left out of the reckoning, total known tonnage was 495 to 550 tons. This results in an average of forty-nine to fifty-five tons per vessel, which, when projected, indicates between 1,470 and 1,650 tons may have been seized.

The fourteen known cargoes were quite mixed, and a number included valuable shipments of liquor, sugar, indigo, coffee, tea, molasses, lumber, and spices. More significantly, one cargo involved a considerable amount of arms and munitions, three included large quan-

tities of provisions, two contained medicines, one was comprised of naval stores, and three included dry goods. Also, two prizes carried barrel staves and hoops (in one, a considerable number). While these items may seem of little significance to us now, they were essential for preserving and shipping various perishable food stuffs, as well as other produce, for the army, navy, and export. The loss of such a humble commodity could prove critical. Such was the case when, in 1587, Sir Francis Drake's squadron seized a number of Spanish prizes carrying cooper's stores. Their loss seriously affected the performance of the Spanish Armada, and was a significant factor contributing to its defeat. In addition, three of the vessels taken shipped salt. Again, this is a product taken for granted today as a seasoning, but then, it was essential as a preserving agent for provisions such as meats. Finally, tobacco totaling fifty-one hogsheads and 12,000 pounds, loose (the equivalent of between nine and sixteen hogsheads depending on the species of plant) were seized on two of the three vessels transporting this commodity. For their troubles, the privateers sustained a known loss of six vessels.[69]

Just like Nova Scotia in 1778, East Florida continued to be threatened with rebel incursions from Georgia and the Carolinas. There, however, the situation was actually more dire. Whereas the Nova Scotians had to contend with an onslaught of raids, the Floridians were again faced with the prospect of a full-blown invasion. To meet the rebel offensive, the British decided the best defense would be to go on the offensive themselves. For such operations, reliance was again placed on provincial vessels under the command of John Mowbray. In conjunction, there was a sizable increase in the activities of true privateers, as well as letters of marque, sailing from St. Augustine.

As in the West Indies, those vessels operating as privateers, however, were not acting in an officially sanctioned manner. Together, these craft produced significant results, and at times caused considerable distress to rebel trade along the southern coastline.

The St. Augustine privateers tended to focus their attention on the lower southern coastline between Cape Hatteras to the north and Savannah to the south. This encompassed the two primary trade outlets for the region, Ocracoke Inlet and Charlestown. These two locales served vast areas of the rebel hinterland, and a significant number of cargoes were funneled through them. Through Charlestown, large quantities of precious rice and indigo were shipped, while through Ocracoke Inlet, large amounts of naval stores and, more significantly, tobacco, were sent. Ocracoke was important not only to North Carolina, but to Virginia and Maryland as well, at times when passage through the Virginia Capes from the Chesapeake Bay was not possible. While all export commodities were important to the rebel trade and economy, none was more so than tobacco. In the cash-poor rebel economy, tobacco served abroad as a suitable alternative to specie for purchasing arms and materials, paying debts, and in general, financing the war effort. Therefore, for a loyalist letter of marque or privateer, seizing a tobacco vessel was tantamount to taking a vessel carrying hard cash.[70]

Unfortunately, detailed information on operations during the first two or three months of the year is sketchy. There is enough, however, to indicate activity was not only considerable, but highly effective as well. In mid-February, Henry Laurens wrote that privateers in association with two or three naval vessels had blockaded Charleston, and he believed they had taken many inward-bound merchantmen. As a result, the prices of many essential commodities had been driven up considerably. To deal with the situation, South Carolina was forced to assemble a special combined squadron of Continental and

state vessels. Including the ships Randolph and General Moultrie and the brigantines Notre Dame, Fair American, and Polly, this flotilla had a combined strength of about one-hundred carriage guns and over 700 men.[71]

Despite its power this assemblage of rebel vessels seems to have had little if any effect on matters. In mid-March, the press reported that since mid-November, between twenty-five and thirty prizes had been sent into St. Augustine. Undoubtedly, some of these should be credited to the Royal Navy, but others were certainly taken by privateers. As of April, the men-of-war and privateers were said to be bringing in prisoners at a constant rate, indicating both a fair number prizes and degree of activity.[72]

Although there were undoubtedly others, three privateers can be identified as being active from St. Augustine during the first months of the year. First, there was John Powell's one-hundred-ton sloop Active. Mounting twelve four-pound carriage guns, two four-pound cohorns, and six swivels, and listing a crew of twenty-four, she was owned and commissioned in Liverpool, England. Despite the Active's place of origin, there is evidence to support loyalist ties. She had started the war as a rebel vessel from Charlestown, but while on a voyage in 1777, her crew took control of her and sailed her into Liverpool. The fact she would spend most of her time in 1778 cruising in what had been her home waters suggests that some of her original crew may have still served on her, operating in a region with which they were familiar. More significant is the fact that although she sailed from Liverpool with a crew of twenty-four, by early in 1778, after being in North American waters for some time, she had acquired a complement of eighty. This increase and the fact she is known to have put into St. Augustine in February or March specifically to sign on addi-

tional personnel indicates a large part of her crew consisted of North American loyalists.[73]

Of interest with Powell is the fact he seems to have stretched the limits of his commission. Dating to September 10, 1777, as would be expected at that time, it was intended for a true letter of marque, authorizing a single voyage from Liverpool to New York and back. The Active departed New York on December 20, to cruise in southern waters. In other words, fully six months after receiving his letter of marque Powell and the Active were not where they should have been or doing what they should have been doing. In any case, by late February Powell was credited with several vessels. By March 6, the tally had grown to six, including three brigs, two schooners, and a sloop. Five of these were sent to Antigua and the remaining was sent to St. Augustine. One unconfirmed secondary source states Powell seized no less than fourteen prizes during this single cruise early in 1778.[74]

Also at sea at this time was George Osborne. During the first part of the year he remained in command of the ship George. By mid-March, he was skipper of another privateer, the sloop Ranger with four guns and a crew of thirty.[75]

The first really detailed account of activities for the year concerns a cruise made by Osborne which began on March 16. Apparently there was still a bit of a manpower issue in St. Augustine, because for this voyage, Osborne was forced to fill out his crew with four men who had been captured on rebel vessels. Two were colonists and two were foreigners. Three were essentially offered a choice. One agreed to serve if Osborne covered his debts. Two were given the option of signing articles on a privateer, serving on a British merchantman or man-of-war, or remaining in prison. The fourth claimed he was actually forced aboard the Ranger.[76]

In any case, the cruise was a success. Three days out, Osborne took a Georgia schooner laden with rice and indigo. Following this, he steered a course for Ocracoke on the North Carolina Outer Banks, and on the way, captured a small sloop, Captain Savory, carrying salt. Not very valuable, she was scuttled after removing her sails. Off the bar at Ocracoke, Osborne seized two or three more prizes before entering the harbor with the aid of local pilots. By one rebel account, these men acted under duress; their lives being threatened. In the harbor, Osborne found a brig and a French ship, ran the Ranger between them, dropped anchor, and forced them to surrender. He then transferred nineteen hogsheads of tobacco from the Frenchmen to the brig which carried over eighty hogsheads, herself, and departed with the latter. On putting out, the Ranger encountered a Bermudan sloop coming in with a cargo of salt and promptly seized her as well. The following day, Osborne made prize of a schooner with tobacco. She, however, was later wrecked on her way to St. Augustine. Altogether, Osborne had taken eight or nine prizes and his actions provoked serious concern over the security of North Carolina trade.[77]

On March 17, Tonyn issued a commission to Alexander Moffat for the fourteen-gun brigantine Hannah. As of April 19, Moffat was also off the North Carolina coast where he took the brigantine Mariana, Jesse Groves, Master, a resident of Connecticut. The fifty to seventy-ton Mariana with her cargo of salt, was sailing under Dutch colors, but because she was caught trading with the rebels, she was considered a valid prize. Also during this cruise, Moffat seized the Brigantine Favorite. Both prizes were sent into New York.[78]

Powell was at sea in April as well. On the 2nd, he seized the schooner Industry, Captain Turk, with a cargo of tobacco, rice, candles, flour, bees wax, and staves. On the 17th, off the South Carolina coast, he seized the 160 or 197-ton French snow, La Jeune Pauline,

Captain Isaac Belleveau. She was sent into New York with her cargo of wine, brandy, salt, and dry goods. Though condemned, because she was French, she was claimed for the King.[79]

To back up a little, on January 27, Captain Dames (Demas), who had been captured on the Governor Tonyn in December, made his escape from South Carolina with four others. At South Edisto Inlet they took possession of a coasting schooner in which they put to sea. After absconding with this prize Dames served in a provincial vessel under Mowbray.[80]

Commencing his career as a privateer captain during this period was Peter Bachop. Bachop, as will be recalled, had been taken prisoner earlier and looked after by Henry Laurens. At some point, Bachop promised Laurens that if he were allowed to return to St. Augustine on parole he would not serve against the rebels until exchanged, and Laurens agreed. Apparently, that had come to pass, because by late April he commanded the twelve-gun sloop Tonyn's Revenge out of the East Florida port. As of the third week in May he was cruising off the South Carolina coast in formidable company, Pendock Neale, George Sibbles, and Bridger Goodrich. Although Sibbles was acting without a commission at this point, he would soon receive one on May 21, at St. Augustine for his brig, the Tryon, fitted out at New York. On May 12, the aggressive Sibbles drove a ten gun rebel privateer sloop ashore.[81]

Also cruising with Goodrich and Neale off North Carolina in May was a Captain McFarling (M'Farlane) commanding a sixteen-gun brig. McFarling's privateer had been fitted out at New York, but had been unable to procure a commission at that port. Consequently, he took his brig to St. Augustine where Tonyn issued him one. As of May 15, McFarling, Goodrich, and Neale, together, had taken several prizes.[82]

Finally, in May, Captain John McLean was also present on the coast commanding the fourteen-gun brig Lord Howe. This was quite

probably John Macklin of Charlestown. Macklin was certainly active on the southern coast within a few months, and the man in question was certainly a well known figure in the region. In any case, Captain McLean was adding to the havoc created off North Carolina that month. On May 2, he took the 300-ton ship, Elizabeth, Captain R. Ingoult, with 900 tierces of rice, fustic, indigo, and some mahogany, and sent her into St. Augustine. She was later sold at New York.[83]

While the privateers kept the rebels busy on the Carolina shore, a small, combined force consisting of H.M.S. Galatia, Captain Thomas Jordon, H.M. Brig Hinchinbrook, Lieutenant Alexander Ellis, and the sloop Rebecca, John Mowbray, sailed to the Georgia coast to counter with an offensive defense the rebel force preparing to invade East Florida. Specifically, they were to "scour" the inland waterway of rebel shipping, particularly the rebel galleys assembled there. The flotilla arrived in that part of the passage between St. Simon's Island and the mainland on March 13. Jordon then sent Ellis and Mowbray up to the town of Fredericka to secure it and the fort. Following this, the two men and their vessels were sent north to the Sapelo River to look for rebel galleys. There, both men made a reconnaissance across the river's bar. On their return, the boat capsized. Ellis drowned. After clinging to the bottom of the over-turned boat for five hours, Mowbray was able to make the difficult swim to shore by hanging on to an oar. Seafaring was a risky undertaking, even for the experienced.[84]

About this time, the British were rudely awakened to the fact their plan had miscarried. They had acted under the impression that all the rebel vessels lay ahead of them, further up the inland passage. Now they found out that the smaller enemy craft were able to negotiate the maze of tidal water courses during the flood and so, could travel where they wished without opposition. Several suddenly appeared where least expected, south of or behind the British and provincials.

Though it seems odd to apply a military term to a naval situation, it is suitable here to say that the St. Augustine flotilla was flanked and forced to fall back on a new position. The scene was set for an even worse disaster.[85]

Jordon was at a loss to find a more effective position for his vessels. Nevertheless, he ordered the Hinchinbrook and Rebecca to return in order to confront the rebels. The Galatea was anchored at the north end of Jekyll Island, south of St. Simons. In the vicinity of Fredericka, while executing their withdrawal, both the Hinchinbrook and Rebecca suffered the misfortune of running aground in some shallows known as Raccoongut. In company with them was a prize brig taken by Mowbray at some point during the preceding days.[86]

The rebels under the command of Colonel Samuel Elbert had decided to attack the Hinchinbrook and Rebecca as early as April 15. To do so, they had assembled a force of three galleys, the Washington, the Lee, and the Bulloch, a large flat, over three-hundred troops and two field pieces. On April 18, they retook Fredericka, and on the 19th, taking advantage of the predicament of the two vessels, attacked them.[87]

Mowbray's position was untenable. Not only could his vessels not maneuver, as the tide ebbed, their increasing list exposed their decks more and more to rebel fire. Having done all possible in a hopeless situation, Mowbray gave the command to take to the boats. As a parting gesture of defiance, the provincial officer attempted to destroy at least the Rebecca. His efforts failed, however, and all three vessels fell into rebel hands.[88]

The loss of the Hinchinbrook and the Rebecca was a serious blow to East Florida's defenses. The only substantial vessel still remaining in the path of a rebel seaborn invasion was the Galatea which had proven too substantial to operate effectively in a coastal environ-

ment. Tonyn was furious over the loss. He went so far as to order a court-martial for the faithful Mowbray only to exonerate him when it became clear he had been acting under orders. Fortune, however, smiled on East Florida. Despite the fact the inland passage was open for an advance along that corridor, the rebels, seem to have done little to press their advantage.[89]

This gave Tonyn time to rebuild his defenses and prepare for the next round. In part, needs were met by constructing galleys and floating batteries. More significantly, Tonyn purchased three vessels for the purpose. The largest of these was the ship Germaine mounting eighteen guns. Having a shallow draft, she could negotiate the coastal waters as well as cruise off shore in defense of trade. The brig Dreadnought was the second vessel. With a pair of twenty-four-pound chase guns fore and aft, which could be shifted to broadside positions, she possessed a rather interesting, ad hoc armament. A more conventional array of either nine or twelve-pounders was expected to arrive from Lord Howe. The third vessel was the Thunderer, converted into a galley and carrying two twenty-four-pound guns. These vessels would form the backbone of the colony's naval defense until July and play an important role in confronting the next rebel advance in the near future.[90]

In the brief interim, however, the privateers were again causing much mischief. By early June, Powell was cruising off Charlestown in the Active with at least fifty-seven men. Also working off that port at that time and at one point sailing in consort with the Active, was Daniel Squier in the brigantine, Enterprise which was fitted out and owned at New York, but commissioned at Bermuda. Powell and Squier were causing considerable trouble. By June 18, Powell had taken the schooner Nancy, Captain Langdon, of Charlestown. As of that same date, Squier had seized letter of marque sloop Little Sue, Captain Samuel

Stone, also of Charlestown. She carried a cargo of rice, sugar, dry goods, molasses, rum, and china. Mounting either six or eight guns, she was formerly the rebel privateer Rutledge. In addition, he captured the sixty-ton schooner Friendship, Captain John Rains (or Raines), and the sloop Unity, Captain Stiles, both from Georgia with cargoes of rice and indigo. The Unity carried one-hundred tierces of the former and fifteen casks of the latter. By this time, the Enterprize had seized four other vessels as well.[91]

When Squier sailed north to cruise off Ocracoke, Powell was joined by Bachop and Osborne. At this point, Bachop's Tonyn's Revenge had a complement of seventy-two men and the Ranger had one of about thirty-five. Despite the fact the South Carolinians were quite concerned about the presence of this trio few specifics can be discerned about their activities until June 22. Bachop did, however, take the schooner Davis with 163 tierces and twenty-seven barrels of rice and fifteen barrels of indigo. On the 16th, he threw a scare into the occupants of a pilot boat he almost seized while it was on a pleasure cruise.[92]

At this same time, the sixteen-gun Connecticut State ship Defence, Captain Samuel Smedley, was undergoing quarantine for smallpox at Charlestown, when, the three privateers having become so troublesome, the governor requested she put to sea and deal with the matter. She was armed with sixteen six-pound carriage guns and twenty-four swivels. Also in port was the French sloop Volant, Captain Oliver Daniel. Daniel offered the service of his vessel as a tender, and a number of locals volunteered to help man her.[93]

On June 22, Daniel sighted the three privateers and approached them closely in the Volant. In fact, the Volant was the bait in a trap, and the privateers took it, commencing the chase. Of course, Daniel was leading the privateers towards the more powerful Defence.

When Smedley's vessel came in sight, however, she had her gun ports closed and appeared quite innocent. Seeing what was potentially a larger prize that could be safely brought to bay, Osborne, Bachop, and Powell naturally shifted their attention from the Volant to the Defence. The Connecticut vessel then proceeded to lure her pursuers ever closer to Charlestown. Finally, off the bar, Osborne and Bachop caught up with the chase. The two privateers were about to be rudely awakened to the reality of the situation.[94]

Smedley coolly delayed playing his hand until the Tonyn's Revenge had come up along one side of the Defence, and the Ranger had stationed herself off the opposite beam. At that point, the Yankee ran out his guns, and delivering such superior and effective fire, forced both privateers to strike their colors. Powell and the Active managed to escape under cover of the ensuing darkness and heavy weather while Smedley was busy securing his two prizes. The capture of these two loyalist vessels brought considerable relief to the rebels of the South Carolina coastline and freed up their trade for a little while. They also represented a significant loss to the loyalist privateering community, not only as private warships, but in a monetary sense. After being condemned, the two vessels sold for over £80,000, South-Carolina currency.[95]

During this same time, McLean and the Lord Howe, having sailed from St. Augustine on the 18th of June, were again causing problems along the North Carolina Outer Banks. Ingoult had sailed with McLean with the intention of going to New York to obtain passage back to Europe. McLean, however, interrupted his voyage to cruise between Cape Lookout and Currituck Inlet. Sailing under French colors, the Lord Howe was able to decoy and snare some local small-craft. Throughout this time McLean attempted to convince Ingoult to join him and, according to Ingoult, himself, treated him rather roughly when he re-

fused to do so. McLean needed a pilot for more effective operations on the coast, and seemingly to enhance his disguise as a French vessel, he wanted Ingoult to lure one aboard. Finally, Ingoult claimed he was physically coerced to perform this task; the crewmen who rowed him in "being charged to blow his brains out the moment he should attempt to betray them." A pilot was soon brought aboard and under his guidance, several additional small vessels were seized. In July, wanting prizes of more worth, McLean then decided to fit out two tenders that could enter the various inlets and cut out vessels harboring there. For some odd reason, according to Ingoult, McLean decided to trust him with the command of one of these which he promptly used, with the assistance of three other Frenchmen, to escape to the rebels. One of the vessels seized at this time was the thirty-ton schooner Tartar, Captain Reuban Dean, with cargo of naval stores consisting of 137 barrels of tar and thirteen of turpentine.[96]

McLean's presence was having the desired effect on the rebels. The North Carolina Gazette reported:

> The cruizers are yet very troublesome on our coast, having lately cut several vessels and small craft out of Roanoke and Currituck Inlets. Besides Capt. Goodrich, there is a Capt. McLean, a little Scotchman, well known here, cruizing off our Inlets; he has taken several of our vessels, and thus, exultingly, with Scotch gratitude, returns the many and singular favours and polite treatment he received here.[97]

In the meantime, Tonyn stationed his three newly acquired provincial vessels, the Germain, the Dreadnought, and the Thunderer, in the St. Johns River under Mowbray's command. There, they were in position to fend off the second rebel advance of the year which began at the end of June. The approaching force consisted of at least five galleys, several well-armed flats, and a fourteen-gun sloop. The arrival, on July 11, of H.M.S. Perseus, Captain George Keith Elphinstone and H.M. Sloop Otter, now under the command of Lieutenant John Wright, gave the East Florida force considerable superiority. This combined

with other factors caused the rebels to rethink their plans and withdraw back up the coast.[98]

With the arrival of the British ships, Mowbray and his small flotilla were again placed under naval command. For the next week or two, following the rebels as they fell back, the two forces maneuvered inconclusively before affairs finally settled down. In fact, perhaps the most serious conflict during this time was not between loyalist and rebel, but rather between loyalist and Royal Navy. Once again, Wright proved how difficult he was to get along with when a disagreement of an undisclosed nature flared between him and Mowbray.[99]

While the two organized forces faced each other a lone rebel privateer made a raid on the East Florida coast. H.M.S. Otter and the provincial schooner George were sent in pursuit. Before overtaking the rebels, however, they encountered a violent storm off Cape Canaveral, and both were lost. Fortunately, the crews were saved.[100]

From this point until the end of the year, the activities of the provincial vessels was sporadic and more independent in nature. It was during this time that Macklin (McLean), commanding the provincial armed schooner, Polly, captured a rebel vessel carrying dispatches to St. Eustatia. He also conducted a foray against the rebel position at Bloody Point, and in the process, captured four pieces of ordnance, and fourteen armed Negroes. For his actions, Macklin later claimed the rebels put a price on his head of $1,000, dead or alive.[101]

Sibbles with the Tryon remained active throughout the summer, but was unlucky with his prizes. In early June, he took a ninety-ton sloop with one-hundred and fifty chests of tea. This prize, unfortunately, was wrecked trying to negotiate the bar at St. Augustine. Later in the month, he seized a French polacre of one-hundred and fifty tons, which was retaken, and the brig Esther, Captain Alexander Kennedy. The Esther would have been a valuable prize had she been al-

lowed, but she was returned to her owners, loyalists escaping from Virginia with their goods and possessions.[102]

On August 20, the Tryon encountered a small rebel privateer, Glory of America, of New Jersey, Captain William Williams. In the ensuing fight Sibbles sunk Williams' vessel and then proceeded to pick up survivors. On the 28th, Sibble's ill-fortune was again evident when he took the one-hundred to one-hundred and sixty-ton French brigantine L'Aimable Jannette (Lovely Jenny), Captain John Dupuch, with 260 barrels of rice, indigo, tobacco, and staves. Because the authority of Sibble's commission did not extend to French vessels, he was not allowed the proceeds from the prize. Instead, the £1,657.0.8, New York currency, was granted to the King.[103]

Virginian Robert Sheddon had also established privateering links with St. Augustine by this time. Though residing in Bermuda, he owned a privateer based in the East Florida port.[104]

After avoiding capture by the Defence, Powell continued his cruise with the Active. Although his success was better than Sibbles', it was not as great as it had been. On July 18, off the Virginia Capes, he took the two-hundred-ton French snow Bon Basque, Captain Herve Francois Jean Pascal, with a mixed cargo of sugar, salt, wine, brandy, vinegar, cordage, and dry goods. Vessel and cargo sold for £1,581.2.6, New York currency. Powell, however, withdrew his claim to her when charged with illegal conduct, including breaking bulk and embezzlement.[105]

On the same cruise, Powell seized three Charlestown vessels with rice. One of these was sent to St. Augustine where she seems to have arrived safely. The fate of the other two was far less fortunate, at least for Powell and his crew. They entered the Delaware River, unaware of the fact the British had evacuated Philadelphia, and were recaptured. While in passage from Charlestown to New York, the vessel

carrying loyalist Louisa Wells encountered the Active. She recorded that on July 6 or 7, Powell took a schooner. Whether or not this was one of the three just mentioned remains unknown.[106]

Of interest is the fact that by August, at least, the loyalist privateers had discerned an effective means of gathering intelligence on rebel shipping. This involved taking advantage of the illegal trade agreements established between the rebellious colonies and Bermuda and the Bahamas. Under cover of the system, loyalist mariners were able to enter rebel ports under the auspices of being Bermudan or Bahamian traders there to do business. The practice came to light when the master of a Bahamian sloop in port at Charlestown was recognized as having been the lieutenant on two different St. Augustine privateers a few months earlier. Apparently acting in conjunction with one of the owners, the sloop was sent from St. Augustine to New Providence where her registry was changed. Form that point, it was simply a matter of the sloop acting like any other island vessel trading illegally in rebel ports. Of course, once in place, the mariner in question was free to make observations of the shipping in the harbor and then convey the information to comrades who would then intercept the rebel vessels as they sailed. The sloop and skipper in question were detained. Whether or not the master was convicted remains unknown.[107]

On August 13, the arrival at St. Augustine of an unidentified privateer from New York caused some apprehension among South Carolinians. This vessel, though small, clearly made an impression on the observer who described her in some detail as if she were something to take note of. She was a "Northward-built Sloop mounting 6 Carriage Guns, full of Swivels and Cohorns, with Nettings fore and aft, a Quarter-deck, Top-sail Yards aloft and clean Bottom." At this same time, two or three additional privateers were fitting out at the East Florida port. Despite this obvious activity, the rebel press reported it

had been some weeks since a prize had been sent into St. Augustine. Still, as of September 22, "a Small Vessell of very Little force," cruising off South Carolina, managed to cause considerable alarm. Having taken several local coasters, the Commissioners of the South Carolina Navy ordered two pilot boats specifically equipped to seek out the privateer schooner.[108]

In the mean time, as the summer wore on so did the issue of dealing with prisoners Bachop and Osborne in South Carolina. Because of his rough and tumble reputation there was no question of what to do with Osborne. He was simply placed under close confinement in the Sugar House in Charlestown with the rest of the crews. There he waited to answer the criminal charges the rebels planned to level against him. Bachop, however, was a different matter. He received some preferential treatment. Because he was ill and had, himself, treated rebel prisoners well, his confinement was not as hard. Bachop's captors were, however, of the impression that he had given his word to Henry Laurens to never again bear arms against the rebels. If this were true, he was guilty of breaking his pledge. Laurens, though, clarified matters by saying that Bachop's promise only applied to the period of his parole and since he had been exchanged, he had met his obligations honorably. Still, in light of other statements made by Bachop indicating he would not fight against the rebels, Laurens viewed his actions in very dim light and considered him criminal nonetheless. Ultimately, the rebels hoped to exchange the pair for two South Carolina Navy officers held at New York. They were informed, however, that the two could only be exchanged for two rebel privateer captains of equal rank. The pair remained prisoners probably until November. They were certainly active again by early December.[109]

The exchange process moved more rapidly for the rest of the crews. On August 8, eighty-two prisoners, most of whom were from the

Tonyn's Revenge and the Ranger, were sent by cartel to St. Augustine. As noted earlier, a few members of Osborne's crew at one point were former rebel mariners, either equivocal or coerced. This relatively large number of prisoners indicates the vast majority of crewmen on both privateers were, in fact loyalists and not pressed rebels who otherwise would have remained in Charlestown. Furthermore, not all the prisoners were included in this exchange. Mathew Varnum, one of Bachop's crew, had already managed to escape from the Sugar House. The fate of three other privateers was much harsher. Crewmen Malcom, M'Guire, and Johnson were tried as deserters from the 1st South Carolina Regiment and sentenced to death. M'Guire and Johnson received reprieves, but Malcom was executed by firing squad.[110]

Bachop was not the only privateer commander known for his hospitality and gentlemanly treatment of prisoners. The rebel press commented on the similar conduct of Powell, Squier, and Atkinson of Jamaica.[111]

During the late summer and into the fall, activity continued. In the latter part of September or early October, Chambers was cruising in consort with McFarling (M'Farlane), and on October 23, McFarling took the Charlestown schooner Betsey, Edward Dillingham (or Gillingham), Master. Mowbray in the Germaine was also at sea during this time, and a Captain Sloos commenced his privateering career in a small boat. This may have been the schooner-rigged "canoe privateer," Highland Lass, with a crew of only eight that he commanded at a later date. Also receiving a commission from Tonyn about this time for his sloop was John Shuldham of New Providence.[112]

The St. Augustine privateers had become such a threat that by early November, the Continental Congress was promoting and backing a plan for North Carolina and Virginia to undertake a naval offensive against that port with the intention of wiping out the "nest of Pi-

rates." One rebel, C. Harnett, summed up the situation when he stated: "St. Augustine, during the continuance of the War...will constantly have it in her power...to embarrass and almost ruin the trade of the four Southern States by their Privateers." By early December, South Carolina was also putting together a significant force whose objective was the same. Before these plans could be put into action, however, Savannah fell to the British on December 29, creating a new and closer foothold to Charlestown, and thus a shift in the immediate theater of operations. This marked the beginning of the end of any significant military or naval threat to St. Augustine, but privateers continued to operate offensively from that port for the duration of the war.[113]

All in all, the loyalist vessels of St. Augustine had done rather well. Those in provincial service had occupied the attention of a number of rebel troops and vessels on two occasions, and although suffering losses, they were nevertheless instrumental in fending off two successive invasions. In this capacity and acting independently later, a total of six active provincial craft seized only two rebel vessels while sustaining losses of one in action and one wrecked. While this is certainly not a stellar record, commerce raiding was not the primary focus of these vessels. Also, the captured vessel, Mowbray's Rebecca, was retaken during the fall campaign.[114]

The record of the privateers disrupting trade was significantly better. For a time early in the year, in conjunction with a couple of Royal Navy vessels, they effectively blockaded Charlestown, the premier port on the southern coast. For the remainder of the year, while they did not bring rebel maritime traffic in the region to a halt, they certainly curtailed it from Ocracoke Inlet, south. A total of at least twelve identifiable privateers with St. Augustine affiliations were active. With regards to the amount of shipping taken or destroyed by these vessels, it is impossible to establish precise figures due to

a lack of and vagaries in source materials. Thirty-five prizes, have, however, been specifically identified. In addition, there are three separate references to privateers taking "several" prizes over and above those counted. Accepting "several" to indicate three or four, another nine to twelve prizes can be added to the tally. Then, if the report of Powell taking fourteen prizes early in the year is true, six more can be factored in. Finally, there are two prizes which may or may not already be included in the thirty-five. When these figures are considered, it is quite possible that at least between fifty and fifty-five prizes were seized or destroyed. It needs to be noted that this sum does not include the vessels captured by Squier. These will be factored in later. Nor does it include prizes seized by McFarling early in the year. These may have been taken while in consort with Neale and Goodrich, so there is some risk of duplicating them in later counts. Also not taken into account are at least some of the prizes encompassed in the twenty-five to thirty sent into St. Augustine in late 1777 and early 1778. Of the identified prizes, four were recaptured by the rebels.

Included in the thirty-five were five sloops, ten schooners, eight brigs or brigantines, two ships, two snows, and one polacre. Three were rebel privateers or letters of marque. Four were French and one was Dutch. Of note is an increase in the number of larger prizes. Brigs, snows, and ships comprise twelve, or nearly half, of the twenty-eight vessels for which type is known. This increase is borne out by the known tonnage for seven prizes, which for five ranges between 100 and 300 tons. The total known tonnage was between 990 and 1,107, resulting in an average of 141 to 158 tons. Working with the figure thirty-five for the identified prizes, when extrapolated, between 4,935 and 5,530 tons of shipping may have been seized or destroyed.

The nature of nineteen cargoes is known. Seven carried what were undoubtedly valuable shipments of such things as wine, liquors, indigo, and tea. Other cargoes, however, were far more important and directly related to the rebel war effort. Eight shipped provisions, two carried dry goods, and two carried naval stores. Two more cargoes involved staves, and five prizes had ladings of salt. Five others transported precious tobacco with the contents of two totaling just over one-hundred hogsheads. The values of only two cargoes are known, so nothing can be done in terms of averages or projections. Both figures were, however, substantial, exceeding £1,500, New York currency.

The St. Augustine privateers and provincial craft also served to tie up a considerable amount of rebel troops, ships, materials, and money in efforts to confront them. In addition to the two main rebel offensives which were met by the provincial vessels, at least five forays, three of which were in force, were made or in an advanced stage of preparation with the specific purpose of dealing with the loyalist privateer threat.

The Bermudans and the occasional vessel affiliated with New York targeted three points on the mainland coast. Overlapping with the St. Augustine privateers, a significant number stationed themselves off Ocracoke Inlet and occasionally a few even ventured as far south as Charlestown. Further north, they concentrated off the Virginia Capes. Through this narrow passage, the colonies of Virginia, Maryland, and parts of Pennsylvania, were forced to channel a large portion of their trade. Central to this commerce, of course, was tobacco, the seizure of which would affect the rebel economy, because the insurgents relied upon it as they would hard cash. Between the Capes and Ocracoke were the Outer Banks which received attention as cruisers

passed from one key point to the other. In addition, although seemingly not as focused on at this time as the other two locales, the Delaware Capes, Henlopen and May, at the mouth of the Delaware Bay, serving Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware commerce, were another point of concentration.

In January, 1778, a new privateersman with the interesting name of Alexander Hamilton emerged. Similar to Squier, nothing definite can be discerned about Hamilton's background. Later in the year, however, he was referred to as a merchant of New York tending to indicate he was either a native of that port or a refugee who had taken up residence. There is no indication as to where he obtained his letter of marque at this early date, although it is safe to say it was not at New York. Whatever the situation, Hamilton was beginning a lengthy affiliation with that port and privateering. There, he would later own a locally fitted out and commissioned privateer with other loyalists such as James Dick of Maryland. Whatever Hamilton's exact status, by virtue of longevity and association alone, even if he was not a colonial loyalist, it stands to reason a significant portion of his crew on this early command were, and therefore, his early letter of marque schooner, the Betsey, should be considered a loyalist vessel. On January 4, off Cape Hatteras, Hamilton seized the Virginia-owned schooner Four Sisters, of either twenty-five, seventy, or seventy-five tons, Captain John Willis, with her cargo of molasses and salt.[115]

As has been noted with a few prizes so far, there were discrepancies in their recorded tonnage. In the case of the Four Sisters and some others to follow, this difference could be significant. Consequently, some explanation is in order. There are three ways these variants can be accounted for. Severe discrepancies such as the twenty-five and seventy-five ton figures for the Four Sisters probably represent misprints or errors in recording. Others reflecting minor

differences such as the seventy and seventy-five ton figures for the same vessel are likely to just show slight variations in calculation on the part of the measurers. Others undoubtedly reflect the difference between registered (or measured) and real tonnage. The standard mathematical formula of the period used to derive tonnage resulted in the registered figure. In reality, the registered total generally represented two-thirds of the real tonnage. In essence, a vessel rated at sixty registered tons had a real tonnage of about ninety. Throughout this study when variant numbers are in evidence, all will be stated, and calculations will take both the least and the greatest into account.

In February, Virginian Samuel Martin's letter of marque ships George, Captain Askew, and Martha, Captain Hutchinson, arrived in New York. During their passage from Britain, they seized the schooner Little-Betsey, Captain Sparks, with a cargo of lumber and oil.[116]

Bridger Goodrich sailed from New York for Bermuda on February 21. On his voyage, he took three prizes and sent them to his island destination. One, a sloop, carried cordage. The other two were described as having "trifling cargoes."[117]

Matters really began to warm up in March with the arrival of Virginia loyalist Andrew Sym armed with a letter of marque issued at Glasgow, Scotland. His brig, the one-hundred and thirty-ton Loyal Subject, with sixteen six-pound carriage guns and a crew of fifty, was partially owned by Virginian Emanuel Walker. Sym's commission, warranting him to act as a true letter of marque, authorized him to carry provisions to the army at New York, and dry goods to both St. Augustine and Halifax. This allowed him a rather wide latitude for cruising in American waters. After putting into New York, Sym sailed south and began wreaking havoc off the North Carolina coast. On March 8 or 9, he seized the sixty-ton New England schooner, Bedford, Captain

Thomas Maxfield. Although the prize carried a small amount of rum and wine, she was basically considered to be in ballast. On the 9th, Sym captured the sixty-ton brigantine Sally with 1,450 bushels of salt. Of note is the fact she was taken for trading with the enemy from Bermuda, and her skipper was one Samuel Tucker. What this man's relationship was to the Tucker family, if any, has yet to be discerned. Next, on the 10th, the seventy-ton Massachusetts schooner, Joseph, Captain Abraham Toppin, fell into Sym's hands. She, too, was in ballast. Then, another Bermudan vessel, the thirty to fifty-ton schooner Rachell, Purnell Johnson, master, was taken on the 12th. Her cargo consisted of 850 bushels of salt and a small amount of sugar. Finally, on March 13, the Loyal Subject encountered the fifty to sixty-ton sloop Henry, Captain James Moody, and took her as well. The Henry's mixed cargo of molasses, sugar, dry goods, salt, rum, and other merchandise, was valued at 29,555.10.6 livres. Five prizes had been taken within ten days of Sym having departed New York.[118]

Sym's activities continued. It was probably during the first half of April that he took the Baltimore sloop, Pennsylvania Farmer, armed with four carriage and six swivel guns, Benjamin Allen, Master. She was transporting a cargo of 108 hogsheads of tobacco and 200 barrels of flour and ships bread. On April 19, the 135 ton French polacca snow, Amphitrion, Captain Jean Joseph Roch Vidal, fell prey to Sym and the Loyal Subject. Her cargo of dry goods, gun flints, hardware, wine, rations, earthenware, salt, brandy, navigational instruments, and fifty-four lasts of salt pork was valued at 52,052.15.0 livres. This lading and the vessel brought £3,556.3.4, New York currency. Because the Amphitrion was French, the proceeds went to the King. Sym was awarded only the salt pork. On the same cruise that the Frenchman was taken, Sym also drove a rebel vessel ashore. It is not known, though, if she was destroyed.[119]

As of early May, Sym was till cruising. On the 11th, east of the Virginia Capes, he took the sixty-ton, two-gun Maryland owned sloop Greyhound, Captain Robert Caulfield. Her cargo consisted of eighty-six hogsheads of tobacco and at least 1,200 staves. About this time, Sym also seized the one-hundred-ton, double-decked sloop Friendship, Daniel Munro, master. This last prize was carrying fourteen hogsheads of tobacco and thirty casks of indigo. When all was said and done, in a period of about two months, Sym had taken nine rebel and French merchantmen. This was Sym's only operation as a privateer, at least in American waters. He was not heard of again for the remainder of the war. The Loyal Subject, however, with Walker as principal owner, would be commissioned at and operate from New York at a later date.[120]

On March 13, Captain Joseph Mount and the schooner Esther of Edenton, North Carolina were attempting to get off the coast with their cargo of sixty-two hogsheads of tobacco. The fifty-one-ton schooner had already managed to avoid a couple of strange vessels when at nine in the morning she caught the attention of Bridger Goodrich and the Hammond. The chase began. Mount crowded on every rag of sail he could in his effort to escape, but the Hammond continued to close the distance. After about twelve hours of what must have been very intense sailing, Bridger brought his sloop within range and fired three shots which served to bring the Esther to. Aboard the Hammond as a lieutenant was Pennsylvania loyalist Jacob Getsheus who took command of the Esther as prize master and sailed her to New York. Inclusive of the five prizes taken in January, Bridger's prize tally stood at nine taken since the first of the year.[121]

As of late March or early April, Goodrich was still cruising off North Carolina where, the rebel press reported, he had taken several prizes and was being very troublesome. At this same time, a report circulated that Bridger had been captured by a South Carolina State

Navy vessel and sent to Charlestown. Much to the undoubted disappointment of rebel mariners, there proved to be no substance to the report.[122]

The North Carolinians were becoming quite concerned about protecting their commerce at Ocracoke. In response to loyalist privateering activities the galley Caswell with 145 men was stationed at the inlet to guard trade. As will be seen, her presence seems to have had little effect.[123]

By April, yet another privateersman emerged on the scene. This was James Duncan. As with Squier and others, little is known about Duncan's background other than that he was a Scot initially based in London, and his vessel, the ship Rose, had received her letter of marque on July 23, 1777, from the High Court of Admiralty in England. Like Squier and Hamilton, he operated primarily from New York where a later command of his was actually fitted out, commissioned, and partially owned by local loyalists. In any case, the Rose is entitled to be called a loyalist vessel due to the fact her longevity at New York undoubtedly resulted in her having a significant loyalist element among her crew.[124]

April 13 found Duncan, like other privateers, cruising off the Virginia Capes. There, he took the Maryland owned forty to sixty-ton sloop, Dolphin, Captain Peter Dashiel [de Shiel] with a mixed cargo of rum, coffee, molasses, dry goods, sugar, salt, brandy, paper, spices, hardware, and medicines. The invoice figure for these goods was over 4,600 livre. On the 25th, the Rose captured the one-hundred to one-hundred and ten-ton French brigantine, Patriarch Jacob, Captain Pierre Pineau. Her cargo of 126 hogsheads of tobacco and 2,000 staves was being shipped for the Continental Congress. The brigantine later brought £192.9.0, New York currency, after costs. During this same cruise, the diminutive ten-ton sloop Speedwell from the Bahamas with

salt, William Cooper, Master, was also taken, and two vessels were driven on shore.[125]

Pendock Neale, with the George and Elizabeth, was also active in April. During the month he took the sixty-ton sloop Friendship, Humphrey Crary, Captain, off Ocracoke. Her cargo consisted of cider, onions, cheese, and potatoes. The press mistakenly credited Duncan with this capture.[126]

As has already been alluded to, May witnessed a significant congregation of privateers off the southern coast. These included Sibbles, Bachop, McLean (Macklin), McFarling, and Sym, whose activities have already been discussed, as well as Neale, and of course, Bridger Goodrich. These last two, along with McFarling, were viewed as being particularly troublesome off North Carolina. In fact, the situation was serious enough that there was concern the privateers might shut down North Carolina's trade completely, and by association much of Virginia's. Prior to May 25, Neale with the George and Elizabeth captured two additional prizes. These were the sloop Canasta, Captain Law, with rum, salt, and medicines, and the brig Abigail. In addition, Neale drove no less than six rebel vessels ashore during his cruise, and undoubtedly, at least some of these were seriously damaged, if not complete losses.[127]

Neale's tally could not, however, compare with Bridger Goodrich's. On May 12, he seized the twenty to twenty-five-ton North Carolina sloop, Robert, Captain Samuel Pelton, and her cargo of ninety barrels of pork. Assigned as prize master to the Robert was Virginia loyalist Willoughby Morgan. Also taken and sent into New York at this time was the schooner Potowmack, Yallet, Master, with fifteen hogsheads of tobacco. In addition to these two prizes, Goodrich also took no less than ten more. These included the sloops Lilly, with tobacco, Jenny, in ballast, Elizabeth, in ballast, Success, with dry goods,

cordage, and gun flints, and Nelly, with tobacco and rice, the schooners Polly, forty-five tons, with hogshead headings, staves and hoops, horses, and onions, Fish Hawk, with lumber, and Nancy, in ballast, the boat Spit-Fire, with flour, and the brig Jenny, with 1,200 bushels of salt. One of the prizes, possibly the sloop Nelly, reportedly carried a large amount of money. A second schooner named the Nancy, from Boston and in ballast, was listed as well. This was probably a misprinted duplication of the first reference, but given the popularity of the name "Nancy" for colonial vessels, it is possible this was yet another prize. Including the Esther taken earlier, this amounted to a total of at least thirteen prizes on a single cruise. The work of the privateers along North Carolina was made easier by the fact a number of local pilots were open to bribery for their assistance.[128]

As mentioned, Squier received a commission at Bermuda in May, and it did not take him long to get to sea. Prior to joining Powell off South Carolina in June, he had already taken three prizes. The first was actually at Bermuda, where, in May, he cut out the Charlestown sloop, Welcome, from Ellis Harbor. Her cargo was probably a shipment of rice. On May 22, at sea, the sloop Eagle, Captain James Ross, with molasses, was taken. Then, on the 24th or 25th, Squier captured the sixty ton Virginia sloop Adventure, Philip Chamberlain, Master, and her cargo of fifty hogsheads and four barrels of tobacco, lumber, and ten barrels of bread. Following this, as noted, the Enterprize cruised off Charlestown, doing more damage before proceeding north along the coast. At some point a schooner with salt, rum and molasses was taken and sent into St. Augustine. Off Cape Hatteras on June 23, he seized a second sloop named the Adventure. Joseph Vesey (John Veysey) skippered this ninety to one-hundred-ton vessel which carried eighty-six hogsheads of tobacco, fifty barrels of flour, and lumber. Partially owned in North Carolina, the tobacco she transported

was valued at £6,387.3.9, colonial. This was the last vessel known to have been taken by Squier on this particular cruise. Allowing for possible duplications when tallying Squier's prizes, he took at least nine, and perhaps as many as twelve, on this voyage. One rebel source states Squier remained on the North Carolina coast until July 17, but all indications are that there was a break in his activities. After allotting crewmen to all the prizes, the Enterprize's complement must have become seriously depleted by this time. It had been reported as being small weeks earlier when she cruised with the Active. In conjunction, there is a lull of at least two weeks in reports on Squier's activities; time enough to make a quick passage to New York or Bermuda to pick up crewmen and address any immediate supply needs.[129]

June 8th witnessed the twenty-ton schooner Liberty, Captain Middleton Belt, making a dash for the safety of Currituck Inlet, North Carolina as she completed the last leg of a return voyage from Cape Francois to Alexandria, Virginia. In pursuit was William Austin and the six-gun sloop-tender, Harriott. Austin's superior, Bridger Goodrich, was aboard as well. Belt made it through the inlet and into the anchorage, but if he believed he had reached a safe haven over the shallow bar, he was very wrong. At about five or six o'clock in the afternoon, the Harriott dramatically entered the inlet with guns and small arms banging threateningly, ran among the Liberty and four other vessels anchored there, and forced them to surrender. The four additional vessels included the thirty to thirty-three-ton North Carolina schooner, Sally, Charles Henley, Master, with a cargo of 9,700 staves and 1,750 hoops, the thirty to forty-ton Virginia sloop Bacchus, Captain Stilton Hilton, laden with twenty-one hogsheads of tobacco, plus enough bulk to fill four more, twenty barrels of tar, three barrels of turpentine, and 500 hogshead staves, the twenty-five-ton schooner Betsey Soldon, Captain John Borland, with twenty-eight hogsheads of

tobacco, and an unidentified sloop with only four hogsheads of tobacco. The Liberty and her mixed cargo of salt, molasses, brandy, tea, dry goods, hardware, and sundry other items were valued at £17,756.17.6, Virginia currency. A series of events was about to unfold that while interesting and pertinent in themselves, are noteworthy for offering some insight into Bridger's manner and character.[130]

At the time of the Harriott's overpowering arrival, Belt had been ashore reporting to the local officials. Upon attempting to return to the Liberty, he was seized and confined in the hold of the Harriott. He then began to press either Austin or Goodrich to be allowed to return to his schooner and finally received consent to do so.[131]

Whatever reason Belt gave for returning to the Liberty, his primary concern seems to have been the safety of his personal possessions. This is perhaps understandable to a degree, because among them there was £1,500 in cash. As Belt sat detained on the Harriott, several privateers rummaged through the his sloop in search of arms and ammunition which undoubtedly caused him concern that they might find his money in the process. With hindsight, it seems Belt's secondary reason for returning to his vessel was to get himself in a position to regain control if an opportunity to do so should arise.[132]

At some point, Belt and Goodrich discussed the state of affairs during which Goodrich asked if there was a pilot aboard the Liberty who could take her over the bar. Belt replied there was not, but said he was capable of doing it himself, and he would do so if Goodrich assured him he would be able to retain his personal goods in return for his skills. The loyalist readily assented to this. A prize crew of three men was left on board to ensure things went as planned.[133]

So far, Bridger's treatment of Belt was lenient and gentlemanly. He had allowed the rebel considerable freedom for a captive, and after

Belt gave his word, he had been entrusted with piloting his own vessel. Furthermore, he had been graciously allowed to retain his personal possessions which we can assume included the cash. Because of Belt's ensuing actions, Goodrich's temperament and view of the rebel captain were about to change dramatically.

On the following morning, June 9, Goodrich ordered the prize flotilla to get under way and cross the bar. While the other four prizes had no difficulty in complying, such was not the case with the Liberty. She immediately ran aground. The crew dropped anchor with the intention of holding her fast while the rising flood tide refloated her. This had the desired effect. There were, however, problems securing the anchor, and Goodrich called across from the Harriott ordering the cable to be cut. This was done, and the Liberty resumed her passage, but her only anchor had been left behind. As the schooner and the sloop proceeded on their course the Harriott pulled ahead, and then, before crossing the bar, anchored to wait. As Belt fell behind while moving down the channel, he ran the Liberty aground again, this time deliberately, in an effort to save her.[134]

At this point, after making a show of trying to work her off, Belt informed the three men of the prize crew that the only way to dislodge the Liberty was with an anchor. Lacking one, the prize crew would have to row to the Harriott to fetch another. This they set off to do, and Belt, at least temporarily, was back in control of his schooner.[135]

On the Harriott, Bridger was already preparing to send an anchor when his three crewmen returned and explained the situation. In response, Goodrich first got the Harriott over the bar and anchored again, and then, clearly feeling betrayed and therefore, angry, he directed his men to return to the Liberty with three boats and, after removing some brandy, canvas, and a chest of handkerchiefs, burn her.

There was one other thing Goodrich wanted from the Liberty. He "Ordered his men to...bring that Damnd Sun of a bich, meaning Capt. Belt, Deard or alive."[136]

Meanwhile, on the Liberty, Belt was facing a problem of a different nature. A large party of "Yankee Bugers" (local militia) had arrived, and some had put off from shore and boarded her. As the three boats from the privateer neared the grounded vessel, a lively little engagement took place between them and the militia force during which, seemingly, one of the loyalist boats was captured. While this ended the loyalist role in the affair, problems were commencing for Belt that probably made him wish he had kept his word and trusted his fate with Goodrich. The militia proceeded to claim salvage rights for the Liberty as a recapture. Worse, without authorization, they broke bulk, removed a large part of the cargo, and sold it. Then adding insult to injury, the court upheld the claim of the locals provoking an appeal on the part of the owners. As if this complex and messy legal situation were not enough, shortly after, a mysterious boat approached the Liberty at night and, meeting no resistance, spirited her away. There is the implication in some rebel sources that she had been carried off by the North Carolinians, themselves. By another account, Goodrich returned and was successful in his second effort to secure her. Whatever the truth of the story, the Liberty was gone.[137]

Off the Inlet on June 9, Austin and Goodrich dealt with the remaining four prizes. After removing the small cargo from the unidentified sloop, they burned her. The remaining three vessels were sent to New York, where all arrived safely.[138]

Several days later, Goodrich and Austin appeared off Ocracoke. There, Austin, with the Harriott, entered the inlet and attacked a flotilla of merchantmen that were loaded and ready to put to sea. Of these, four were burnt and five were carried out over the bar as

prizes. After this incident, all indications are that Bridger and the Hammond, in consort with a brig, remained on the North Carolina coast until perhaps as late as early July during which time they were credited with driving two rebel vessels on shore. During this period, according to the rebel press, John, Sr. accompanied Bridger, but there is no evidence to substantiate this. In fact, as recently as June 4, he had been in Philadelphia. At that time, he had only just received a pass allowing him to sail in the armed sloop Jaeger for the specific purpose of rendezvousing off the Virginia Capes with family members arriving from Bermuda. Consequently, although possible, it seems unlikely that John, Sr. had made contact with Bridger by the 9th, and doubtful that they met after Bridger sailed further south to Ocracoke. There is certainly no reference to the Jaeger being in consort with the Hammond or Harriott at this time. Bridger's forays against the North Carolina coast were causing considerable trouble and concern for the rebels over their trade.[139]

By late June, Misper Lee of New York commanded the letter of marque, Prince of Wales. Though associated with his home port, Lee must have obtained her commission elsewhere. On June 18, at Ocracoke, he seized the 180-ton brigantine Patsey, Captain Marcum. Her cargo of two-hundred hogsheads of tobacco, naval stores, 17,000 staves, and four tons of fustic, was shipped in the name of the Continental Congress.[140]

Also, late in June or early in July, Hamilton and his ten-gun schooner, Betsey, seized another prize. In company with the fourteen gun letter of marque schooner, Sir William Erskine, Hamilton boldly entered Sinepuxtant Inlet, Maryland, and cut out the armed brigantine, Polly, with one-hundred and thirty hogsheads of tobacco. The Polly alone fetched £753.0.0, probably New York currency, at auction. Unfor-

tunately for Hamilton and the rest, the prize was declared a recapture, so they would have received only 1/8th of the total value.[141]

The exact affiliation of the Sir William Erskine remains unknown. It seems likely, however, that she was the same as the schooner of that name that received a commission at New York in September. Linking the two is the fact that the New York vessel was owned by Hamilton and James Dick of Maryland. This, in turn, supports she was probably loyalist.[142]

On July 6, Sibbles and the Tryon were cruising off the Virginia Capes when they encountered H.M.S. Maidstone, Captain Alan Gardner, with intelligence of the utmost importance. A French fleet reckoned at ten sail-of-the-line and four frigates had arrived in North American waters and was believed to be heading for the Chesapeake Bay. Although no formal declaration of war between England and France had been received by the British in America, there could be little doubt the presence of French warships foretold aggressive action on the part of the rebel's ally, and the French Admiral, the Comte D'Estaing, was under orders to commence hostilities upon arrival. Sibbles immediately set sail for New York to carry the news, and after a quick thirty-six hour passage, he arrived off Sandy Hook. There, Sibbles discovered first-hand that the destination of the French was not the Bay, but rather New York. The French immediately sent a frigate in chase, but Sibbles managed to elude his pursuer. In doing so, to the south of Long Island he encountered an in-coming Halifax convoy of seven vessels, and warning them of the danger, was able to prevent them falling into the French snare that awaited them. Sibbles then helped escort the convoy to Newport where he delivered his important news. Following, Sibbles helped convoy not only the Halifax vessels but thirteen others, as well, through Long Island Sound to arrive safely at New York.[143]

James Duncan was not as lucky as Sibbles when he met the French. As they had done with the Tryon, the French dispatched a frigate to pursue the Rose. In this instance, however, the man-of-war with thirty-two guns and a crew of between three and four-hundred, caught her prey. The Rose was undoubtedly outgunned (by one report she carried twenty-six pieces of ordnance), and with a crew of sixty (eight of whom were ill) she was certainly outmanned. Though few details of the ensuing engagement survive, it must have been an extremely intense, hard-fought, ship-to-ship action that creditably reflected the determination, courage, and skill of the loyalist mariners. For over six hours, the two antagonists hammered at each other. Duncan, who earned the simple but praising sobriquet of "the firm Caledonian" for his conduct, fought the Rose till she sank. Only then, with fourteen dead and others wounded, including himself and several other officers, did he strike. The entire action had been witnessed by the French fleet consisting of twelve sail-of-the-line and four more frigates. As a testimonial to the gallant conduct of Duncan and his crew, thousands of French crewmen applauded their skill and bravery.[144]

Unfortunately for Duncan, his treatment as a prisoner did not mirror the appreciation shown him at sea. Handed over to the rebels at Philadelphia, the Scot endured a close confinement in filthy conditions while subsisting on only salt provisions.[145]

After departing from North Carolina, Bridger took the Hammond to New York. There, after what must have been a rather quick stop, he joined with John Buchanan commanding the twelve-gun sloop Jaeger and set sail for Bermuda. During the passage, they seized four prizes. One of these they burnt. The other three were carried along to their island destination. In all probability, John, Sr. sailed on the Jaeger as well. He had certainly been aboard her in June and had arrived in Bermuda by late July or early August.[146]

In Bermuda, significant events were transpiring in July. First, after a rather lengthy and unaccounted for absence from events, William Goodrich reemerged in command of the letter of marque brigantine, Dunmore. Commissioned on July 18, the one-hundred-ton Dunmore, carrying fourteen four-pound carriage guns and a crew of fifty, was owned in partnership by Billie and his brother-in-law, Robert Sheddon. Like the commission for Neale's George and Elizabeth, that for the Dunmore authorized her to act in various capacities, thus relaxing the restrictions of time and place normally imposed on a letter of marque.[147]

The sloop Hammond must have been getting tired, because Bridger acquired another vessel at this time. This was a new Virginia-built schooner-boat with a fifty-four foot keel. As a Virginia-built type, she probably possessed a sharp hull designed for speed. Bridger modified her to suit his needs and enhance her sailing qualities even further by turning her into a razee. In other words, he cut down the height of the hull. Armed with fourteen carriage guns and with a crew of one-hundred, this vessel was commissioned on July 22. The rebel press reported her name as the Rebels Dread. As appropriate as this was, in fact she, like her predecessor, was called the Hammond.[148]

Sheddon was busy combining his skills as a merchant with those of a privateer to achieve the best possible advantage. He, too, took advantage of the illicit trade agreement between Bermuda and the rebel mainland to undertake some commerce himself. While this was undoubtedly profitable, like the privateer at St. Augustine, he used the situation to acquire information on rebel shipping. The intelligence was, in turn, conveyed to his privateers, allowing them to act in a more focused, efficient and effective manner. The rebels were outraged.[149]

As of July 17, Squier was back on the North Carolina coast disrupting rebel shipping. In fact, by that date, he had already seized

another seven prizes and was ready to depart. Among the captured vessels was a twenty-gun French ship and an eighteen-gun French snow with salt and dry goods. The latter, taken on the 14th, was sent to St. Augustine. On the 15th, Squier seized a sloop with naval stores, and on the 17th, the snow David, also carrying dry goods and salt, was seized. On her return voyage, the Enterprize's success continued as she sailed north up the coast. On the 19th, off Cape Fear, Squier took the 238 ton French snow Marquise d'Entrague, Captain Jean Larraniouette, with her cargo of dry goods, salt, wine, and brandy. The snow and a portion of her lading sold for £1,186.13.5, New York currency. Because she was French, however, Squier failed to see any of this, and the proceeds from the sale were claimed for the King. On July 22, Squier was off the North Carolina coast when he captured the sloop Betsey with rum and sugar. July 29 found Squier off the Virginia Capes. On that date, he took the eighty to one-hundred-ton Virginia-owned snow, Speedwell, Captain James Robertson, with her ten man French crew. Her cargo of 203 hogsheads of tobacco and 3,000 staves was owned by the Continental Congress and Robert Morris. This was at least the third cargo the rebel government had lost to loyalist privateers. Another vessel taken was the snow Tartar mounting ten carriage and six swivel guns. All together, on this rather busy and seemingly successful cruise, Squier seized eleven more prizes. On board as a prize master during this time was loyalist, James Ridley of the Chesapeake region.[150]

Meanwhile, with his new vessel, Bridger departed Bermuda on July 25 for New York where he arrived on August 10. As was becoming usual, his passage was successful in terms of prizes. During its course, he took a "long pilot boat" with 102 hogsheads of tobacco which he sent into Bermuda, and a schooner with flour and tobacco. Then, on August 8 and 9, Bridger encountered eight rebel privateers on the Jersey coast

and managed to capture three of them. These were the schooners May Flower of New England, with four carriage and four swivel guns, and a crew of eighteen, Captain Andrew Geddridge, Sally, Joshua Stutson Commanding, with ten carriage guns and twenty-five men, and Scorpion, also from New England, Captain William Gray, with one carriage and sixteen swivel guns and a complement of thirty-six.[151]

On August 10, a major gale struck the North Carolina coast, and a ten gun loyalist sloop was reported lost. The ever hopeful rebel press announced with "great probability" that this was Bridger Goodrich's vessel. Once again, they set themselves up for disappointment. Bridger had just put into New York on the 10th. If a letter of marque was lost in this storm, it would seem likely it was either a British or West Indian vessel. The New York papers fail to comment on any such loss, and all known loyalist letters of marque can be accounted for.[152]

By August 15, Bridger was at sea again, and south of Sandy Hook, he encountered the rebel privateer brig Black Prince of Boston. Carrying ten or twelve carriage guns and six swivels and having a crew of forty-eight or forty-nine, the Black Prince was slightly out-gunned and out-manned by as much as two to one. After a short, but brisk engagement, during which the Hammond suffered two men wounded, the rebel struck. Bridger and his crew were not, however, awarded all the prize money. Because the frigate H.M.S. Richmond was in sight at the time of the capture she was entitled to claim half the value. According to prize law, any friendly warship, letter of marque, or privateer within sight of a capture was entitled to a share. It was the belief that simply by virtue of its presence, even at a great distance, a second vessel intimidated an opponent, and so assisted in forcing her to surrender. Therefore, she too was entitled to an equal share of the proceeds.[153]

On August 25, to the east of Virginia, Bridger seized another rebel schooner. This was the thirty-ton Dolphin, Captain William Bowin. Her cargo consisted of rum, sugar, molasses, and salt. Like the Black Prince, she was sent to New York.[154]

Moore and Neale's George and Elizabeth was also cruising in late August. Neale, however, no longer commanded her. Instead, James Ridley, obviously having proved himself capable as a prize master on the Enterprize, was promoted to command the George and Elizabeth. On the 24th, Ridley took two prizes. One, taken within the Virginia Capes, was the sixty-ton Massachusetts schooner, Hope, Captain John Peyton (Peaton) with her cargo of oil, wine, and sugar. The other, seized off North Carolina, was the thirty-three-ton (by one account seventy-ton) Virginia sloop Friendship, Robert Conway, Master, mounting six four-pounders and carrying sixty hogsheads of tobacco, plus flour and staves. On the 27th, again off the Virginia Capes, the fifteen-ton, four-gun, Virginia schooner, Dolphin, Captain Arthur Applewaite, was taken. Her cargo consisted of twenty hogsheads of tobacco and flour. Finally, on the 30th, in the same area, the seventy ton brig Elizabeth, in ballast, was made prize. Two additional vessels, one a schooner, were also taken by the George and Elizabeth on this cruise.[155]

By the end of July, the activities of the privateers had forced a defensive response from the rebels. Because, "The Trade of this Commonwealth & of its Sister States having suffered considerably from the Depredations committed by certain Armed Vessels commanded by John Goodrich & his Sons," Virginia began to implement counter measures. So did the Continental Congress. In the Commonwealth, private citizens offered to fit out vessels with the express purpose of seeking out the privateers. The governor then directed the Navy Board to grant them every assistance. In conjunction, state vessels were to be equipped to act with the private ones. Ultimately, three state vessels, the Tar-

tar, the Dragon, and the Northhampton, were ordered to sea on September 10, to cruise between the Virginia Capes and Ocracoke. In August, the Continental Congress agreed to dispatch two vessels to cruise "in quest of the Notorious Goodriches" between Ocracoke and Cape Henlopen. These were the thirty-two gun frigate Raleigh, Captain John Barry, and the sixteen gun brigantine Resistance, Captain Bourke. As of September 14, either the Warren or Deane, each a thirty-two-gun frigate, was to add its force to this small but powerful flotilla. Considering the depleted state of the Continental Navy at this point, this was a significant effort involving roughly fifteen to twenty percent of its available force to chase privateers. These vessels seemingly had little if any effect on the situation, and in fact, it is questionable if any of the Continental vessels ever even arrived during 1778. What is interesting is that despite the number of privateers operating on the coast, virtually all activity was being attributed to the Goodrich family. Furthermore, John, Sr. was believed to be playing an active role. Of course, the first assumption was patently wrong, and there is no conclusive evidence to support the elder Goodrich's presence. If he was occasionally off the rebel coast, he was certainly not acting in an aggressive capacity.[156]

Throughout the spring and summer, the pro-rebel faction in Bermuda had grown increasingly antagonistic toward the Goodrich family. To express their disapproval and try to get rid of the Virginians, they imposed an informal boycott, ostracizing the various family members. This had its effect. By August 23, Billie, Sheddon, John, Sr., and their respective families, with the exception of Billie's wife, were forced to depart for New York.[157]

An interesting occurrence at this point suggests that the relationship between the Goodrich and Tucker clans was one of long standing, and at least some elements of each were quite close. The Tuckers

received word that a relative in Virginia had fallen on financial hard times, and Eliza Tucker was distressed that this individual had resorted to seeking relief from Margaret Goodrich. The man then died, and Margaret managed his funeral.[158]

Bridger was away on a cruise at this point and returned to Bermuda in early September to confront an angry faction already ill-disposed toward him. Goodrich's position was not helped by the fact word was circulating that he had seized a Bermudan schooner on his cruise and sent her to New York where she was libeled and condemned. Upon hearing this, the Bermudans became incensed over Bridger's actions, viewing them as ungrateful, illegal, and even piratical. Some locals called for the destruction of not only the privateer, but her captain as well. Cooler heads prevailed, however, realizing that such excesses would merely prompt additional trouble.[159]

Instead, on September 5, a meeting was held at Crow Lane. Present was a large number of assemblymen who, during the course of a tumultuous gathering, elected a committee to create a formal association to act against the Goodriches and all other loyalist privateers as well. One of the basic tenets of the agreement was that the associators would boycott all business with these refugees. The Bermudans believed this would dampen their spirits, because their market for prizes and prize goods would be eliminated, making privateering futile. The loyalists would also be unable to procure provisions and materials needed for their voyages, making it difficult if not impossible to go to sea in the first place. Anyone caught buying anything from or selling anything to the privateers in excess of five shillings would themselves suffer censure and boycott for their indiscretions. The refugees were to be shunned socially as well.[160]

The associators were a bit delusionary when they declared Bermudan vessels were exempt from seizure by all but Royal Navy vessels.

This is intriguing in that this group was basically admitting their activities were in fact illicit. In any case, maintaining such views, they considered the capture of a Bermudan vessel as illegal, and consequently, brought suit on these grounds against the Goodriches for damages. Through these various measures, which were signed by no less than four senior members of the Tucker clan, the Bermudans hoped to drive the privateers from the island altogether, or if any remained, at least make their existence miserable.[161]

This opposition forced Bridger to put to sea prematurely. He had planned on careening his vessel, but there was no opportunity to do so. Of interest, however, is the fact that despite the association's efforts, he was still able to find merchants who were willing to supply his privateer. The boycott was proving ineffective from the beginning. Though Goodrich had sailed, at least some members of the Tucker family, despite their efforts to the contrary, felt certain they had not seen the last of him.[162]

It did not take long for the head associators to realize that at least the social aspect of their plan was already in disarray and the Tuckers to discover what must have proved to be a truly embarrassing family secret. Henry Tucker was certainly surprised and outraged at the news. While attending a function at the Governor's house, a close and very dear family relation, Elizabeth Tucker (cousin Bet) had met and become smitten with a certain young privateer captain named Bridger Goodrich. This was no mere passing infatuation. Bridger was charmed as well, so much so he had the audacity to announce their engagement and request permission to formally call with the intention of discussing wedding plans. Henry Tucker was livid and made it clear that Bridger's continued good health was contingent upon staying away from him. Much to the relief of the Tuckers, Goodrich was forced to depart before any union could take place. Relations between the Good-

riches and the Tuckers were taking shades of those between the Capulets and the Montagues.[163]

This entire incident becomes particularly interesting when the response of the Bermudans to the Goodriches is compared with their response to the actions of other privateers, in particular Neale and Squier. Neale had pledged not to seize Bermudan vessels and so, disrupt local trade. The sloop Welcome, while not a Bermudan, was evidently trading with the rebel faction at the island when Squier, commanding Neale's Enterprize, was audacious enough to actually take her when in harbor. Yet, while all privateers were the focus of the association, no one seems to have taken much offense specifically over Squier's and Neale's conduct.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this entire affair is very much in keeping with the nature of events surrounding the Goodriches in general. One historian asserts that the Bermudan vessel seized by Bridger was the Industry owned by Thomas Smith. Although a vessel named the Industry and affiliated with a Thomas Smith was seized and sent to New York, she was certainly not the schooner in question. This particular Industry was a sloop. Smith, though a Bermudan, was her skipper rather than her owner. Most significantly, this Industry was not captured until 1782. A schooner named the Industry was taken and sent to New York in early May, but this was done by Powell, not Goodrich. In the correspondence touching on the matter, the reader gets the distinct impression that the Bermudans are reacting strongly to recently received information. In fact, the first references to the prize coincide with Bridger's arrival at the island a couple of days earlier and indicates the prize in question was taken on his most recent voyage. Therefore, even taking into account the period's inherent delays in communication, it seems quite unlikely the alleged seizure occurred in the too distant past. Furthermore, Bridger, himself, had

been at the island in mid to late July, so it seems likely the prize was taken after that date. If he had taken such a prize earlier, it stands to reason the fact would certainly have become public knowledge and provoked the same serious reaction at that time that it ultimately did. In fact, an examination of the available, extensive New York Vice Admiralty Court records for June, July, and August, 1778, produced no record of any vessel named the Industry or a Bermudan prize of any type being sent to New York, libeled, and condemned by Bridger, any other family members, or any of the captains employed by them.[164]

The Bermuda and New York affiliated privateers had been particularly successful to this point in 1778. A total of fourteen commissioned vessels, including both Hammonds and the tender, Harriott, seized or destroyed ninety-one prizes. Four more prizes may have been taken in addition to these. Also, eleven rebel vessels were run on shore, and at least some of these must have been severely damaged, if not completely wrecked. Altogether, as many as 106 rebel and allied craft may have been accounted for. A number of skippers ran up respectable tallies during this period. Duncan took three vessels and ran two ashore. Neale, commanding the George and Elizabeth, seized three and drove six onto the beach, while Ridley, commanding the same vessel, accounted for another six captures. Sym took nine and forced one to run aground. Then there was Squier with the impressive total of twenty confirmed and three possible prizes to his credit. Finally, there was Bridger Goodrich who took a remarkable twenty-eight known prizes on his own, fourteen in company with William Austin, and another four while in consort with Buchanan, thus running up his total to forty-six. In addition, Goodrich ran two vessels ashore, and he may

have captured yet another. If so, Bridger's count might have been as high as forty-nine.

Of the total of ninety-one, twenty-eight of the prizes were sloops, twenty were schooners, seven were brigs, six were snows, two were pilot boats, one was a ship, and twenty-three were of unidentified type. Included in this group were four French vessels and four rebel privateers. Regarding the latter, three were schooners and one was a brig. Only one prize is known to have been retaken by the rebels, and as far as is known, only one was considered a recapture for the British. In return, the loyalists lost only the Rose, and she fell prey to a superior French force in a seriously contested engagement.

There is excellent data concerning prize tonnage. Figures are known for twenty-nine vessels. Taking into account variant figures, these total between 1,882 and 2,062 tons, which results in an average of sixty-five to seventy-one tons per prize. These figures can be considered very representative. Of the twenty-nine vessels in question, fourteen had burthens of between fifty and seventy tons, and eleven were between sixty and seventy. Figures above and below these were fairly equally represented and evenly spread out. When the averages are multiplied by ninety-one, the total possible tonnage was between 5,915 and 6,461.

As to cargoes, again, there is good information on the ladings of fifty-nine. Six were in ballast or nearly so. Nineteen carried goods that were certainly valuable such as rum, wine, sugar, molasses, crockery, indigo, spices, and tea. Others carried more important cargoes essential to the rebel war effort. One transported medicines, two shipped all-important gun flints, another carried navigational instruments, one other had a lading of paper, six were loaded with naval stores of some sort, and nine had cargoes of dry goods. Fourteen shipped basic provisions in one form or another, such as rice, flour,

bread, cheese, potatoes, and salt meat. Another fourteen possessed ladings of essential salt. Three of those alone carried a total of 3,500 bushels of that commodity. Then, again, an abundance of coopers stores were seized on eight vessels. The quantity on six of these totaled 33,400 staves and 1,750 hoops.

Finally, there was tobacco. Twenty prizes had shipped this commodity, and the exact quantity is known for seventeen of them. A total of 1,315 hogsheads were seized. Depending on the type of tobacco and how it was packed, the weight of a hogshead could vary between 750 and 1,150 lbs., or 950 and 1,400 lbs. Working with average figures of 950 lbs. and 1,175 lbs., between 1,249,250 lbs. and 1,545,125 lbs. were seized. At between £7 and £10 sterling per 1,000 lbs., depending on quality and market, this gives a value of between £8,745 and £15,451 sterling. While this may initially seem to be a lot, it must be noted that in the years just preceding the rebellion, 90,000 to 100,000 hogsheads were being shipped to Britain per annum. Therefore, the amount seized represents less than 2% of the yearly prewar export total. Still, it constituted a very tidy sum for the privateers, and a significant financial loss for the rebels. The seizure of tobacco was virtually the equivalent of finding ready, hard cash aboard a prize, and so, affected the rebel economy by depriving them of this most valuable commodity that could be readily exchanged for much needed military supplies. As noted, three of the prize cargoes were the property of the Continental Congress.[165]

Although values are known for eight prizes, nothing can really be said about the group as a whole. The eight represent several different monetary systems and different items. For instance, one reflects the value of a cargo in livres, and another shows the value of only the vessel in New York currency. So, it really is a matter of

comparing the proverbial apples with oranges. Still, in most cases, the figures presented throughout the text were significant.

Finally, the pressure of the loyalist privateers prompted serious responses from North Carolina, Virginia, and the Continental Congress requiring a considerable amount of men, materials, time, effort and money. They had little effect. During the period in question, the only loyalist-affiliated letter of marque taken was Duncan's Rose, and she was lost to the French. The overall effect of the loyalist vessels can be assessed from the comments of a Baltimore merchant made early in December. "[T]he little Privateers on this Coast...have for the last Nine Months done more Injury to the American Trade than all the British Navy."[166]

In Nova Scotia and the West Indies, there was little change in the nature of privateers and crews between 1777 and 1778. In fact, in the northern colony, many of the active vessels were the same as the years before. Only four newly commissioned vessels have been identified for 1778, and, ranging from very small to very large, these show considerable variation in burthen, armament, and crew size. In essence, there is not enough data to identify any new trends. As might be expected in Nova Scotia, however, of the four new vessels, three were schooners.

In the West Indies, there was still a prevailing reliance on sloops and schooners, and a significant number of these remained quite small, indeed. Some in this category were, however, large enough to carry relatively threatening batteries. Where the figures are known, the sloops mounted between eight and ten carriage guns while the schooners carried between six and ten. Of the nineteen vessels for which the type is specifically stated, four were larger brigs. Another

was the ship, Mary, carried over from the prior year. Reflecting the brigs' larger sizes were their armaments of between ten and sixteen guns. Crew numbers of forty and seventy-six men are recorded for two of the brigs, and further reflect their larger size. This overall composition is therefore essentially the same as the year before. It was varied with the majority being small to medium sized sloops and schooners with a healthy leavening of larger brigs. As noted throughout the text, many of these craft carried a significant number of swivel guns and cohorns.

Of the eighteen identified active vessels at St. Augustine, three had seen service the previous year as well. These were the large sloop, Rebecca, the ship, George, and the schooner, Polly. The remaining fifteen craft were all new on the scene and reflected a significant acceleration in 1777's beginning trend for larger, more heavily armed vessels. Earlier, small sloops, schooners and boats outnumbered larger vessels by two to one. The new vessels of 1778 included five sloops, five brigs, one schooner, one ship, one galley, one boat, and one of unidentified type only referred to as small. Two sloops, given their armaments of four to six carriage guns and one with a crew of thirty-five, fall into the small to medium size group. One sloop, the schooner, and the galley were of indeterminate size. Eight of those remaining, two sloops, five brigs/brigantines, and one ship, the majority of the whole, reflect a strong tendency for larger vessels. Both sloops were comparatively large. One was rated at one-hundred tons, both had main batteries of twelve carriage guns, and their crews consisted of seventy-two and eighty men. Of the four brigs or brigantines carrying conventional arrays of ordnance, all mounted fourteen to sixteen guns. The ship carried eighteen. Unfortunately, there is insufficient data to even guess at the total number of loyalist seamen sailing out of St. Augustine during this period.

The same trend for larger, more heavily armed letters of marque can be seen with the Bermuda and New York affiliated vessels. Exclusive of the one small sloop tender, the type is known for eleven of them, and each category was fairly evenly represented. There were three sloops, three schooners, three brigs or brigantines, and two ships. The sloops were relatively large (one was rated at sixty-five tons) with main batteries of ten to twelve carriage guns. The schooners carried between ten and fourteen guns. The larger brigs, of which one was one-hundred tons and another was one-hundred and thirty tons, shipped ordnance to the number of fourteen or sixteen guns each. The single ship for which there is a record of armament reportedly mounted twenty-six guns. Although the crew sizes are known for only five vessels, they, too, generally reflect growth. Two of the brigs had complements of fifty men and the ship had a crew of sixty. The crew of Squire's Enterprize must also have been large to deal with the volume of prizes taken. Finally, one of the large schooners carried one-hundred men.

Through this increase in size, armaments, and crewmen, the letters of marque were acting to meet the growing demands of the situation. Larger vessels allowed an increase in the size of cruising areas. They were better suited for deep water cruising and maintaining station longer in the shipping lanes used by larger prey. Greater sizes, armaments, and crews allowed vessels to meet more contingencies with regard to both offensive and defensive encounters with their opponents. Bigger crews also allowed more prizes to be taken during the course of a cruise before being forced to return to port due to a lack of manpower. Of course, there were sacrifices for expanding sizes and numbers. The bigger the vessel, the more she was restricted from being able to work close inshore. Increased size, however, also meant an increase in the size of potential prizes who would be equally restricted

in shallower waters. So, it was an acceptable trade-off. Also, it need be noted, in reality, few of these vessels had gotten so big that they could not perform effectively in coastal waters. Compared in size to Royal Navy vessels, they were still below the smallest class of rated warships.

There was also a budding solution to compensate for increased size; one which also serves to illustrate the tendency for expanded scale. Some privateers were now large enough to employ their own tenders for work in shallow waters. It is interesting to note that sloop tenders such as the Harriott with six guns were comparable to vessels employed by loyalists and other colonials earlier in the rebellion as primary vessels.

That the larger letters of marque from East Florida and Bermuda were intended to cruise for bigger prizes is evident from the increased size of many of the captured vessels. Of the total, twenty-eight were larger brigs, ships, or snows. Ten prizes were rated with burthens of at least one-hundred tons, and four more listed at over seventy.

The period from January to October, 1778, witnessed significant privateering activity on all fronts with increases in East Florida and Bermuda. Also reflecting escalating involvement and commitment was a general growing reliance on larger vessels, armaments, and crews. At the same time, the Goodriches established themselves as leaders in the loyalist privateering world. In terms of results, these privateers were highly successful in seizing rebel, French, and even Dutch and Spanish prizes, while again suffering comparatively light losses. The significant threat they posed to trade and their success rates can be further assessed by the considerable efforts undertaken by the rebels to confront them.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 13

[1]John Goodrich, Sr. to Mary Lewis, August 19, 1777, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, Library of Congress.

[2]Rivington's Royal Gazette, April 11, 1778, p. 2.

[3]Robert Louis Stevenson, Treasure Island, Illustrated by N.C. Wyeth (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881, 1911), p. 156.

[4]Memorial of Bartlet Goodrich [February, 1778], PRO, CO5/95/54; Memorial of Goodrich, Sr. March 1, 1784, PRO, AO12/56/166; Review of Goodrich, Sr.'s Memorial, April 7, 1784, PRO, AO12/101/108; Petition of Goodrich, Sr., May 10, 1784, PRO, AO13/29/G; and John Goodrich, Sr. to Thomas Jefferson, January 20, 1777, and editorial footnote, in Julian P. Boyd, ed., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 26 vols., Lymen H. Butterfield and Mina R. Bryan, assoc. eds. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950-1995), 2:4-5.

[5]Margaret Goodrich to Mary Lewis, August 12, 1777, John Goodrich, Sr. to Nicholas Lewis, August 18, 1777, and Goodrich, Sr. to Mary Lewis, August 19, 1777, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Library of Congress.

[6]Patrick Henry to Thomas Jefferson, February 26, 1777, and editorial note, in Boyd, Papers of Jefferson, 2:5, 32; Patrick Henry to George Wythe, June 11, 1777, in H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia, vol. 1, The Letters of Patrick Henry, (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1926), pp. 161-162; and Journal of the Council, June 11, 1777, in McIlwaine, Journals of the Council, 1:430 (See also McIlwaine, Official Letters of the Governors, 1:162).

[7]Editorial notes, in Boyd, Papers of Jefferson, 2:5, 32; Journal of the Council, August 21, 1777, in McIlwaine, Journals of the Council, 1:472; Dixon and Hunter's Virginia Gazette, August 29, 1777, p. 2, and November 7, 1777, p. 2; Purdie's Virginia Gazette, August 29, 1777, p. 3; and John Goodrich, Sr.'s bill for expenses to Virginia, August 10, 1777, Goodrich, Sr. to Nicholas Lewis, August 19, 1777, and Goodrich, Sr. to Mary Lewis, August 19, 1777, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, Library of Congress.

[8]Goodrich, Sr. to Nicholas Lewis, August 19, 1777, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, Library of Congress.

[9]Goodrich, Sr. to Mary Lewis, August 19, 1777, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, Library of Congress.

[10]Journal of the Council, August 21, 1777, in McIlwaine, Journals of the Council, 1:472.

[11]Memorial of Goodrich, Sr., March 1, 1784, PRO, AO12/56/166; Purdie's Virginia Gazette, August 29, 177, p. 3; Dixon and Hunter's Virginia Gazette, August 29, p. 2; and South-Carolina and American General Gazette, September 25, 1777, p. 2.

[12]Memorial of Goodrich, Sr., March 1, 1784, PRO, AO12/56/166; Memorial of Bartlet Goodrich, PRO, CO5/95/54; Dixon and Hunter's Virginia Gazette, August 29, p. 2; and Journal of the Council, August 27, and October 31, 1777, in McIlwaine, Journals of the Council, 1:475, 2:20.

[13]Memorial of Goodrich, Sr., March 1, 1784, PRO, AO12/56/166; and Memorial of Bartlet Goodrich, PRO, CO5/95/54.

[14]Memorial of Goodrich, Sr., March 1, 1784, PRO, AO12/56/166; and Patrick Henry to the County Lieutenant of Albemarle [Thomas Jefferson], February 21, 1778, editorial note, and Edmund Randolph to Thomas Jefferson, February 22, 1778, in Boyd, Papers of Jefferson, 2:173-174.

[15]Randolph to Jefferson, February 22, 1778, in Boyd, Papers of Jefferson, 2:173-174.

[16]Memorial of Goodrich, Sr., March 1, 1784, PRO, AO12/56/166; and Review of Goodrich, Sr.'s Memorial, April 7, 1784, PRO, AO12/101/108.

[17]Ibid.

[18]John Lancaster to James Parker, April 27, 1778, Papers of the Continental Congress, R65/i51/v1/491, Library of Congress; and Memorial of Goodrich, Sr., March 1, 1784, PRO, AO12/56/166.

[19]Bridger Goodrich to Commodore William Hotham, February 7, 1778, PRO, Adm1/488/194 (see also PRO, CO5/128/166); South-Carolina and American-Gazette, May 21, 1778, p. 3; Gazette of the State of South Carolina, July 15, 1778, p. 3; Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, April 3, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, p. 396; Zuill, "Further Notes on the Bridge House," p. 17; and Hereward T. Watlington, "Bermuda Homes with American Connections," Bermuda Historical Quarterly, XXV (Spring, 1968):18.

[20]Bridger Goodrich to Hotham, February 7, 1778, PRO, Adm1/488/194.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Commission for letter of marque sloop George & Elizabeth, Captain Pendock Neale, March 28, 1778, Ward Chipman Papers, Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty, MG 23/D 1/1/9/44, Public Archives of Canada.

[23]Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, April 23, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, pp. 396-397; and Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution, p. 84.

[24]Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, April 23, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, p. 396; Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution, pp. 84-85. Kerr states Bridger's decision to take Bermudan vessels was made during the summer, but the Tucker correspondence indicates it transpired much earlier, in April.

[25]Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, April 23, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg.

[26]Germain to William Howe, March 10, 1778, and Memorial of Bartlet Goodrich, PRO, CO5/95/52, 54; Dunmore to John Robinson, February 20, 1778, PRO, T1/545/306; and John Robinson to William Howe, March 11, 1778, Headquarters Papers, 9/1011, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg.

[27]Memorial of Bartlet Goodrich, PRO, CO5/95/54.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Germain to William Howe, March 10, 1778, PRO, CO5/95/52.

[31]John Robinson to William Howe, March 11, 1778, Headquarters Papers, 9/1011, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg.

[32]Rivington's Royal Gazette, May 27, 1778, p. 3.

[33]Perkins, Diary, 1:180-221 passim, 187; and Faibisy, "A Compilation of Nova Scotia Vessels Seized," in Crawford, NDAR, 10:1205-1207.

[34]Perkins, Diary, 1:183, 193.

[35]Court record, Jones Fauson [Fawson] vs. sloop Packet and schooner Fox, June 28, 1778, Vice Admiralty Register, RG1/496/147, Public Archives of Nova Scotia; and Mullane, Privateers of Nova Scotia, p. 39; Perkins, Diary, 1:204; and J. Allen to the President of the Massachusetts Board of War [?], August 9, 1778, in Baxter, Documentary History of Maine, 16:60-67.

[36]Allen to President, Massachusetts Board of War, August 9, 1778, in Baxter, Documentary History of Maine, 16:60-67; Court Record, Jonas Fauson [Jones Fawson] vs. brigantine, Davis, August 29, 1778, and Deposition of David Ross, August 31, 1778, Vice Admiralty Register, RG1/496/173-174, Public Archives of Nova Scotia; "Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax," p. 48; Mullane, Privateers of Nova Scotia, p. 40; and Perkins, Diary, 1:209-210.

[37]Rivington's Royal Gazette, September 19, 1778, p. 3.

[38]Lieutenant-Colonel J. Bruce to Sir Henry Clinton, July 11, 1779, and Department Quarter-Master General William Handfield to Brigadier-General Campbell, April 18, 1782, Headquarters Papers, 17/2109, 38/4424, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg (see also Report on American Manuscripts, 1:468); Nichols, Nova Scotia Privateers, p. 12; Court record, Archibald Allardice vs. brig Polly, September 7, 1778, and Deposition of Benjamin Stone, September 10, 1778, Vice Admiralty Register, RG1/496/176-177, Public Archives of Nova Scotia; and "Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax," Historical Collections of the Essex Institute XLV (July, 1909): 236.

[39]Vice Admiralty Register, September 15, and October 2 and 13, 1778, RG1/496/154, 156, 158, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

[40]Ibid., September 12, 1778, pp. 153, 154.

[41]"Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax," Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, XLV (January, 1909), (April, 1909), (July, 1909), (October, 1909), passim; Court Record, Jones Fauson vs. privateer schooner Lively, November 14, 1778, Vice Admiralty Register, RG1/496/187, Public Archives of Nova Scotia; Perkins, Diary, 1:221; Mullane, Privateers of Nova Scotia, p. 40; John Tracy to Jeremiah Powell, November 22, 1778, Petition of John Tracy & James Swan, November 26, 1778, and Council of the State of Massachusetts to Navy Board, December 7, 1778, in Baxter, Documentary History of Maine, 16:131, 132-133, 138; and Navy Board to Council of the State of Massachusetts, November 27, 1778, Letter Book, Navy Board, Eastern District, October 24, 1778, to October 29, 1779, entry #16, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

[42]Log Book, letter of marque ship Mary, Captain Henry Johnson, November 23, 1777, to January 26, 1778, [pp. 37-48], in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/8/67; and Rider, Valour Fore & Aft, pp. 135, 146-14.

[43]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, February 26, 1778, p. 2. In this account, Fort Montagu is called Fort Johnson; Gaine's New-York Gazette, April 8, 1778, p. 1; Log of Mary, January 26-28, 1778, [pp. 48-49], in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/8/67; Text and Trevett, Diary, cited and quoted in Rider, Valour Fore & Aft, pp. 146-150, 224. After capturing the Mary, Trevett continued her log in his own hand as if nothing had happened. This was clearly done as a ruse to facilitate getting the prize safely back to a rebel port; Gaine's New-York Gazette, April 8, 1778, p. 1; and William Tisdale and Jonathan Cooke to Continental Congress, May 11, 1778, Papers of the Continental Congress, R52/i41/v10/p13, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[44]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, February 26, 1778, p. 2; Gaine's New-York Gazette, April 8, 1778, p. 1; and Text and Trevett, Diary, cited and quoted in Rider, Valour Fore & Aft, p. 148.

[45]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, February 26, 1778, p. 2; Gaine's New-York Gazette, April 8, 1778, p. 1; and Text and Trevett, Diary, cited and quoted in Rider, Valour Fore & Aft, pp. 148-153.

[46]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, February 26, 1778, p. 2; Gaine's New-York Gazette, April 8, 1778, p. 1; and Text and Trevett, Diary, cited and quoted in Rider, Valour Fore & Aft, pp. 153-155.

[47]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, March 12, 1778, p. 3.

[48]Appeal of Messrs. Lane Son and Fraser of London and John Parr, November 12, 1779, PRO, HCA30/184/November, 1779, cited in Virginia Colonial Records Project, "Survey Report No. 14564," pp. 6-7, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Court Record, testimony of Aaron Lopez, August 18, 1778, Griffith Brooks vs. schooner Hope, Register for schooner Hope, April 24, 1778, and Deposition of Jacob Allen, June 24, 1778, in National Archives, Revolutionary War

Prize Cases, M162/3/28; and Robertson, Spanish Town Papers, pp. 108-109.

[49]Germain to Lord George Macartney, March 10, 1778, Macartney Letter Books, PRO, CO101/21/3/137.

[50]Gaine's New-York Gazette, April 20, 1778, detached page, and June 22, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, August 29, 1778, p. 3; J. T. Kempe, Further List of Prizes condemned to his Majestys use by the Court of Admiralty for the Province of New York, December 17, 1778, PRO, T1/540/6-11; and Account of sales of the ship St. Jago's cargo, December 2, 1778, PRO, HCA49/91/5/91.

[51]Thomas Pasley, Private Sea Journal, 1778-1782, ed. with an Introduction by Rodney M. S. Pasley (London & Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1931), p. 25; Register for schooner Hawke, June 20, 1778, in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/4/37; Libel, William Chambers vs. sloop Kitty, April 22, 1778, in Robertson, Spanish Town Papers, pp. 196-199; Memorial of the Merchants and Proprietors of Tobago, [enclosed with letter to Admiralty, June 4, 1778], in D. Bonner-Smith, ed., The Barrington Papers: Selected from the Letters and Papers of Admiral the Hon. Samuel Barrington, 2 vols. (Navy Records Society, MDCCCCXXXVII and MDCCCCXLI), 2:24-27; and Dixon & Hunter's Virginia Gazette, July 10, 1778, p. 1.

[52]Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, June 5 and 24, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/138, 154; List of Captures and Recaptures made by Private Armed Ships and Vessels, belonging to the Port of New York, May 27, 1778, to February 18, 1779, February 19, 1778, PRO, Adm1/489/209; Gaine's New-York Gazette, June 22, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, June 24, 1778, p. 2, July 22, 1778, p. 2, and September 30, 1778, p. 3; Libel, John Ceary vs. brigantine Benjamin, June 24, 1778, Bills of lading for Benjamin, March 30, 1778, and Invoice for the Benjamin's cargo, n.d., and Invoice for salt shipped on the Benjamin, April 11, 1778, PRO, HCA32/279/10 (NC); Libel, John Ceary vs. schooner Hamden, July 10, 1778, Invoice, cargo of Hampden, May 22, 1778, Bill of Lading for Hampden, May 23, 1778, and Clearance for Hampden, May 25, 177, PRO, HCA32/359/1 (CW).

[53]Boston Gazette, June 15, 1778, p. 2; and Registers for schooners Hawke and Fame, June 20, 1778, in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/4/37.

[54]Count Byland to Macartney, July 14, and December 8, 1778, and Deposition of Thomas Symmer, June 30, 1778, Macartney Letter Books, PRO, CO101/23/3/123, 127, 129.

[55]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, July 17, 1778, p. 2, and July 29, 1778, p. 2; and Boston Gazette, August 24, 1778, p. 1.

[56]Rivington's Royal Gazette, August 1, 1778, p. 2, August 29, 1778, p. 3, and September 30, 1778, p. 3; Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 13, 1778, p. 3, and August 31, 1778, p.3; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, July 8, and August 5, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/174, 192; Libel, John Ceary vs. schooner Beggars Benison, July 8, 1778, and Invoice, Sundry Merchandize, June 17, 1778, PRO, HCA32/278/11 (NC); Libel, John Ceary vs. schooner Sally, July 8, 1778, and Affidavit of Benjamin Asbridge, July 9, 1778, PRO, HCA32/446/2 (NC); and Libel,

John Ceary vs. sloop Polly, July 29, 1778, and Deposition of Davidson Durham, August 20, 1778, PRO, HCA32/434/c (CW).

[57]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 19, 1778, p. 3, August 26, 1778, p. 2, and September 2, 1778, p. 2; and John Wells, Jr. to Henry Laurens, August 23, 1778, and editorial note, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:214-215, 215 n. 4.

[58]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 26, 1778, p. 2; Wells, Jr. to Laurens, August 23, 1778, and editorial note, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:214-215, 215 n. 4; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 19, 1778, p. 3.

[59]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 26, 1778, p. 2; Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 19, 1778, p. 3. and editorial note, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:215 n. 4.

[60]William Stuart, Lieutenant-Governor, Dominica, to Samuel Barrington, August 20, 1778, and James Dawson, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Virgin Islands, to Barrington, August 14, 1778, in Bonner-Smith, Barrington Papers, 2:41-42, 50; and Rivington's Royal Gazette, September 2, 1778, p. 3.

[61]Macartney to Germain, September 2, and October 18, 1778, Macartney Letter Books, PRO, CO101/21/3/110, 145; Germain to the governors in North America, August 5 and 7, 1778, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:748, 749; Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Barrington, July 27, 1778, [received October 7, 1778], Macartney to Barrington, October 23, 1778, and Edward Hay to Barrington, November 4, 1778, in Bonner-Smith, Barrington Papers, 2:79, 90, 91; and Bartholomew James, Journal of Rear-Admiral Bartholomew James, 1752-1828, ed., John Knox Laughton (Navy Records Society, MDCCCXCVI), p. 54.

[62]James, Journal, pp. 54-57; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, July 5, 1778, p. 3, and September 26, 1778, p. 2.

[63]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, October 1, 1778, p. 3; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 7, 1778, p. 3; and Rawlins Lowndes to Laurens, October 1, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:377.

[64]Germain to certain Governors in America, January 10, 1778, and Germain to governors in North American, August 5, 1778, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:737, 748; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 14, 1778, p. 2.

[65]Deposition of Daniel Conant, et. al., November 20, 1778, and Governor Peter Von Clausen to Governor William M. Burt, November 30, 1778, in Tyson, Powder Profits & Privateers, pp. 79-80, 80-81.

[66]Account of Prizes, and Boston Gazette, February 15, 1779, in Robert Wilden Neeser, ed. Letters and Papers Relating to the Cruises of Gustavus Conyngham A Captain of the Continental Navy 1777-1779 (New York: The De Vinne Press for the Naval History Society, MDCCCCXV; reprint ed., Port Washington, New York, and London: Kennikat Press, 1970), list following p. 152, p. 154.D

[67]James Duncan Phillips, "Salem Revolutionary Privateers Condemned at Jamaica," The Essex Institute Historical Collections XLLVI (January, 1940): 49-50; and Robertson, Spanish Town Papers, pp. 54, 161.

[68]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, December 24, 1778, p. 2.

[69]Middleton, Tobacco Coast, p. 113.

[70]Messrs. Thos. Benbury & Rob. Smith to Gov. Caswell, December 10, 1778, Rob. Smith to Caswell December 11, 1778, North Carolina Senate Journal, February 5, 1778, and May 15, 1779, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13: 324, 326, 588, 776; Germain to Clinton, March 8, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1062; and Observations on the Trade of North America, May, 1779, Germain Papers, and Neil Jamieson to Clinton, A Sketch of the Trade of Virginia and Maryland, December 11, 1780, Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library.

[71]Joseph Kershaw to Laurens, and John Rutledge to Laurens, February 16, 1778, and Wells, Jr. to Laurens, February 17, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 12:452-453, 454-455, 460-461.

[72]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, March 26, 1778, p. 2; and Brigadier-General Augustine Prevost to William Howe, April 5, 1778, in Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on American Manuscripts, 1:223.

[73]Commission for letter of marque sloop Active, Captain John Powell, September 17, 1777 (period copy), Ward Chipman Papers, Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty, MG 23/D 1/1/9/1, Public Archives of Canada; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, March 19, 1778, p. 3; Williams, Liverpool Privateers, p. 224; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, March 23, 1778, p. 3.

[74]Ibid.; Further List of Prizes, December 17, 1778, PRO, T1/540/6. Whereas the copy of the letter of marque for the Active gives the date of issue as September 17, 1777, this document gives the commission date as September 10, 1777. The September 10, date is supported by the following court document; Libel, John Powell vs. snow La Jeune Pauline, April 29, 1778, PRO, HCA32/368/10 (NC); and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 24, 1778, p. 2.

[75]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, March 26, 1778, p. 2; Affidavits of John Adams and John Joseph, April 18, 1778, and North Carolina Gazette, April 10, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:95-97, 397-398.

[76]Affidavits of Adams, Joseph, Peter Gevoe, and Michael Kingsborough, April 18, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:95-96, 96, 97, 98.

[77]Affidavit of Adams, April 18, 1778, and North Carolina Gazette, April 10, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:95-96, 397-398.

[78]Libel, Alexander Moffat vs. brigantine Mariana, April 29, 1778, and Deposition of Jesse Groves, May 11, 1778, PRO, HCA32/396/6 (NC);

Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, April 29, and May 1, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/83, 87; and Rivington's Royal Gazette, June 10, 1778, p. 2, and July 11, 1778, p. 2.

[79]Note written on Commission for Active, April 2, 1778, Ward Chipman Papers, Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty, MG 23/D 1/1/9/1, Public Archives of Canada; Gaine's New-York Gazette, May 11, 1778, p. 3; and Libel, John Powell vs. snow La Jeune Pauline, April 29, 1778, Answer and Claim of John Tabor Kempe for the King, May 29, 1778, and Deposition of Isaac Belleveau, May 19, 1778, PRO, HCA32/368/10 (NC).

[80]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, February 5, 1778, p. 2; Mowbray to Keith Elphinstone, July 22, 1778, in Perrin, Keith Papers, 1: 119-120.

[81]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, April 23, 1778, p. 3, and May 21, 1778, p. 3; Wells, Jr. to Henry Laurens, June 17, 1778, editorial note, John Lewis Gervais to Laurens, July 2, 1779, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 13:483-484, 484 n. 6, 542; Laurens to Gervais, August 7, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:135; Captain R. Cogdell to Governor Caswell, July 4, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:185-186; Libel, George Sibbles vs. brigantine Esther, July 1, 1778, PRO, HCA32/325/2 (NC), or HCA32/325/11 (CW); and Gaine's New-York Gazette, May 25, 1778, p. 3.

[82]North Carolina Gazette, May 15, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:418; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 14, 1778, P. 2, and November 4, 1778, p. 2.

[83]North Carolina Gazette, July 17, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:459; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 12, 1778, p. 3; Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 6, 1778, p. 3, July 13, 1778, p. 3, March 15, 1779, p. 3; Memorial of Macklin, Loyalists/Audit Office Transcripts, 56/V/92, New York Public Library; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, August 5, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/192; and Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 15, 1778, p. 3, and October 3, 1778, p. 3.

[84]Tonyn to Germain, April 28, 1778, Captain Thomas Jordon to Tonyn, March 6, 17, and 16, 1778, PRO, CO5/558/127, 129, 131, 133; Tonyn to William Howe, March 31, 1778, and Thomas Brown to Tonyn, April 10, 1778, Headquarters Papers, 9/1058 and 10/1081, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 68-69; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 134-135; and Mowat, East Florida, p. 121.

[85]Jordon to Tonyn, March 16, 1778, PRO, CO5/558/133; and Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," p. 69.

[86]Ibid.; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, April 23, 1778, p. 3; and Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, p. 135.

[87]Ibid.: and Siebert, "Privateering in Florida Waters," p. 71.

[88]Ibid.; Tonyn to Germain, April 28, 1778, and Jordon to Tonyn, April 19, 1778, PRO, CO5/558/127, 139.

[89]Tonyn to Germain, April 28, 1778, and Jordon to Tonyn, March 6 and 16, 1778, PRO, CO5/558/127, 129, 133; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, p. 135-138; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 69-70; and Mowat, East Florida, pp. 121-122.

[90]Tonyn to William Howe, May 15, 1778, Headquarters Papers, 10/1172, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Tonyn to Germain, April 28, 1778, and Tonyn to Germain. July 3, 1778, PRO, CO5/558/127, 189; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 69-70; and Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, p. 135.

[91]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 24, 1778, p. 2; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, June 18, 1778, p. 3; Gaine's New-York Gazette, June 29, 1778, p. 3, July 6, 1778, p. 3, July 27, 1778, p. 3, and August 31, 1778, p. 2; Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 1, 1778, p. 3, July 25, 1778, p. 3, July 29, 1778, p. 2, and August 12, 1778, p. 3; Jamieson, Day Book, July 1, 1778, [p. 53], New-York Historical Society; Further List of Prizes, December 17, 1778, PRO, T1/540/6; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, June 24, and July 1, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/154, 159; and List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adml/489/208.

[92]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 24, 1778, p. 2; R. Cogdell to Governor Caswell, July 4, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:185-187; Rose and Torrans to Jonathan Trumbull, June 26, 1778, and Samuel Smedley to Trumbull, August 3, 1778, in Middlebrook, Connecticut Privateers, pp. 311-312, 312-313; Henry Laurens to John Laurens, July 26, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:80; Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 25, 1778, p. 3; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, July 1, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/159; Wells, Jr. to Laurens, June 17, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 13:483-484; and Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, p. 138.

[93]Rose and Torrans to Trumbull, June 26, 1778, and Smedley to Trumbull, August 3, 1778, in Middlebrook, Connecticut Privateers, pp. 311-312, 312-313; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 24, 1778, p. 2; Cogdell to Caswell, July 4, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:185-187; Searcy, Georgia-Florida, p. 138; and John F. Millar. American Sailing Ships of the Colonial & Revolutionary Periods (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1978), p. 106.

[94]John Cooke to Governor Caswell, June 29, 1778, and Gogdell to Caswell, July 4, 1778 in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13: 178, 185-187.

[95]Ibid.; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 24, 1778 p. 2; Henry Laurens to John Laurens, July 26, 1778, and Lowndes to Laurens, August 5, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:80, 125; and Rose and Torrans to Trumbull, June 26, and August 15, 1778, in Middlebrook, Connecticut Privateers, pp. 311-312,315-316.

[96]Gazette of the State South-Carolina, August 12, 1778, p. 3; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, August 5, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/192; List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1778, PRO, Adml/489/208; Rivington's Royal Gazette, October 3, 1778, p. 3; and Libel, John McLean vs. schooner Tartar, August 5, 1778, and Clearance for Tartar, July 3, 1778, PRO, HCA/32/460/9 (NC).

[97]North Carolina Gazette, July 17, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:459.

[98]Tonyn to Germain, July 3, 1778, PRO, CO5/558/189; John Houstoun to Laurens, August 20, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:190; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 146-147; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 70-71; Mowat, East Florida, p. 122; and Siebert, "Port of St. Augustine," p. 79.

[99]Keith Elphinstone to Mowbray, July 16, 1778, Mowbray to Keith Elphinstone, July 19 and 21, 1778, and Tonyn to Keith Elphinstone, July 25, 1778, in Perrin, Keith Papers, 1: 104-105, 117, 119, 123; Searcy, Georgia-Florida Contest, pp. 146-147; Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," pp. 70-71; Mowat, East Florida, p. 122; and Siebert, "Port of St. Augustine," p. 79.

[100]Houstoun to Laurens, August 20, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:190; Tonyn to Germain, August 20, 1778, PRO, CO5/558/219; and Brigadier-General Augustine Prevost to Clinton, September 16, 1778, in Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report of American Manuscripts, 1:293.

[101]Memorial of Macklin, Loyalists/Audit Office Transcripts, 56/V/92, New York Public Library; and General Account of Sundry Extraordinary Naval Expences...East Florida, June 25, 1777, to December 24, 1778, February 2, 1779, PRO, CO5/559/59.

[102]Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 1, 1778, p. 3; Libel, George Sibbles vs. brigantine, Esther, July 1, 1778, Answer and Claim of Israel Lieben and George Muir, July 15, 1778, Answer and Claim of Alexander Kennedy, March 5, 1779, Plea of George Sibbles, March 10, 1779, PRO, HCA32/325/2 (NC), HCA32/325/11 (CW); Appeals of George Sibbles, July 9, 1779, HCA30/184/Bundle: July, 1779, cited in Virginia Colonial Records Project, "Survey Report No. 14564," p. 3, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; and Alexander Kennedy to Treasury, and The Case of Captn. Alexander Kennedy, July 5, 1779, PRO, AO13/97/517, 519. Basically, a polacre was a vessel in which the masts each consisted of a single spar. There were no topmasts, etc..

[103]Rivington's Royal Gazette, September 2, 1778, p. 3; Gaine's New-York Gazette, September 7, 1778, p. 3; Libel, George Sibbles vs. brigantine, L'Aimable Jannette, September 11, 1778, Deposition of John Dupuch, September 24, 1778, and State and Inventory of the Cargo & effects of the Brigantine the Aimable Jannette, June 26, 1778, PRO, HCA32/273/3 (CW); Account of sales of L'Aimable Jannette and cargo, October 27, 1778, Adverstisement for Sale of L'Aimable Jannette, July 20, 1778, PRO, HCA49/91/5/22; Further List of Prizes, December 7, 1778, PRO, T1/540/6; and Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, October 5, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/120.

[104]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, July 15, 1778, p. 3.

[105]John Tabor Kempe to Robert Bayard, October 2, 1778, PRO, HCA32/283/9; List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1778, PRO, Adm1/489/208; Rivington's Royal Gazette, August 1, 1778, p. 2. The prize is referred to as L'Blonde Blasco in this account; Further List of Prizes, December 7, 1778, PRO, T1/540/6; and Account of sales of Bon Basque and cargo, November 6, 1778, PRO, HCA49/91/5/163.

[106]Rivington's Royal Gazette, August 1, 1778, p. 2; and Wells, Journal of a Voyage, p. 11.

[107]Lowndes to Laurens, August 16, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14: 170.

[108]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 19, 1778, p. 3; Peter Timothy to Laurens, August 16, 1778, and Houstoun to Laurens, August 20, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14: 174-175, 190; and Journal, R. Lowndes to Commissioners of the South Carolina Navy, and Commissioners to Stephen Duvall, Alexander Elsinore, and Commissary, all September 22, 1778, in Sally, Journal of the Commissioners, 1:183-185.

[109]Gervais to Laurens, July 2, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 13:542-543; Lowndes to Laurens, July 29, 1778, Laurens to Gervais, August 7, 1778, Laurens to Lowndes, August 11, 1778, Rawlins to Laurens, September 22, 1778, Gervais to Laurens, December 3, 1778, and Laurens to Lowndes, December 7, 1778, in Chesnutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:90, 135, 158, 344, 551, 568; Edward Blake to the President, July 30, 1778, and Blake to Commissary of the Naval Department, September 22, 1778, in Salley, Journal of the Commissioners, 1: 171, 185; and Keith Elphinstone to Governor Lowndes, August 24, 1778, in Perrin, Keith Papers, 1:129.

[110]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, July, 8, 1778, p. 2, August 12, 1778, p. 3, and August 19, 1778, p. 3; and South-Carolina and American General Gazette, July 30, 1778, p. 3.

[111]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 24, 1778, p. 2, and August 19, 1778, p. 3; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, March 19, 1778, p. 3, June 18, 1778, p. 3; and Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 29, 1778, p. 2.

[112]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 14, 1778, p. 2, October 28, 1778, p. 3, and November 4, 1778, p. 2; Josiah Smith, "Josiah Smith's Diary, 1780-1781," Annotated by Mabel L. Weber, The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine XXXIII (April, 1932): 116; and James Johnston's The Royal Georgia Gazette, July 27, 1780, p. 2.

[113]Corns. Harnett to Governor R. Caswell, November 10, 1778, Patrick Henry to Caswell, November 23, 1778, and Caswell to Henry, December 2, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:271, 296, 310; Edward Blake to Captain William Hall, December 5 and 14, 1778, in Salley, Journal of the Commissioners, 1:212, 216; Patrick Henry to the Delegates in Congress, December 4, 1778, Papers of the Continental Congress, R85/i71/v1/205, Library of Congress; and Buker and Martin, "Brown Water Navy," p. 71.

[114]Tonyn to Brigadier General Augustine Prevost, February 11, 1779, PRO, CO5/559/120.

[115]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82; Libel, Alexander Hamilton vs. schooner Four Sisters, January 16, 1778, and Deposition of Macajah Holt, January 27, 1778, PRO, HCA32/335/17 (NC), or HCA32/333/15 (CW); Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 4, 1778, p. 3, and October 21, 1778, p. 2; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 6, 1778, p. 3.

[116]Gaine's New-York Gazette, February 9, 1778, p. 3.

[117]Ibid., March 23, 1778, p. 3; and Rivington's Royal Gazette, March 21, 1778, p. 3.

[118]Commission for letter of marque Loyal Subject, Captain Andrew Sym. August 30, 1777, with appended note, March 9, 1778, Ward Chipman Papers, Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty, MG 23/D 1/1/9/61-62, Public Archives of Canada; Gaine's New-York Gazette, March 23, 1778, p. 3, and April 27, 1778, p. 3; Libel, Andrew Sym vs. schooner Bedford, March 20, 1778, Deposition of Thomas Maxfield, March 23, 1778, and Affidavit of Robert Niving, March 20, 1778, PRO, HCA32/278/7 (CW); Libel, Andrew Sym vs. brigantine Sally, March 18, 1778, Deposition of Samuel Tucker, March 20, 1778, Cocket for cargo of Sally, November 5, 1777, and Certificate of Bond for Sally, November 5, 1777, PRO, HCA32/447/12 (NC); Libel, Andrew Sym vs. schooner Joseph, March 20, 1778, and Deposition of Abraham Toppin, March 23, 1778, PRO, HCA32/377/2 (NC); Libel, Andrew Sym vs. schooner Rachell, March 20, 1778, Deposition of Purnell Johnson, March 23, 1778, and Bill of lading for Rachell, March [illeg.], 1778, PRO, HCA32/436/4 (NC); and Libel, Andrew Sym vs. sloop Henry, March 20, 1778, Bill of lading for Henry, February 20, 1778, and Invoice, sundry merchandize shipt on...Henry, February 20, 1778, PRO, HCA32/352/5 (NC), HCA32/358/20 (CW).

[119]Gaine's New-York Gazette, April 20, 1778, detached page, and May 11, 1778, p. 3; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, April 15, May 8, and June 3, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/73, 95, 133; and Libel, Andrew Sym vs. snow Amphitrion, May 8, 1778, Answer and Claim of John Tabor Kempe for the King, May 15, 1778, Deposition of Jean Joseph Roch Vidal, May 28, 1778, and *Facture generale*, PRO, HCA32/267/21 (NC); Account of sales of Amphitrion and cargo, August 21, 1778, PRO, HCA49/91/5/98 (see also PRO, T1/547/321).

[120]Gaine's New-York Gazette, May 25, 1778, p. 3, and July 13, p. 3; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, May 20, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/109; Libel, Andrew Sym vs. sloop Greyhound, May 11, 1778, Deposition of Robert Caulfield, May 20, 1778, Bill of lading for Greyhound, April 31, 1778, and Clearance for Greyhound, April 16, 1778, PRO, HCA32/345/6 (NC), HCA32/346/21 (CW); Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 11, 1778, p. 2, July 25, 1778, p. 3, and July 29, 1778, p. 2; and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[121]Libel, Bridger Goodrich vs. schooner Esther, March 20, 1778, Deposition of Alphonzo Gameau, March 27, 1778, Affidavit of Jacob Gotsheus [sic], March 20, 1778, Clearance for Esther, March 2, 1778, Register for Esther, February 18, 1778, and Log of Esther, March 10-12, 1778, PRO, HCA32/326/3 (NC), HCA32/316/11 (CW); and Gaine's New-York Gazette, March 23, 1778, p. 3, and April 20, 1778, detached page. This sale ad states the cargo consisted of sixty-three hogsheads plus some loose tobacco as well.

[122]Purdie's Virginia Gazette, April 3, 1778, p. 2.

[123]Caswell to the General Assembly, April 14, 1778, in House Journal, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 12:662-663. D

[124]Libel, James Duncan vs. sloop Dolphin, April 20, 1778, PRO, HCA32/312/9 (CW); and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[125]Libel, James Duncan vs. sloop Dolphin, April 20, 1778, Deposition of John Frazer, April 20, 1778, Invoice, articles shipped on Dolphin, and Clearance for Dolphin, January 28, 1778, PRO, HCA32/312/9 (CW); Libel, James Duncan vs. brigantine Patriarch Jacob, May 13, 1778, Deposition of Pierre Pineau, May 16, 1778, and Bill of lading for Patriarch Jacob, April [illeg.], 1778, PRO, HCA32/418/3 (NC); Account of sale of Patriarch Jacob, April 13, 1778, PRO, HCA49/91/5/3; Libel, James Duncan vs. sloop Speedwell, May 13, 1778, PRO, HCA32/454/4 (NC); Rivington's Royal Gazette, May 9, 1778, p. 3, and May 16, 1778, p. 2; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, April 20, 1778, detached page, May 11, 1778, p. 3; The May 9th issue of The Royal Gazette references the capture of two sloops. It is possible this refers to the Dolphin, taken earlier, but it is also possible this was an altogether different, additional sloop.

[126]Deposition of Nathan Chesebrough, May 13, 1778, PRO, HCA32/337/16, (NC); and Gaine's New-York Gazette, May 18, 1778, p. 3.

[127]North Carolina Gazette, May 15, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:418; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, May 21, 1778, p. 3; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, May 25, 1778, p. 3.

[128]Libel, Bridger Goodrich vs. sloop Robert, May 22, 1778, Affidavit of Willoughby Morgan, May 22, 1778, Register for Robert, December 5, 1777, and Clearance for Robert, May 8, 1778, PRO, HCA32/441/f (CW); Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, May 22, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/117; Gaine's New-York Gazette, May 25, 1778, p. 3, June 22, 1778, p. 3, and July 13. 1778, p. 3. The May 25, edition of The New-York Gazette states these prizes were "taken and destroyed," indicating all were burnt or scuttled. It should read taken and some destroyed, because three of the vessels named are known to have been sent in for condemnation; Rivington's Royal Gazette, May 23, 1778, p. 3, and June 20, 1778, p. 3; and Francis Brice to Governor Caswell, May 24, 1778, and North Carolina Gazette, May 15, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:134, 418.

[129]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, June 18, 1778, p. 3; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, June 24, 1778, p. 2; Gaine's New-York Gazette, June 8, 1778, p. 3, June 29, 1778, p. 3; August 24, 1778, p. 3; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, June 5 and 10, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/138, 139; Libel, Daniel Squier vs. sloop Adventure, June 10, 1778, Deposition of Robert Sheldon, June 15, 1778, Certificate of bond for Adventure, March 14, 1778, and Philip Chamberlain to Robert Sheldon, n.d., PRO, HCA32/274/7 (CW); Daniel Squier vs. sloop Adventure, July 15, 1778, Deposition of Josiah Ware, July 20, 1778, and Invoice, sundries shipped on Adventure, May 30, 1778, PRO, HCA32/262/8 (NC); and Rivington's Royal Gazette, August 15, 1778, p. 2.

[130]Gaine's New-York Gazette, June 15, 1778, p. 3, June 22, 1778, p. 3, and July 13, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, June 17, 1778, p. 3. This account in Rivington's is very garbled due to the fact that information pertaining to the action at Currituck Inlet is mixed up with similar activity involving the Harriott and occurring

several days later at Ocracoke Inlet. This second event will be discussed shortly; List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; Memorial of John Harper, read August 10, 1779, Committee report, [October 31, 1778], (See also in Journals of the Continental Congress, 34 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-1937), 12:1087-1089), Invoice, merchandise shipped on Liberty, May 28, 1778, Bill of lading for Liberty, May 28, 1778, Middleton Belt to John Harper & Co., June 16, 1778, Deposition of John Cook, June 18, 1778, Deposition of John Forgerson, June 18, 1778, Deposition of Middleton Belt, June 18, 1778, and Deposition of Charles Squires, June 18, 1778, in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/13/105; Libel, William Austin vs. schooner Sally, June 17, 1778, Deposition of Charles Henly, June 18, 1778, Register for Sally, June 5, 1778, Clearance for Sally, June 5, 1778, and Certificate of bond for Sally, June 5, 1778, PRO, HCA32/446/21 (NC), or HCA32/455/a (CW); Libel, William Austin vs. sloop Bacchus, June 17, 1778, Deposition of Charles Henly June 17, 1778, Bill of lading for Bacchus, May 18, 1778, Register for Bacchus, February 25, 1777, and Clearance for Bacchus, June 4, 1778, PRO, HCA32/276/3 (NC), or HCA32/286/1 (CW); and Affidavit of Craddock Kennett, June 18, 1778, and Certificate of bond for Betsey Soldon, June 6, 1778, PRO, HCA32/282/7 (NC).

[131]Depositions of Forgerson, Belt, and Squires, June 18, 1778, in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/13/105.

[132]Depositions of Cook, Forgerson, and Squires, June 18, 1778, in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/13/105.

[133]Depositions of Cook and Forgerson, June 18, 1778, in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/13/105.

[134]Memorial of Harper, August 10, 1779, Committee Report, [October 31, 1778], Belt to Harper June 16, 1778, and Depositions of Willoughby Morris, Daniel Donavin, Cook, Forgerson, Belt, and Squires, June 18, 1779, in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/13/105.

[135]Memorial of Harper, August 10, 1779, Depositions of Cook, Forgerson, and Belt, June 18, 1779, in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/13/105.

[136]Depositions of Morris, Forgerson, Belt, Squires, and Donavin, June 18, 1779, in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/13/105.

[137]Memorial of Harper, August 10, 1779, Committee Report [October 31, 1778], Belt to Harper June 16, 1778, Depositions of Morris, Cook, Forgerson, Belt, and Squires, June 18, 1779, and Affidavit of Middleton Belt, August 17, 1778, in National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, M162/13/105; George Mason to Richard Henry Lee, July 21, 1778, in Rutland, Papers of Mason, 1:430-431.

[138]Gaine's New-York Gazette, June 22, 1778, p. 3; Affidavit of Kennett, June 18, 1778, PRO, HCA32/282/1 (NC); and Rivington's Royal Gazette, June 17, 1778.

[139]Purdie's Virginia Gazette, June 19, 1778, p. 2; Rivington's Royal Gazette, June 17, 1778, p. 3. As noted, this account confuses a few facts pertaining to the Currituck raid with those concerning the

action at Ocracoke; John Easton to Caswell, June 29, 1778, and North Carolina Gazette, July 17, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:176, 459; and Pass from Andrew Snape Hamond to John Goodrich, Sr. June 4, 1778, PRO, AO13/30/GIV.

[140]Gaine's New-York Gazette, June 29, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, October 7, 1778, p. 3; List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; and Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, July 1, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/160.

[141]Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 6, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 4, 1778, p. 3, and September 26, 1778, p. 2; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, July 6, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/171; and Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, September 16, and October 2, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/111, 119.

[142]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[143]Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 13, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, July, 25, 1778, p. 3; and Jonathan R. Dull, "Diplomacy of the Revolution, to 1783," in The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the American Revolution, ed. Jack P. Greene, and J. R. Pole (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Oxford, U.K.: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1991), p. 325.

[144]Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 25, 1778, p. 3; Gaine's New-York Gazette, July 27, 1778, p. 3; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 12, 1778, p. 3.

[145]Rivington's Royal Gazette, August 26, 1778, p. 3.

[146]Ibid., August 12, 1778,. p. 3; Gaine's New-York Gazette, August 17, 1778, p. 3 and October 19, 1778, p. 2; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 19, 1778, p. 3, and August 26, 1778, p. 2; and Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, August 23, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg.

[147]Commission for brigantine, Dunmore, Captain William Goodrich, July 18, 1778, (period copy) Admiralty Papers, 1777-1780, C#00180, vol. 10, #64, Rhode Island State Archives, Providence, Rhode Island.

[148]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 19, 1778, p. 3, and August 26, 1778, p. 2; Libel, Bridger Goodrich vs. sloop, Mermaid, October 2, 1778, PRO, HCA32/401/30, (NC); Rivington's Royal Gazette, August 12, 1778, p. 3; Gaine's New-York Gazette, August 17, 1778, p. 3; Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, August 23, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779 John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[149]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, July 15, 1778, p. 3.

[150]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, July 29, 1778, p. 2; Rivington's Royal Gazette, August 1, 1778, p. 3, and September 9, 1778, p. 3; List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, September 4 and 11, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/108, 110; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, August 5, 1778, PRO, HCA49/94/192; Libel, John Tabor

Kempe for King vs. snow Marquise d' Entragues, August 21, 1778, and Answer and Claim of Daniel Squier, September 11, 1778, PRO, HCA32/399/7 (NC); Further List of Prizes condemned, December 7, 1778, PRO, T1/540/6; Account of sale of Marquise d' Entrague and cargo, November 28, 1778, PRO, HCA49/91/5/11; Libel, Daniel Squier vs. snow Speedwell, August 14, 1778, Deposition of James Robertson, August 12, 1778, and Clearance for Speedwell, July 22, 1778, and Register for Speedwell, July 22, 1778, PRO, HCA32/456/d (CW); and Gaine's New-York Gazette, August 31, 1778, p. 3.

[151]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 26, 1778, p. 2; Rivington's Royal Gazette, August 12, 1778, p. 3, and September 5, 1778, p. 3; Gaine's New-York Gazette, August 17, 1778, p. 3; and Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty, September 2, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/107.

[152]South-Carolina and American General Gazette, September 3, 1778, p. 3.

[153]Gaine's New-York Gazette, August 24, 1778, p. 3, and September 21, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, October 17, 1778, p. 2; List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; and Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty, September 16, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/111-112.

[154]List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; and Affidavit of Philip Ford, [August], 31, 1778, PRO, HCA32/309/27 (NC).

[155]List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; Libel, James Ridley vs. schooner Hope, February 8, 1779, and Register for Hope, August 14, 1778, PRO, HCA32/359/16, (CW); Libel, James Ridley vs. sloop Friendship, September 2, 1778, and Register for Friendship, April 23, 1778, PRO, HCA32/337/39 (CW); Libel, James Ridley vs. schooner Dolphin, September 24, 1778, and Clearance for Dolphin, August 26, 1778, PRO, HCA32/311/11 (CW); Note appended to copy of commission for George and Elizabeth, James Ridley to John Hayes, August 27, 1778, Ward Chipman Papers, Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty, MG 23/D 1/1/9/46, Public Archives of Canada; Rivington's Royal Gazette, September 2, 1778, p. 3, and September 30, 1778, p. 3; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, August 31, 1778, p. 3, and September 7, 1778, p. 3. The September 7, edition of The New-York Gazette lists the George and Elizabeth's captain as Treby, but more reliable admiralty court papers confirm Ridley was her skipper.

[156]North Carolina Gazette, July 17, 1778, in Clark, State Records of North Carolina, 13:459; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, August 19, 1778, p. 3; Journal of the Council, July 30, and September 4 and 11, 1778, in McIlwaine, Journals of the Council, 2: 172, 184, 186, (see also Official Letters of the Governors of Virginia, 1:302); Continental Marine Committee to Captain John Barry, August 4, 1778, and Marine Committee to Commissioners of the Navy Board, Eastern Department, September 14, 1778, in Charles Oscar Paullin, ed., Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee and Board of Admiralty, August, 1777 - September, 1780, 2 vols. (New York: Printed for the Naval History Society by the De Vinne Press, 1914), 1:287-288, 2:2; South-Carolina and American General Gazette, September 24, 1778, p. 3; and Stewart, History of Virginia's Navy, p. 54.

[157]Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, August 23, 1778, September 4-7, 1778, and September 10, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Memorial of Robert Sheddon, Pro, AO12/56/104; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 28, 1778, p. 3; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 19, 1778, p. 2.

[158]Eliza Tucker to St. George Tucker, August 16, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg.

[159]Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, September 4-7, 1778, and September 10, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Letter from Leonard Albouy, Joseph Basden, and W. Murray, May 17, 1779, Papers of the Continental Congress, R90/i78/v1/267, Library of Congress; Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 19, 1778, p. 2; Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, p. 397; and Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution, p. 85.

[160]Ibid.; [Illeg.], Charles Burch, and George Haynes, to Mr. Lovell, July 27, 1780, and Letter from Leonard Albouy and Joseph Basden, May 14, 1779, Papers of the Continental Congress, R26/i19/v1/217, and R90/i78/v1/253, Library of Congress; Zuill, "Further Family Connections with Orange Grove," pp. 79-80; and Hereward T. Watlington, "William Browne, Esq. Governor of Bermuda 1782-1788." Bermuda Historical Quarterly XXXIII (Autumn, 1976): 54.

[161]Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, September 10, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, p. 397; and Kerr, Bermuda in the American Revolution, p. 85; and Zuill, "Further Family Connections with Orange Grove," p. 80.

[162]Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, September 10, 1778, and Eliza Tucker to St. George Tucker, October 20, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 19, 1778, p. 2; and Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, p. 397.

[163]Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, September 4, 1778, and Eliza Tucker to St. George Tucker, October 20, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, p. 39; Watlington, "William Brown," p. 54; and Zuill, "Further Family Connections with Orange Grove," p. 80.

[164]Zuill, "Further Family Connections with Orange Grove," pp. 79-80; Libel, John Hall vs. sloop Industry, May 8, 1782, and Deposition of Thomas Smith, June 6, 1782, PRO, HCA32/381/3 (CW); Note from John Powell appended to period copy of commission for letter of marque Active, April 2, 1778, Ward Chipman Papers, Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty, MG 23/D 1/1/9/1, Public Archives of Canada; Gaine's New-York Gazette, May 11, 1778, p. 3; Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, September 4-7, 1778, and September 10, 1778, Tucker/Coleman Papers, 1775-1779, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, PRO, HCA49/94/passim; and List & Index Society, High Court of Admiralty

Prize Papers (HCA32/260-493) Index 1776-1786 (List and Index Society, 1982), pp. 74-75.

[165]Middleton, Tobacco Coast, pp. 113-115, 124, 131; An Account of the Quantity and Value of all Tobacco Imported into England, February 20, 1775, African Trade and Tobacco, .322, and An Account of the Quantity and Value of all Tobacco Imported into...Scotland, March 15, 1775, Tobacco. Accounts of Exports and Imports, Main Papers, House of Lords Records Office; and Observations on the Trade of North America, May, 1779, Germain Papers, and Jamieson to Clinton, A Sketch of the Trade, December 11, 1780, Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library.

[166]Samuel and Robert Purviance to Robert Morris, December 8, 1778, quoted in Coakley, "Virginia Commerce," p, 155.

CHAPTER 14

"THE HEROICK SPIRIT OF THE...BRITISH TAR:" NEW YORK AND OPERATIONS, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1778[1]

At New York during September and October, 1778, the issue of whether or not privateering would be allowed initially remained in doubt. Progress was, however, ultimately made in overcoming the obstacles, finally resulting in acceptance. Once established, there was a considerable outpouring of support to the degree that a distinct privateering sub-community evolved. At the same time, the newly commissioned New York privateers in association with Bermudan vessels (many of which, given the change in the situation, became increasingly affiliated with New York) continued the campaign against rebel and French shipping with considerable success.

The new Peace Commissioners arrived in the colonies in early June, going first to Philadelphia. Although armed with the power to suspend the Prohibitory Act, restore trade, and license prizes and prize goods, the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden were powerless to override Lord Howe and the restrictions he established in his capacity as naval commander-in-chief. Consequently, despite a growing sense on their part that trade and, by association, privateering were negatively affected by the existing policies and could not continue as they were, several months would pass before there was any change in the situation.[2]

The effects of Lord Howe's June embargo were severe. Ships sat idle and merchandise continued to accumulate. By August, simmering affairs began to boil and the New York merchants petitioned the Commissioners for a restoration of trade privileges, enumerating the export goods, tobacco, indigo, beeswax, flax seed, potash, lumber, dye woods, furs, and oils, that were accumulating.[3]

Although negative, the response of the Commissioners conveyed considerable sympathy for the merchants' plight. The officials stated they would like to do something to help, but were unable to do so. They lacked the authority to circumvent the Admiral's embargo. They did, however, pledge that once the embargo was removed, they would relax remaining exportation rules considerably.[4]

In early September, in an effort to gather facts on the state of trade, the Commissioners directed the various army and navy department heads involved with shipping to prepare reports on the number of vessels under government contract in the port. At the same time, Henry Law was to take a count of the independent merchant vessels (inclusive of privateers and prizes) sitting in the harbor. The tallies clearly reflected just how stagnant commerce had become. A total of 361 vessels equaling 75,154 and 4/12ths tons were listed as being in government service with the Transport, Quarter Master, Victualing, Commissary, Ordnance, and Barracks Master Departments. While these vessels would have generated a degree of income by virtue of the fact they were hired, and some were undoubtedly actually employed transporting provisions, stores, and troops, it seems the vast majority languished unemployed at their moorings. Worse were the 261 independent merchant vessels totaling 35,773 and 1/8 tons for which there was no prospect of any activity beyond swinging idly at their anchorages. All together, 622 vessels with a collective tonnage of 110,926 and 6/12 tons sat in the harbor at New York in the late summer of 1778.[5]

An interesting phenomenon in the loyalist press at this time conveys the increasing interests and intentions concerning privateering. As early as May, in anticipation of receiving authorization, vendue houses began to advertise the sale of vessels by emphasizing their suitability as privateers. By August, despite all else, the number of such advertisements was increasing.[6]

While trade remained at a virtual standstill, things were actually beginning to look up for privateering. On June 5, before Tryon penned his dispatch to Germain conveying the discouraged demeanor of the populace over the inability to get commissions, the Secretary had, in fact, sent news of great import. According to Germain, a legal difficulty (left undesignated) accounted for the failure of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send Tryon the necessary sanction to issue letters of marque. The problem had been rectified and the required authorization accompanied.[7]

Of course, there were still qualifications. Germain left no doubt about who could receive commissions and under what circumstances. Tryon was given

> the necessary authority to grant letters of Marque in all such case as the prohibitory Act will allow. These cases, are ships in the service of Governt, Ships licensed to bring provisions or Stores to the Fleet or Army, or for the supply of the Inhabitants, & ships carrying out prize goods. Under these descriptions only it is, that any Trading ship can enter or clear at New York without incurring forfeiture, and therefore none else can possibly perform the requisites that entitle them to letters of Marque[.][8]

Clearly the Prohibitory Act was still the governing element, and commissions were intended only for vessels sailing as true letters of marque.

Germain's dispatch arrived at New York just prior to September 5. On that date, Tryon responded to the Secretary acknowledging receipt of the correspondence and indicating he was prepared to move ahead. The merchants and mariners were making preparations as well. No

less than forty vessels were in the process of fitting out in anticipation of receiving commissions.[9]

Tryon wasted little time in meeting the demand. On September 8, he started to issue letters of marque, and within ten days, twenty vessels had received them. The captains included Stanton Hazard of Rhode Island and William Raddon of Pennsylvania. There were fifty-two owners, forty-six of whom were listed as merchants residing in New York. Three of the remaining were merchants of Newport, Rhode Island. Included in this group were Rhinelander, Bayard, and Yates of New York, Hamilton of North Carolina, Chamier of Maryland, Gilmour, Begg, Calderhead, and Jamieson of Virginia, Booth of Pennsylvania, and William Wanton, Lewis and Wickham of Rhode Island.[10]

This first group of vessels consisted of one ship, two brigs, eight schooners and nine sloops. Again, the dominance of sloops and schooners in this assemblage indicates a desire to employ faster, easily handled, and more maneuverable craft. The group does, however, also reflect the same trend seen in East Florida and Bermuda for vessels of more substantial size, armament, and personnel. Of the seventeen schooners and sloops, thirteen mounted eight to ten guns, and one sloop possessed twelve. The ship carried twenty-two guns, while each brig had ten. Almost all of these letters of marque carried an impressive array of swivel guns as well, with eight to ten being standard. Altogether, these vessels mounted 190 carriage guns and 158 swivels. These figures clearly show a general increase in the armaments of loyalist vessels.[11]

As to personnel, on the schooners, crews generally consisted of thirty or forty men, but one had fifty. On the sloops, between thirty and fifty men was standard as well. The ship and two brigs possessed relatively larger crews of seventy, fifty, and forty men, respectively, befitting their size and more complex rig. Collectively, 778

men served on these letters of marque. Two vessels with thirty and forty men were owned in Liverpool and Dominica. So, it is likely that at least a significant core element of their crews were not true loyalists. Still, even if these two crews are deducted from the total, the remaining figure is still impressive. These numbers show not only a general increase in the size of crews compared to those elsewhere at an earlier date, but also a ready supply of loyalist marine talent at New York prepared, willing, and able to sign articles.[12]

The arrival of Germain's and the Admiralty's authorizations was followed shortly by another significant event in the history of loyalist privateering. On September 11, Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Richard "Black Dick" Howe resigned, passing command temporarily to Rear Admiral James Gambier. Despite this, the various problems were not alleviated. Howe continued to issue orders and direct matters until his departure on September 24, and following that, Gambier felt compelled to continue Howe's policies for the good of the service.[13]

Not only did Howe's embargo remain in place during the last two weeks of his stay in New York, it remained in effect after he sailed, because he did not repeal it. At the same time, Gambier professed to be very confused by the whole situation, claiming Howe had not briefed him on any of the issues at hand prior to his leaving. Furthermore, as a temporary commander, the new Admiral seemed to be unsure of his authority. Consequently, while diplomatically conveying that his position was non-committal and flexible, Gambier made it clear that when in doubt, as he was, the best and safest policy was to follow that of his predecessor. So, the embargo was left in place, and because of the manpower situation, privateers were still seen as a serious threat to the efficiency and effectiveness of the Royal Navy.[14]

The embargo remained a serious obstacle. Letters of marque still required licenses to sail and bring in prizes and generally, they were

not forthcoming. Consequently, a commission was worthless, because nothing could be done with it. Worse, the letters of marque were still being hamstrung in their preparations by the navy pressing men from their crews. Lacking licenses, crews, or official protections for crews, very few vessels were able to put to sea during the early weeks of official activity.[15]

While all this was transpiring over the issue of privateers, the Peace Commissioners, good for their word and seeing a possible opportunity in Howe's impending departure, conspired to use their authority to begin doing something to better the trade situation. On September 21, they informed Gambier that they intended to take steps to improve trade and privateering in New York. This notification was simply a courtesy to allow Gambier some time to take any precautions to prevent desertions from his crews. It was nothing more. The Commissioners had adopted the attitude that the navy's problems were none of their concern.[16]

Gambier lost little time in conveying this intelligence to Sandwich, stating he believed the Commissioners would move ahead with their plan the minute Lord Howe's ship passed over the horizon. Following this, on the 25th, after Howe's departure, he acknowledged receipt of the Commissioner's notice. In this letter, the Rear Admiral professed his ignorance of the situation, intimated he would be as cooperative as possible, noted that Lord Howe had left the embargo in place, and declared he would do what was necessary for the good of the service.[17]

Just as Gambier believed, the Commissioners, using their powers to suspend parts the Prohibitory Act, issued a formal proclamation concerning trade on September 26. Although both the Prohibitory Act and William Howe's regulations still actually remained in place, this proved a major step in improving the trade situation. After acknowl-

edging that problems certainly existed and professing a desire to rectify matters, the Commissioners announced that New Yorkers would once again be allowed to export to locales within the empire any goods that had been regularly shipped from the port prior to the Prohibitory Act, provisions and stores for the army and navy excepted. Although licenses were still required, the port officers received the authorization to issue them.[18]

At the same time, the Proclamation served as a blanket license and warrant to all naval personnel and properly commissioned civilians to send their prizes to New York or Newport, Rhode Island. Then, after legal condemnation, prizes and prize goods could be exported, subject to the same duties, licensing, and restrictions, as any other commodity. In essence, the Proclamation served to reaffirm the earlier Prize Act.[19]

Although an important advance, the Proclamation did have its limitations. It was clearly experimental in that this trade was only authorized for three months. Furthermore, it did not override or replace Lord Howe's embargo, and it remained possible for any naval commander-in-chief to impose such restrictions at any time he felt circumstances warranted them.[20]

There was another matter which must have prevented the Proclamation being used to its best advantage. Although restrictions on exports had been lifted allowing the shipment of accumulated goods and bringing some immediate relief, the prospects for the long-term trade situation actually still remained severely limited. While merchants were allowed to export those goods they had dealt in before the war, their actual ability to do so was an altogether different matter. Unlike other regions and ports, New York did not deal in a single staple export commodity. Consequently, cargoes shipped from there were commonly mixed in nature. There were, however, two regional items that

passed through the port with far greater regularity and abundance than others. These were furs and wheat. Unfortunately, with the surrounding area under rebel control, access to furs was cut off. As to wheat, while limited quantities may have been attainable from immediate surrounds such as Long Island, amounts would have been comparatively minimal to pre-war quantities. More significantly, falling under the category of provisions, wheat could not be exported in any case. These same factors of availability and eligibility would have affected other local export commodities as well.[21]

At the same time, a large part of New York's pre-war trade involved the reexportation of goods from other colonies. Primary commodities in this category included large quantities of rice and naval stores from the Carolinas. Of course, with those locales under rebel control, New York merchants were effectively cut off from dealing in these items, as well. Furthermore, goods such as rice and naval supplies fell under the category of provisions and stores and again, simply could not be reshipped.[22]

So, while the New York merchants were at last allowed to export, there was relatively little to ship, and given the time restriction, there was a limited window of opportunity in which to act. Then, of course, the presiding admiral could still over-ride the situation and impose his own restrictions at any time. This negative, tenuous situation was undoubtedly compounded by the increase in merchants, shipping, and thus competition, due to the influx of refugees. In essence, there were more traders with less to trade. In terms of commodities available for shipping, however, there was a notable exception in abundance, prize goods.

The real advantage gained from the Proclamation for both trade and privateering lay in the reaffirmation of the ability to export prize goods. Prize goods became a substitute, replacing other limited,

traditional items as the port's primary export commodity. Of course, this created a demand that was met through privateering, which as a result, moved to the forefront as a viable, attractive, alternative business venture. Privateering created greater trade which, in turn, gave increased impetus to privateering. The two activities thus fed each other in a symbiotic relationship in which privateering acted as the dominant stimulating factor keeping things in motion. Under the circumstances, lacking a better alternative, the merchant/ mariner class readily embraced privateering. The activity allowed them to keep ships and crews employed and maintain an increased level of business. At the same time, the enterprise offered such men the perfect opportunity to express their loyalty and aid the war effort.

On November 18, the Commissioners would allow another trade concession. Merchants could import provisions and stores without licenses. Again, however, this was experimental and granted for only a limited time. Also, while this would initially appear to be a significant concession (and to a degree it was), it would seem likely that anyone availing themselves of the opportunity would have found themselves at a great disadvantage. They would have been bringing these commodities into a very competitive business environment dominated by cheaper prize provisions and stores being sold in the more flexible market arena of public vendue.[23]

Although no record has been found of Gambier having formally retracted the embargo, the Proclamation seemingly had the effect of intimidating him and coercing a positive response. He acquiesced to the prevailing sentiment and at least relaxed the restrictions affecting the sailing of regular trading vessels. Between October 1 and 18, 1778, no less than fifty-two merchantmen, totaling 7,695 registered and 10,260 real tons, and carrying cargoes of tobacco, indigo, staves, flax seed, beeswax, potash, fustic, snuff, cotton, oil, sassafras,

snake root, furs, skins, horn, lead, dry goods, and fifteen elephants' teeth, valued at £446,900 sterling, cleared New York. The nature of a number of these items such as tobacco, indigo, cotton, tusks, furs, and skins indicates they were either prize goods or had been warehoused for a considerable time. Eighteen vessels, however, attempting to sail in ballast, were detained by the Admiral.[24]

While Gambier relented with regards to the sailing of merchantmen, he still required letters of marque to obtain a license before sailing and continued to press crews. These obstacles were severe enough for a time to prevent all but a very few to seek commissions after the initial demand. Between September 18 and October 20, only four commissions were granted to a ship, a brig, a schooner, and a sloop. While only a small sample, this group illustrates the continued trend for larger vessels. Respectively, exclusive of the brig which will be discussed in a moment, these vessels were armed with twenty, sixteen and twelve carriage guns, and manned with one-hundred, fifty, and sixty-five individuals. The brig, the Loyal Subject, had already been active and, seemingly, was just being recommissioned with a new skipper and ownership. So, her statistics, which have already been examined, are indicative of a different time and place. Still, even with her, there was an increase in crew from fifty to seventy-five.[25]

Included in the seven men listed as principal owners of the four vessels were Dick of Maryland, Spens and Kemble of New York, and Walker of Virginia. Five of the men recorded their occupation as merchants in New York. Two, Kemble and Spens referred to themselves simply as Gentlemen.[26]

An important issue at this time concerned the exact status of the French. On October 5, The New-York Gazette reported the rebel press as stating a formal declaration of war had been made between Britain and France in early July. It then, however, noted that al-

though such was to be expected, no official word of this action had arrived in New York and apparently was not known in London as of July 17. The same issue also reported that on June 24, authorization had been given for French privateers to fit out and cruise against British shipping despite the fact there had been no declaration of war at that time. The war at sea had just escalated, requiring new measures to wage it.[27]

Then, Tryon received a series of dispatches sent by Germain on August 5 and 7. The information they conveyed was of great importance. Because Louis the XIV had issued orders that British shipping be seized or destroyed, King George had directed the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to issue letters of marque against France. The Lords Commissioners, in turn, delegated that authority to the colonial governors. This time, there would be no delays and no confusion. The Admiralty's sanction accompanied the Secretary's dispatch. The New-York Gazette duly reported this news on October 26.[28]

Also sent was a modified set of instructions, updated to conform to the new circumstances. In accordance with "the King's express command," the only stipulations in addition to those in the printed regulations were that the governors grant letters of marque only

> to persons whose Characters and properties are such as shall be a sufficient pledge and assurance of their strict observance of their instructions, and that you do take every precaution to prevent any injury or molestation to the Trade of His Catholick Majty's subjects, or any just ground of complaint from any neutral power.[29]

Obviously, socio-economic factors would play a key role in determining who would receive commissions.

Germain hoped these new developments would result in privateering on a wider scale. They clearly had the effect of breaking down Gambier's resolve to resist issuing licenses to letters of marque. He could no longer stand in the way. The King, himself, had given the directive. Tryon reported a very favorable response to the news, stating

commissions were "taken up with great avidity." They were. Between October 21 and 25, eighteen additional letters of marque were granted to one ship, five schooners, five sloops, six brigs, and one snow.[30] QOK

Three of the brigs, the Tryon, the Dunmore, and the Enterprize, one schooner, the Hammond, and two sloops, the General Howe, and the George and Elizabeth, were veteran vessels that had already been active. They were simply obtaining additional commissions to act against the French. Therefore, their attributes have already been discussed, and will not be included in the analysis that immediately follows. As for the remaining twelve, development in terms of scale can be discerned between this group of vessels and the first even though only a little over a month had passed. Despite the fact three of the vessels were relatively tiny schooners with only two guns each and crews of fifteen or twenty men, there was an increase in the ratio of larger ships, brigs, and snows. The three brigs mounted twelve, fourteen, and sixteen guns, which is more than the earlier New York brigs and comparable with others that had been operating out of East Florida and Bermuda. The ship and snow carried twenty guns apiece. The three new sloops shipped eight, ten, and twelve guns. Apparently some loyalists intended to be prepared for larger prey.[31]

As to personnel, the captains in this group included Hylton of New York, James Hayt, Jr. of Connecticut, Buchanan and Ridley from the Chesapeake region, Squier and Sibbles, and most significantly, the Goodrich brothers, William and Bridger. Among the thirty-one owners, thirty were described as merchants residing in New York. Of these, twenty-two were newcomers in terms of acquiring commissions at that port. The remaining eight had already invested in at least one previous vessel. Included among the new owners were Pearce of Rhode Island, Goldthwaight, Geyer, Dumaresque and Green of Massachusetts, Gracie, the Laight brothers, Moore, and Neale of New York, and again of note,

Virginians Robert Sheddon and Bartlet Goodrich. The partnerships of Moore and Neale and Sheddon and Goodrich each commissioned three vessels during this time. Those vessels which had already been active were receiving additional commissions allowing them to act against the French. Their earlier commissions authorizing them to operate against the rebels were still valid.[32]

Of significance was the further growth of crew sizes. The three new sloops possessed complements of forty, forty and fifty men. The single new larger schooner also had a crew of forty. More significantly, the ship had sixty men and the three brigs had forty, ninety, and one-hundred. The single snow had an abundance of personnel with one-hundred and fifty individuals aboard. In this most recent group of letters of marque, the newly fitted out vessels alone had crews totaling 665 men. When the men of the first and second groups are added, 778 and 215, plus the 547 individuals on vessels that had already seen service, there was a total of 2,210 officers and crewmen aboard the forty-two letters of marque commissioned at New York between September 8, and October 25, 1778.[33]

Although it is impossible to derive anything like a precise figure, it need be noted that a number of these men undoubtedly did not sign on at New York, and consequently some of those who did not enroll there were not true loyalists. Seven vessels, such as those owned by the partnerships of Sheddon and Goodrich and Moore and Neale, had already been operating out of Bermuda for some time and undoubtedly acquired some personnel there as well as New York. Another veteran was Ceary's Dominican based General Howe, on which it would seem likely the majority of the thirty man crew was West Indian. Two other Dominican based vessels and one from Liverpool also received commissions at this time and they possessed crews totaling 110 men. Still, even after deleting the 547 and the 110 as possible outsiders, there remains a

sizable figure representing 1,553 men. On the other hand, because two of the veteran brigs, the Tryon and the Enterprize, had been fitted out at New York initially, it seems likely that at least most of their crew originated there as well. So, 182 men can be added back, returning a figure of 1,735.[34]

That a large part of the crews of these craft did, in fact, sign on at New York becomes apparent through a comparison of their letters of marque. The earlier Bermuda commission of Moore and Neale's sloop George and Elizabeth lists a crew of only thirty men, but when commissioned at New York to sail against the French, she was listed as having sixty. The same holds true for the Sheddon and Goodrich brig, Dunmore. While operating with a Bermuda commission, she maintained a complement of fifty men, but then was upgraded to one-hundred at New York. Even the London-commissioned, but loyalist-affiliated brig Loyal Subject (one of the four vessels receiving a letter of marque during the slow period) underwent a crew increase at New York from fifty men to seventy-five. These increases further serve to support the existence of a general growth trend. The differences, amounting to 105 men, can also be factored back into the total New York sum, resulting in a figure of at least 1,840 of the men being true North American loyalists. Of course, many of the remainder undoubtedly were as well. So, after various considerations, the number of true loyalists signing on in New York was sizable. Clearly, the idea of serving on a letter of marque was appealing to a great number of men.[35]

Of the utmost significance at this point is the fact that commissions were no longer restricted to vessels under license or contract to the government. Even more importantly, a vessel was no longer required to function as a true letter of marque. They could now act as free-roving privateers. It need be said that nowhere are either of these developments specifically stated as being in effect, but there

is strong evidence to support such was the case. Whereas with the initial point of issue, Germain had gone into great detail clarifying who was eligible under what circumstances, in his recent dispatches concerning the change in affairs, his only criteria were that owners be of good character and sufficient wealth. In another missive of the same date, the Secretary conveyed the impression that the field of potential recipients had broadened when stating his "hopes of seeing all his Majesty's Loyal American subjects again at liberty to exert themselves in distressing the Trade and punishing the perfidy of our natural Enemies."[36]

Dovetailing with Germain's correspondence and carrying more weight in this argument were the contents of the new INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMMANDERS OF SUCH MERCHANT SHIPS or VESSELS Who shall have LETTERS of MARQUE and REPRIZALS. These are of interest when compared with the earlier version. The first thing that is evident in the new set, apart from the fact these were specifically intended for use against the French, is the actual use of the term "Letters of Marque and Reprizals" which never appears in the earlier form. This clearly reflects the general change in the situation. In accordance with international law, letters of marque were to be issued only against acknowledged foreign powers usually with whom a formal state of war existed. Internal revolution did not constitute declared conflict between two sovereign states and to have expressly used the term letters of marque, therefore, might have been an acknowledgment of the colonies as an independent entity. Such legal niceties did not apply with France with whom all the traditional criteria for conflict were met.[37]

More to the point, the new Instructions simply say, That it shall be lawful for the Commanders of Ships authorized by

> Letters of Marque and Reprizal for private Men of War, to set upon by Force of Arms, and subdue and take the Men of War, Ships and

> Vessels, Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes of the *French* King, his Vassals and Subjects.[38]

It is evident this was written for a wider readership with the implication that anyone was technically eligible to receive a commission.

Furthermore, although the introduction to the new Instructions refers to "the Commanders of such Merchant Ships or Vessels," the reference to merchant vessels only appears once in the actual text of the directives. This tends to indicate that the use of the term "merchant" is used in a general sense, synonymous with "civilian," rather than meaning that vessels with commissions were required to still act as trading vessels.[39]

A comparison of the opening lines of "Article I" in each set of the Instructions is enlightening. The earlier version refers to "the Commanders of private Ships and Vessels employed in Trade, or retained in our Service." The new rules refer to "the Commanders of Ships, authorized by Letters of Marque and Reprizal for private Men of War." Significantly, the references to trading and government service are noticeably absent in the more recent form. Instead, there is the phrase denoting vessels as "private Men of War," something which is not found in the earlier set of rules. This change implies an altogether different function and thus, purpose. Whereas a real letter of marque was, theoretically, comparatively defensive and therefore passive in its role, the new phrase conveys the intent of an offensive role with an inherent element of aggression.[40]

If this is not convincing, the real indication of change in the rules is evident upon comparison of "Article VI" of the old and new regulations. In the earlier version, when applying for commissions, owners were required to declare the nature of the vessel's cargo and where she was bound. These requirements were deleted from the new instructions. There remained only a less demanding stipulation. Owners

just needed to declare for how long their vessels were victualed. Loyalist privateering had finally been acknowledged and accepted.[41]

In addition to their commercial ties, the New York merchants established and maintained a physical community of businesses and residences in close proximity to each other. Upon arrival, refugee merchants set up their operations in the same part of the city. The general area was defined by Whitehall Street to the southwest and John Street to the northeast. The northwest boundary was formed by Broad and Nassau Streets which met at Wall Street. Today, these streets retain their eighteenth century names, and their configurations have changed very little with time. The East River created the southeast boundary. While these streets define the basic district, a more detailed explanation is required to fully understand it.

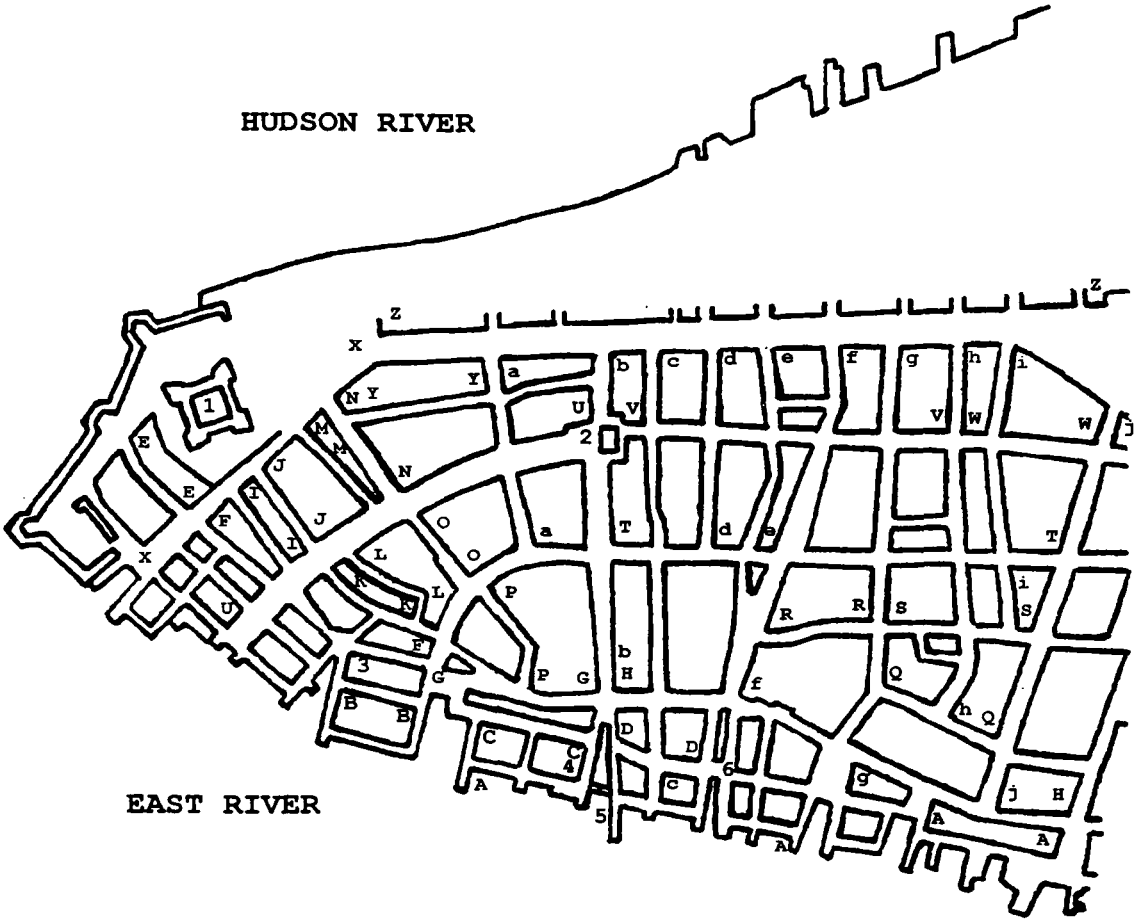
Three period maps of the city exist and are in general agreement with each other. These are the plans created by Lieutenant B. Ratzer, 1766-1767, John Montresor, 1775, and Major Holland, winter, 1776. A fourth map, executed by David Grim from memory, probably in the early nineteenth century, and showing the areas destroyed by the fires of 1776 and 1778, is also of considerable value. There is also the B. Taylor map of 1796-1797, which, although reflecting the city of a somewhat later date, can be relied upon when used in conjunction with the others to confirm data gleaned from them. Finally, there is a sixth, earlier plan, Thomas Lyne's of 1730, that can be employed in the same manner as Taylor's. A comparison of the first four maps with modern ones shows some noticeable differences. Most significantly, a large number of street names have been changed. Confusing matters even more, eighteenth century Water Street is not the same as present day Water Street. Also, over the years, some early lanes and alleys have

disappeared while a number of other small passages have been created. Fortunately, regardless of name, today the majority of the main arteries still retain configurations very close to, if not the same as, they did during the revolution. Also, enough streets still possess their original names to allow key points of reference to be established for comparison between period and modern plans of the city.[42]

The area requiring the most explanation is that involving the three eighteenth century and four twenty-first century streets running roughly parallel to each other along the river. The cartographic problems are compounded by the progressive changes in the shoreline over the ensuing years as a result of fill. The street furthest inland, present day Pearl, will be examined first and serve as a base line for discussion of the remainder between there and the water-course. In the eighteenth century, Pearl Street actually underwent four name changes as it progressed northeast. Then, only the block between the battery and Whitehall street was called Pearl. From there to present day Hanover Square, the artery went by the name of Great Dock (or simply Dock) Street. Where it stopped, eighteenth century Hanover Square began which, in turn, became Queen Street. (See accompanying map)[43]

Next, conforming to the route of present day Water Street was another series of passages starting in the south-west with Little Dock Street. This ran for only a block before becoming Hunter's Quay. After two blocks, Hunter's Quay became Burnett Street at the intersection of Wall Street.[44]

Running along the river during the eighteenth century was the appropriately named Water Street. It basically conformed to present day Front Street within the area under discussion. Because of slips and irregularities in the shoreline, however, Water Street's course was rather erratic, jogging, stopping and starting. Except for wharves, all land to the southeast of current Front Street did not



KEY POINTS

1. Ft. George (Governor's Residence)
2. City Hall
3. Queen's Head Tavern (Fraunce's)
4. Merchants Coffee House
5. Coffee House Bridge
6. Fly Market

STREETS

A-A Water St.
B-B Little Dock St.
C-C Hunter's Quay
D-D Burnett St.
E-E Pearl St.
F-F Great Dock St.

STREETS CONT.

G-G Hanover Sq.
H-H Queen St.
I-I Bridge St.
J-J Stone St.
K-K Duke St.
L-L Mill St.
M-M Field Market St.
N-N Beaver St.
O-O Princess St.
P-P Slote Ln.
Q-Q Cliff St.
R-R Rutgers St.
S-S Vandercliff St.
T-T William St.
U-U Broad St.

STREETS CONT.

V-V Nassau St.
W-W Kid St.
X-X White Hall
Y-Y New St.
Z-Z Broadway
a-a Garden St.
b-b Wall St.
c-c King St.
d-d Queen St. (Little?)
e-e Crown St.
f-f Maiden Ln.
g-g John St.
h-h Fair St.
i-i Ann St.
j-j Beekman St.

Figure 11: The New York Privateering District. After maps by David Grim, John Montresor, and Major Holland.

exist, and consequently, neither did present day South Street. Along the water front were a number of piers, slips and wharves; Albany, Cruger's, Coffee House, Murray's, and Rodman's (the latter already being called Burling's).[45]

Then, as now, Wall Street cut through the center of this mercantile district which in total, encompassed an expanse of about a half mile along the river and extended inland about a quarter mile. Of course dock facilities stretched further along the river, but the primary merchant center was that area just described.

Merchants were scattered throughout the district, but the greatest concentrations occurred along the Water Street and the Great Dock/Hanover Square/Queen Street route. The operations of Joseph Allicocke, Neil Jamieson, Henry Law, Oliver Templeton, Valentine Nutter, George Moore, Frederick Rhinelander, John Begg, Jonathan Tremain, John Tench, Bryan Conner, and Walter Spens were located on Water Street. Emanuel Walker, Robert Waddell, and Hugh and Alexander Wallace did business on the next thoroughfare over, Little Dock Street, Hunter's Quay, and Burnett Street, respectively. Robert Sheddon and the Goodriches could be found on Great Dock Street, and Moore later removed to that locale as well. Francis Green and Frederick William Geyer were on Hanover Square. Walker, after relocating from Little Dock Street and before moving yet again to Mill Street, also had an establishment on Hanover Square. The operations of Thomas Buchanan, Benjamin Booth (near the Fly Market), and Edward and William Laight were along Queen Street. On the cross streets, Richard Yates and David Fenton (residence) were on Wall Street. Yates was also located on Princess Street for a while. David Sproat was established on Maiden Lane. At the foot of Maiden Lane was the Fly Market at which George Gracie, Robert Pagan, and Henry White conducted business. Scattered and further from the waterfront were Thomas Quill on William Street, William McAdam on

Smith Street near the new Dutch church, Jonathan Eilbeck on Duke Street, and John Hylton on Little Queen Street.[46]

Other related facilities were also located in the district. At the juncture of Broad and Nassau Streets at Wall was City Hall. There, the vice admiralty court convened in an upstairs room. At the foot of Wall Street there was a slip which ran inland as far as the juncture Hunter's Quay and Burnett Street. The configuration of this slip is still apparent today in the form of the widened, filled in area at the foot of the street. Close to the river along the slip where it cut through Water Street stood the Merchant's Coffee House. Outside this establishment spanning the slip was the Coffee House Bridge. This specific locale constituted the hub of loyalist merchant and privateering activities. The Coffee House served as the congregating point for the area's business men, and it was there the reestablished Chamber of Commerce met. The slip and the bridge would become a primary setting for the auctioning of prizes and prize goods.[47]

It need be noted that this slip is not shown on the Ratzer, Montresor, or Holland maps. This, however, simply seems to a compounded oversight. The slip does appear on both the 1730 Lyne map and Grim's early nineteenth century plan as well as Taylor's 1790s rendering. This, combined with numerous references to the feature, confirms its existence.[48]

Two other significant locations existed in the district. One of these was the Queen's Head Tavern (now Fraunce's) at the intersection of Great Dock and Broad Streets. The site where the original Chamber of Commerce met, the tavern remained an important meeting place for merchants. Just up the street at Hanover Square were the offices of James Rivington's Royal Gazette, and Hugh Gaine's New-York Gazette, which kept their journalistic fingers on the pulse of privateer, prize, and auction activities, heralding the news from all quarters.[49]

This physical community was, in turn, bonded by a new web of business associations created with the arrival of displaced loyalists. Furthermore, if any of these budding privateers, native or refugee, were unknown to each other earlier within their own regions, between regions, or through business conducted in close proximity in New York, the enterprise they were embarking on resulted in a variety of associations, brought them together, and united them even more.

Logically, family bonds were maintained between individuals interested in privateers. For instance, the Wallaces, Hugh and Alexander, Laights, Edward and William, Pagans, Robert and William, Braines, Daniel and Thomas, Tenches, Ian and John, Turners, Jesse and Levin, and Stuarts, Roger and Robert, each concerned themselves in vessels as family units. Undoubtedly the Goodriches were the most significant example of a family linked by privateering. Operating as Sheddon and Goodrich, Robert Sheddon and Bartlet Goodrich acted as principal owners of privateers commanded by William and Bridger. The firm also owned those vessels skippered by John, Sr. while acting as guide for the British during their various incursions into the Chesapeake.[50]

As might be expected, family groups and others maintained regional affiliations in their privateering ventures. Massachusetts loyalists, Joseph Goldthwaight, Frederick Geyer, Phillip Dumaresque, and Francis Green invested in privateers together, as did New Yorkers Thomas Buchanan, Richard Yates, and Henry White, Tertullus Dickinson and Barrack Hays, John Hylton and the Braines, Walter Spens and Samuel Kemble, Frederick Rhinelander and the Laights, and Thomas Quill and Robert Waddell. Virginians, John Begg, Robert Gilmour, and William Calderhead, and Jonathan Eilbeck and Thomas Farrar, shared ownership of vessels as well as Rhode Island's William Wanton, Ezekiel Lewis, and Thomas Wickham. These same regional links existed between owners, captains, and crews. Pennsylvanian William Raddon was captain of a

privateer owned by Benjamin Booth. Stanton Hazard of Rhode Island commanded a privateer owned by Wanton, Lewis, and Wickham, with Francis I'annes acting as an officer. Jacob Getsheus skippered a vessel with a seemingly high percentage of Pennsylvanians aboard. A vessel in which the Pagan brothers were involved was commanded by Thomas Weyer of Maine.[51]

There is evidence that ethnic background united men in this pursuit. Clearly of French extraction, Charles LeTelier was captain of a privateer owned by Joshua Temple de St. Croix. Also, the early privateers at Bermuda were described as being predominantly Scots. Of course, as noted, even gender could be a factor as was evident with the privateer owned by Ann Burgess, Isabelle Burton, and Ann McAdam.[52]

This network of ownership and personnel extended even further. Numerous inter-colonial affiliations were established uniting these individuals even more. New Yorker Frederick Rhinelander shared ownership of vessels with Robert and William Pagan of Maine, and Samuel Pearce of Rhode Island. In turn, Robert Pagan owned a vessel with William Lowther of North Carolina and Thomas Skelton of New Jersey. Another North Carolinian, John Cruden, Jr., invested in a privateer with New Yorkers, Spens and Kemble. New Yorker Yates shared ownership of a privateer with Daniel Chamier of Maryland, and John Hamilton of North Carolina did the same with Coffin and Anderson of Massachusetts, as did James Dick of Maryland and Hylton of New York with yet another craft. Of course, other examples can be cited, and many of the individuals mentioned were, in turn, involved in other vessels with other men, thus extending the network.[53]

Similar inter-colonial ties existed between owners and captains. For example, respectively, Benedict Byrn of Maryland, Joseph Wayland of Maryland, James Hayt, Jr. of Connecticut, Misper Lee of New York, James Ridley of the Chesapeake region, and Fitch Rogers of Connecti-

cut, commanded privateers owned by Eilbeck and Farrar of Virginia, Thomas Braine of New York, Rhinelander and the Laights of New York, Pearce of Rhode Island, Moore and Neale of New York, and again, Rhinelander and the Laights. The Sheddon and Goodrich operation of Virginia employed captains and officers from all over the colonies such as William Austin from Pennsylvania, William Finlay of South Carolina, and Hazard of Rhode Island. Getsheus of Pennsylvania acted as an officer on a Sheddon and Goodrich vessel.[54]

This web spread even further through owners concerned with vessels in different ports, thus linking regions together. Alexander Brymer of Massachusetts was involved with both New York and Halifax privateers. Although nothing is known of his origins, John Hosmer owned privateers associated with both St. Augustine and New York. Of course, strong ties were maintained between New York and Bermuda through the operations of Sheddon and Goodrich as well as Moore and Neale.[55]

That these men were associated in a complex and extensive web through their business and privateering enterprises is evident from the papers of Frederick Rhinelander and Neil Jamieson. Rhinelander was certainly acquainted with such skippers as Getsheus, Squier, Ridley, Snell, Byrn, and LeTelier. He was also known to William Sheddon, Moore, the Wantons, and the Goodriches. In the same vein, Jamieson dealt with such figures as George Gracie, John McAdam, Robert Gilmour, Robert Waddell, the Wallaces, White, Moore, Neale, Barrack Hays, the Pagans, and Robert Sheddon, as well as Ridley and Byrn.[56]

Those owners and crew members who were not personally acquainted were certainly made aware of others and their activities through different media. The loyalist press never ceased to offer coverage of privateering operations undertaken not only by locals, but by individuals from other ports as well. Then there were the various vice admiralty courts, especially that at New York, which given the volume of

cases, were certainly bee hives of activity which must have made many known to each other.[57]

The Chamber of Commerce was another significant point of privateer interaction. Although in light of its role as an arbitrator in disputes, the affiliations between individuals were not always amicable, the organization, nevertheless, served as a focal point of common ground bringing together many loyalist owners and captains. Native New York privateers who became members when the organization was reestablished included Joseph Allicocke, John McAdam, Rhinelander, Spens, and John Tench. Refugees who were elected were Jamieson, Lowther, and William Pagan. Phillip Kissick, Robert Carre, William Van Assendelft, George Moore, Barrack Hays, and Thomas Braine were local owners and captains who availed themselves of the Chamber's services. Refugees John Buchanan, Hosmar, Wyer, Ridley, William Milby, Levin Turner, Robert Sheddon, and William and Bartlet Goodrich did the same.[58]

Privateering support businesses also served as focal points to bring these men together. Levin Turner, the Rhinelanders, Geyer, Walker, Fitch Rogers, John McAdam, and the Goodriches all conducted business with the ship chandlers, Ross and Jones. The vendue houses acted in the same capacity, but to an even greater extent. Auctioneers Taylor and Bayard who handled the sale of numerous prizes, were linked to Moore, White, the Pagans, Lowther, Kemble, the Wallaces, John Tingley, John Utt, John Hylton, Thomas Braine, and, of course, Sheddon and Goodrich.[59]

These men mingled socially as well. Refugee Louisa Wells resided temporarily at the home of Lowther, describing it as a gathering place for "Loyalists, from all parts of America." One specifically referred to was a Mr. Spens, probably Walter.[60]

Perhaps one the most significant occurrences reflecting the unity of at least the New York privateers occurred on April 3 and 8,

1779. On those evenings at the King's Head Tavern, the various owners met to agree upon a common set of basic rules to govern the various aspects of the activity. This effort seems to have met with at least some success. Those who attended agreed on a number of issues. For instance, they decided to create standardized articles of agreement, establish uniform rates of advances for crewmen, and cooperate with the navy with regards to deserters from the fleet. The very fact this gathering transpired reflects the unity, common goals, and sense of purpose that existed amongst these people.[61]

All of this conveys a strong sense of community amongst loyalist privateers. At New York, they were unified by physical proximity via a neighborhood complete with business, social, and residential locales, commonality in their interactive business and privateering pursuits, the press, and association with unique, activity-specific institutions such as the vice admiralty court and the Chamber of Commerce. In conjunction, they shared ideological and political views and a sense of purpose with regards to the war effort. As stated, Wertenbaker called privateering the most significant loyalist activity in New York during the war. It could be argued that it was also the most unified.

During these last stages of development in September and October, loyalist privateering operations at New York and Bermuda, though still limited, continued with success. Early in September, the sloop Prince of Wales of New York, now commanded by a Captain Law, seized a sloop belonging to Hartford, Connecticut, Captain Whitney. Part of her cargo of provisions for the rebel army had already been delivered, but pork, beef, and a quantity of flour were still on board. At some point later in the month, the George and Elizabeth, again under the command

of Pendock Neale, took the schooner Liberty, Hugh M'Phillemy, Master. She carried rum, sugar, and dry goods.[62]

Early September also saw a rare privateer loss. Stephen Snell's sloop Harlecan (Harlequin) mounting six carriage guns, four brass cohorns, and eight swivels, was taken by the rebel privateer brig Bellona, Captain Pendleton. Fitted out but not commissioned at New York, Snell's sloop had taken two prizes before she, herself, was captured.[63]

After his departure from Bermuda, Bridger Goodrich again cruised successfully during September, adding to his list of captured rebel privateers. At some point during the month, off the Virginia Capes, he took the fifty-ton Baltimore letter of marque schooner Baltimore, Captain John Fanning, with tobacco and flour. On the 24th, he seized the New Jersey privateer sloop Commet with four or six carriage guns, four swivel guns, and a crew of twenty. The following day, to the east of the Virginia Capes, the twenty to twenty-five-ton Philadelphia sloop Mermaid, Captain George Gregg, was taken. Her cargo consisted of thirty-three hogsheads of tobacco and staves.[64]

During October, William Finley (Finlay, Findlay), commanding the Spitfire, a vessel owned by the Goodriches, appeared on the South Carolina coast. In this "small sailing & Rowing Boat, armed with swivels & carrying 15 or 20 men," Finley assaulted the coastal trade, doing considerable damage to a commerce that had already suffered significantly from previous privateers. Although the exact number of prizes he took is unknown, by October 14, he had captured several. One was a "flying pilot boat" belonging to a Mr. Nelson. Another was a schooner with lumber, Captain Hunter. A third was the twelve-ton (by one account, forty-two-ton) schooner pilot boat, Swift, Captain Henry Riker, with a load of leather and salt, taken after an obstinate engagement that lasted until Riker ran out of ammunition and had one man dangerously wounded. Whatever the exact number of prizes, Finley's ac-

tivities were severe enough to cause at least one rebel to suggest very extreme measures for him, if captured. "Should he fall into our hands, he may chance to make his Exit on the leafless tree."[65]

Also during October, Thomas Ian (Junn or Ion), one of the first to receive a commission from Tryon at New York, was quite active and successful. Sailing from Rhode Island, he commanded the schooner Lord Howe with eight carriage guns, eight swivels, and forty men, partly owned by Neil Jamieson. On a single passage from Rhode Island to New York, the Lord Howe took four prizes. These were the schooner Sally, with several tons of alum, the sloop, Lydia, with dry goods and rum, the schooner Liberty, taken off the Virginia Capes on October 7, with tobacco, and the fifteen-ton Virginia schooner Whim, Captain William Gregory, with rum and sugar, taken on October 8.[66]

No sooner had the Lord Howe made Sandy Hook and sent a large part of her crew ashore than she was blown out to sea in a gale. Her diminished crew consisted of her First Lieutenant, Mr. Colvill and eleven men. Several days later, they encountered four French vessels. The largest, a sixteen-gun polacre ship with a crew of seventeen, decided to fight and engaged the Lord Howe in a brisk action. In response, Colvill ranged the schooner up alongside the polacre and had the crew issue three cheers. Apparently the French did not expect this, and intimidated by such bravado, they immediately struck. The prize was the Devine, or Le Devin, with a cargo of brandy, olives, capers, salt, etc.[67]

William Austin, in the Harriott, was at sea again as well. Having entered Chesapeake Bay, he captured two prizes on October 9. One was the one-hundred-ton brig Salisbury with flour and bread. The other was the thirty-ton Virginia schooner, Victory, Captain John Osborne or Bristol Browne, with a cargo of bar iron and pots. The New York press recorded the captor's name as Captain Kennedy, commander of a Goodrich

tender and credited him with a prize sloop as well, carrying salt, wine, and brandy. While there is no reason to doubt the seizure of the sloop, the more authorative vice admiralty court records designate Austin as the tender's commander. Kennedy was possibly a prize master on one of the vessels.[68]

October also saw the emergence of Stanton Hazard of Rhode Island as a privateer. He commanded the brig, King George, mounting ten carriage guns and four swivels and having a crew of forty. She was owned by Wanton, Lewis and Wickham of the same colony. On board as First Lieutenant was fellow Rhode Islander Francis I'ans. On the 12th, Hazard took the sixty or seventy-ton Virginia sloop Peggy, Captain William Weems, with tobacco and stores. I'ans, with six men, was placed in command as prize master with directions to take her and the five prisoners remaining aboard to New York. Three days later, I'ans met the rebel privateer sloop Hero, Captain Jonathan Donnison, who recaptured the prize. Removing four of the loyalists, Donnison put eight of his crewmen aboard and sent the Peggy to Philadelphia. What followed after entering Delaware Bay illustrates the spirit, resourcefulness, determination, and conduct of loyalist mariners.

> When the Peggy had proceeded about four leagues above the light house, Mr. I'ans persuaded five of the rebels to go ashore to procure a pilot; after they had proceeded about half way, he rose upon the three that remained, and having seized a cutlass, laid hold of the prize-master, threatening him with death if he resisted, but he suffered himself to be secured; the others consented to assist Mr. I'ans and the seaman he brought with him to make sail, which, after cutting the cable they immediately did. - This being perceived by the rebels in the boat, they instantly put about and rowed towards the sloop; upon their approach Mr. I'ans fired two swivels, which not taking effect, they huzza'd, and threatened to murder him when they got up, knowing there was no gun powder on board; he cooly answered, that he did not intend they ever should, as he was determined to put the first to death that would attempt it. After making various attempts to board, in all of which they were repulsed, they agreed to go off, provided Mr. I'ans would deliver up their necessaries, which he not only complied with, but gave them three dollars to bear their expences to Philadelphia, and after being joined by one of the rebels who were on board, they applauded his generosity and departed. Mr.

> I'ans proceeded to this port with his prize, were he arrived last Friday afternoon. She is laden with 70 hogsheads of tobacco.

On October 22, Hazard seized the ninety ton brig Hope.[69]

Meanwhile, in Bermuda, any degree of relief the islanders felt from the absence of the privateers was short lived. Men such as William Goodrich, Pendock Neale, and John Buchanan were not about to be intimidated, and by October 17, they had returned to the island with four sixteen-gun brigs and a ten-gun sloop to call the residents' bluff. They were quickly joined by what was described as a fleet of privateers rendezvousing at that point, and by October 27 or 28, Bridger, himself, was back. The group the rebels called Lord Dunmore's Gang had returned. Although the pro-rebel islanders would continue to oppose the privateers, from this point, they would continuously lose ground in their fight with them.[70]

These men had not been idle on their passage to Bermuda. All indications are that one of the brigs was Sibble's Tryon. Sibbles had certainly been sailing in company with Neale as recently as the week prior to October 17. Many of the privateers at sea at this time were specifically seeking prizes carrying provisions, and Sibbles and Neale were not to be disappointed. On October 5, the two captured the sloop Lovely Betsey, Captain John Pearman, with a cargo of tobacco and flour. On the 10th, they seized the sloop Charming Peggy, Jonathan Birch (or Burch), Master, and her mixed lading of tobacco, flour, soap, wax, bacon, candles, tar, lumber, ship bread, and Indian corn.[71]

At some point, part or all of this group including William Goodrich, Neale, Buchanan, and Sibbles, was involved in the seizure of a sloop commanded by Benjamin Dunscomb, a schooner, Captain Daniel Trningham, which was sunk, and a French ship with salt and wine. Before he struck, the French captain committed the rather disreputable act of stoving in the wine casks in his cargo and cutting his rigging.[72]

If the presence of these privateers at Bermuda was not confrontational enough, their actions served to contest the issue of privateering at the island by adding salt to wounds. Not only were all three of the sloops that had been seized Bermuda owned, they were all taken to that island to be libeled and condemned. Dunscomb's sloop was the second that privateers had taken from that family. The Lovely Betsey and the Charming Peggy were claimed for the King. Clearly, Pendock Neale's reported good nature only went so far, and the privateers were not about to put up with what they perceived as the islander's nonsense.[73]

Cruising with the flotilla of privateers was the tender to Buchanan's sixteen-gun brig, Bellona, commanded by a Captain M'Neal. During a gale, M'Neal's vessel became separated from the Bellona, and seeking shelter, he and his crew of sixteen put into Hampton Roads. There they stayed until the foul weather abated, allowing them to put to sea again. Their presence, however, had been discovered, and two Virginia vessels with forty men each and commanded by members of the Baron family sailed in pursuit. The rebels caught the tender. The ensuing "obstinate Resistance" made by M'Neal and his crew reflects the high level of commitment and determination of loyalist mariners. M'Neal fought his vessel against overwhelming odds until his entire crew was killed or wounded. Even then, the loyalist did not strike until after being boarded and physically over-powered as he, alone, continued to defend his command. Because of his courageous conduct, the loyalist press noted that M'Neal, as a prisoner, was well cared for at Williamsburg.[74]

At some point during the voyage to Bermuda, William Goodrich opted to cruise on his own, and in the course of doing so, captured two prizes on October 11. One was the French snow La Nannette Marguerite with a significant cargo of coffee, sugar, cotton, and indigo.

The sale of vessel and cargo grossed £5,961.4.7, and after costs, netted £5537.8.2, New York currency. This, however, went to the King, because William's commission at the time did not extend to French vessels.[75]

The second prize, taken just inside the Virginia Capes by the Dunmore's schooner tender, the Clinton, with William in command, was the fifty-ton Baltimore schooner, Liberty. A few weeks later, the Clinton was rated with six carriage guns, six swivels and a crew of fifty. The Liberty mounted four carriage guns, plus swivels, and carried a cargo of tobacco. This prize was particularly noteworthy, because of her skipper, a man destined to become one of the true rebel naval heroes of the Revolution, the indomitable Joshua Barney. Of course, Barney opted to fight, but his attempts at resistance were futile. With one man dead and two wounded, Barney's Liberty was boarded by the loyalists, who forced the rebel to strike. The New York press lauded the actions of the Clinton's crew, paying them a high compliment, indeed, that reflected the level of respect, status, and ability loyalist mariners had attained.

> In this small Action was displayed the heroick Spirit of the lionest [sic?] British Tar. When Captain Goodrich attempted to lay her along Side, the Conduct of Mr. Barrey [sic] eluded [illeg.], on which Part of the Clinton's Men jumped over the Side with their Cutlasses in their Teeth, and boarded the Enemy.[76]

During these few weeks in September and October, thirteen active loyalist privateers (three of which were tenders) made a creditable addition to the prize tally. They had seized a total of twenty-seven additional vessels. These included nine sloops, nine schooners, two brigs, two ships, two pilot boats, one snow, and two of undesignated type. Of these, three were French merchantmen, and two were rebel privateers. None of these prizes are known to have been retaken by the

rebels, nor were any found to be recaptures for the British. The loyalists, in turn, lost one privateer and one privateer tender.

Tonnage is known for nine of the prizes, and with the figures spread out fairly evenly between twenty and one-hundred tons, they appear representative. Again, accounting for variant figures, they total between 427 and 472 tons. This results in a very acceptable average of forty-seven to fifty-two tons per vessel. When extrapolated, this indicates that quite possibly between 1,269 and 1,404 tons of shipping were seized during this time.

The cargoes taken are known for twenty of the prizes and are typical. Ten were laden with the usual valuable commodities such as rum, wines, sugar, molasses, and indigo. As to items more essential to the rebel war effort, one shipped naval stores, two, dry goods, one, staves, four, salt, and one, bar iron. Five carried provisions. Seven transported tobacco with the cargoes of two totaling 103 hogsheads.

September and October, 1778, witnessed the final stages on the long road to gaining acceptance for loyalist privateers. With authorization secured, loyalists showed major support for the activity, and a distinct maritime sub-community emerged that would make New York the leading privateering center of the western North Atlantic. At the same time, operations from the new base had quickly shown results, justifying recognition.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 14

[1]Gaine's New-York Gazette, November 2, 1778, p. 3.

[2]Gruber, Howe Brothers, pp. 279, 198, 301; Elliot to Robertson, January 19, 1781, in Klein and Howard, Twilight of British Rule, pp. 180-183; Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to the Merchants and Traders of New York, April 29, 1778, and Carlisle and Eden to Gambier, September 21, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1137, 1159; and

Carlisle, Clinton and Eden to Germain, October 15, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1179.

[3]Merchants, Traders, and Others of New York to Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, n.d., in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1136; and Gruber, Howe Brothers, p. 291.

[4]Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to the Merchants and Traders, April 29, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1137.

[5]Circular Letter, Carlisle to various officers and officials, September 8, 1778, and Abstract of shipping at New York, October 5, 1778, in Earl of Carlisle's Entry Book of Correspondence and Proceedings, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1059, pp. 22, 27-28; Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Germain, October 15, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1179; and Barck, City of New York, p. 126.

[6]Gaine's New-York Gazette, May 11, 1778, p. 3, August 10, 1778, p. 3, and August 31, 1778, p. 3; and Rivington's Royal Gazette, September 5, 1778, p. 3.

[7]Germain to Tryon, June 5, 1778, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:746.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Tryon to Germain, September 5, 1778, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:750.

[10]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, September 8 to October 7, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/284; and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1778, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Gruber, Howe Brothers, pp. 321-322, 324; Gambier to Sandwich, September 23, and October 11, 1778, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 2:316-317; and Gambier to Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, September 25, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1163.

[14]Gambier to Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, September 25, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1163; Gambier to Sandwich, September 23, and October 11, 1778, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 2:316-317; Tryon to Germain, October 8 and 24, PRO, CO5/1108/281, 285; and Carlisle, Clinton and Eden to Germain, October 15, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1179.

[15]Tryon to Germain, October 8 and 24, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/281, 285 (for October 24, see also Documents Relative to New-York, 8:753); Gambier to Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, September 25, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1163; Gambier to Sandwich, September 23, 1778, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 2:316-317; and South-Carolina and American General Gazette, May 21, 1778, p. 3, and September 3, 1778, p. 2.

[16]Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Gambier, September 21, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1159; and Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Germain, October 15, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1179.

[17]Gambier to Sandwich, September 23, 1778, in Barnes and Owen, Private Papers of Sandwich, 2:316-317; and Gambier to Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, September 25, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1163.

[18]Proclamation of His Majesty's Commissioners, September 26, 1778, in Stevens Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 5/527; Carlisle, Eden, and Clinton, to Elliot, September 26, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1164; and Proclamation of Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, November 18, 1778 in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1212.

[19]Proclamation of Commissioners, September 26, 1778, in Stevens Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 5/527; and LICENSE for the Exportation of Prize Goods, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1166.

[20]Ibid.; Tryon to Germain, October 3 and 24, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/281, 285; and Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Germain, October 15, and November 17, 1778, in Stevens Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1179, 1219.

[21]Harrington, New York Merchant, pp. 166-167, 171-172.

[22]Ibid., pp. 168-169.

[23]Proclamation of Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, November 18, 1778, and Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Germain, November 17, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1212, 1219.

[24]Aggregate Account of Vessels and Merchandize, October 17, 1778, in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 12/1187.

[25]Tryon to Germain, October 3 and 24, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/281, 285; Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden to Elliot, September 26, 1778 in Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, 11/1164; Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, September 8 to October 7, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/284; and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[26]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, September 8 to October 7, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/284; and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[27]Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 5, 1778, pp. 1, 3.

[28]Germain to Tryon, August 5, 1778, and Germain to governors in North America, August 5 and 7, 1778, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:748, 749; and Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 26, 1778, p. 4. It is possible Tryon exceeded his authority and started granting letters of marque against the French prior to his receiving authorization to do so. His official list of vessels includes a number commissioned in September and October that received authorization to act against the French as well as the rebels. This document was, however, drafted at a much later date. So, the notations to commissions issued against the French might simply have been a convenient

method to note a vessel ultimately received one, rather than indicating she received one at the same time she obtained her letter of marque to act against the rebels.

[29]Germain to governors of North America, August 5, 1778, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:748.

[30]Germain to Tryon, August 5, 1778, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:748; Tryon to Germain, October 24, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/285; and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[31]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.: Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, September 8, to October 7, 1778, PRO, CO5/1108/284.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.; Commissions for George and Elizabeth, March 28, 1778, and Loyal Subject, August 30, 1777, Ward Chipman Papers, Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty MG 23/D 1/1/9/44, 61; and Commission for Dunmore, July 18, 1778, Admiralty Papers, C#00180, vol. 10, #64, Rhode Island State Archives.

[36]Germain to Tryon, June 5, 1778 and August 5, 1778, and Germain to governors of North America, August 5, 1778, in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to New-York, 8:746, 748.

[37]INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMMANDERS OF SUCH MERCHANT SHIPS or VESSELS Who shall have LETTERS of MARQUE and REPRIZALS, August 5, 1778, p. 3, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island; "Instructions for the Commanders of such Merchant Ships or vessels, who shall have Letters of Marque and Reprisals for private Men of War against the FRENCH King...," August 5, 1778, p. 1, New London Maritime Court, RG3/656/22/490, Connecticut State Archives and Library. In terms of spelling and punctuation, this is a slightly different edition; and "Instructions for the Commanders of private Ships and Vessels...," March 27, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR 8:715-720.

[38]INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMMANDERS OF SUCH MERCHANT SHIPS or VESSELS, p. 3, John Carter Brown Library; Same, p. 1, New London Maritime Court, RG3/656/22/490, Connecticut State Archives and Library.

[39]INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMMANDERS OF SUCH MERCHANT SHIPS or VESSELS, pp. 3, 5, John Carter Brown Library; Same, pp. 1, 3, New London Maritime Court, RG3/656/22/490, Connecticut State Archives and Library.

[40]INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMMANDERS OF SUCH MERCHANT SHIPS or VESSELS, p. 3, John Carter Brown Library; Same, p. 1, New London Maritime Court, RG3/656/22/490, Connecticut State Archives and Library; and "Instructions for the Commanders of private Ships and Vessels...," March 27, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR 8:715.

[41]INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMMANDERS OF SUCH MERCHANT SHIPS or VESSELS, pp. 4-5, John Carter Brown Library; Same, p. 3, New London Maritime Court, RG3/656/22/490, Connecticut State Archives and Library; and "Instructions for the Commanders of private Ships and Vessels...," March 27, 1777, in Morgan, NDAR 8:717.

[42]Bernard Ratzer's "Plan of the City of New York in North America," 1766-1767, in Clark, NDAR, 1:617; John Montresor's "A Plan of the City of New York & its Environs," 1775, in Clark, NDAR, 2:380 (see also William C. Abbott, New York in the American Revolution (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), frontispiece); Major Holland's "A Plan of the City of New-York," 1776, and David Grim's map showing area of the New York fire of 1776, in Joseph S. Tiedemann, Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence, 1763-1776 (Ithaca, New York, and London: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 18-19, 255; Joseph Ditta, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York, personal communication, supplying information on the date and provenance of the Grim map; B. Taylor's "A New & Accurate Plan of the City of New York...," in John A. Kouwenhoven, The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York An essay in graphic history (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, and London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1953, 1972), pp. 104-105; and James Lyne's "A Plan of the City of New York from an actual Survey," 1730, in Susan Elizabeth Lymar, The Story of New York: an informal history of the city from the first settlement to the present day, revised ed. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1964, 1975), p. 55.

[43]Ratzer's "Plan of...New York," in Clark, NDAR, 1:617; Montresor's "Plan of...New York," in Clark, NDAR, 2:380; Holland's "Plan of...New-York," and David Grim's map, in Tiedemann, Reluctant Revolutionaries, pp. 18-19, 255; Taylor's "New & Accurate Plan of...New York," in Kouwenhoven, Columbia Historical Portrait, pp. 104-105; and Lyne's "Plan of...New York," in Lymar, Story of New York, p. 55.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.; Editorial note, in Stevens, Colonial Records of the Chamber of Commerce, pp. 340-341 n. 121; and Editorial note in Smith, Historical Memoirs, p. 51 n ii.

[46]Barck, New York City, pp. 234, 237, 240, 255; Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, pp. 393-395; Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:417, 570-571; Gaine's New-York Gazette, August 25, 1777, p. 2, December 1, 1777, p. 3, April 13, 1778, p. 4, July 6, 1778, p. 4, August 8, 1778, p.3, September 7, 1778, p. 3, September 28, 1778, p. 3, November 2, 1778, p. 3, August 30, 1779, p. 3, November 8, 1779, p. 4, April 24, 1780, p. 3, April 29, 1780, p. 4, July 16, 1781, p. 3, November 5, 1781, p. 3, March 11, 1782, p. 3, and March 18, 1782, p. 3; and Rivington's Royal Gazette, April 11, 1778, p. 3, April 16, 1778, p. 2, July 8, 1778, p. 1, September 26, 1778, p. 4, October 21, 1778, p. 2, March 17, 1779, p. 3, June 23, 1779, p. 4, September 11, 1779, p. 3, October 6, 1779, pp. 2, 4, October 16, 1779, p. 1, November 3, 1779, p.3, November 6, 1779, p. 3, March 22, 1780, p. 3, July 1, 1780, p. 3, and July 24, 1782, p. 3.

[47]Wells, Journal of a Voyage, p. 34; Register of Proceedings of the Chamber of Commerce, June 21, 1779, and editorial note, in Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, pp. 203, 340-341 n. 121; Edi-

torial note in, Smith, Historical Memoirs, p. 51 n ii; and Bishop, Chronicle of One Hundred & Fifty Years, pp. 29, 150-151.

[48]Ratzer's "Plan of...New York" in Clark, NDAR, 1:617; Montresor's "Plan of...New York," in Clark, NDAR, 2:380; Holland's "Plan of...New-York," and David Grim's map, in Tiedemann, Reluctant Revolutionaries, pp. 18-19, 255; Taylor's "New & Accurate Plan of...New York," in Kouwenhoven, Columbia Historical Portrait, pp. 104-105; and Lyne's "Plan of...New York," in Lymar, Story of New York, p. 55.

[49]Rice, Kim S. Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers (Chicago: Regenry Gateway, 1983), pp. 125-126; Bishop, Chronicle of One Hundred & Fifty Years, caption for photograph between pages 32 and 3; and Kenneth Holcomb Dunshee, As You Pass By (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1952), p. 51.

[50]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, and May 1, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82, 125; Bonds for Ter Eyre, November 30, 1782, and Hunter, November 21, 1782, PRO, HCA49/91/2/48, 61; and Memorial of the Stewarts, and Evidence on the Stewart's Memorial, PRO, AO12/54/418.

[51]Account and List of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, List of Warrants Issued by Tryon, March 24, 1779, and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, May 1, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82, 107, 125; Affidavit of Francis Ians, October 23, 1778, PRO, HCA32/429/c (CW); Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 26, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, October 28, 1778, p. 3; and Sabine, Biographical Sketches, 2:54, 250, 465, 551, 552, 586.

[52]List of Warrants Issued by Tryon, March 19, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/107.

[53]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[54]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, and May 1, 1779, PRO CO5/1109/82, 125; Bond for privateer sloop Rover, Captain Joseph Wayland, December 9, 1782, PRO, HCA49/91/2/37; Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 14, 1778, p. 2; and Memorial of Sheddon and Goodrich, May 23, 1783, Headquarters Papers, 92/10109, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg.

[55]Account and List of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, and List of Warrants Issued by Tryon March 24, 1779, PRO CO5/1109/82, 107; Vice Admiralty Register, RG1/496/164, 514, 516, 531, 539, 543, 545, Nova Scotia Public Archives; and Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 14, 1777, p. 3, and November 11, 1777, p. 3.

[56]Frederick Rhinelander to William Sheddon, March 3, 1780, John Ferguson, June, August 25, 1780, and October 21, 1780, Thomas Pagan, October 23, 1780, William Sheddon, October 23, 1780, Jacob Getsheus, December 15, 1780, Murray Sansom & Co, December 14, 1780, Stephen Snell, April 17, 1781 (X2), Robert Pagan, August 2, 1781, Bedt. Byrn, August 2, 1781, William Ashton, February 6, 1782, Effingham Lawrence, February 14, 1782, Ashton, February 24, 1782, Rhinelander, Letterbook, [pp. 133, 151, 152, 168, 169, 172, 173, 186, 187, 200, 208, 209, 210], New-York Historical Society. Rhinelander clearly had some problems spelling LeTelier's name. In the various letters cited above he is re-

ferred to as Littleyea, Littleyeau, and LeTeLeir as well; Neil Jamieson, Day Book July, 11, 1777, January 27, February 18 and 24, May 20, 21, and 27, June 10, July 1, 11, and 27, September 18, and December 4, 1778, January 23, and October 8, 1779, and February 17, 1780, [9, 29, 36, 38, 45, 47, 48, 49, 53, 56, 58, 78, 105, 110, 122, 126], New-York Historical Society; and Account of the Privateer Schooner Experiment, June 14 to November 18, 1779, and Ship Union Privateer, Jno. Sibrell Commander her Accot. Current, June 15, 1781, Papers of Neil Jamieson, 21/4900, 4932, Library of Congress.

[57]List & Index Society, High Court of Admiralty, passim. The number of references to cases in the "N.Y.V.A." (New York Vice Admiralty Court) conveys the incredible volume of activity handled by that institution.

[58]Stevens, Records of the Chamber of Commerce, pp. 300-303; and "Record of the Proceedings of the Committees...of the Chamber of Commerce..." October 9 and 27, November 18 and 24, December 4 and 6, 1779, January [n.d.], May 18, August [n.d.], September [n.d.], and October [n.d.], 1780, June [n.d.], and October [n.d.], 1781, and July 16, and November [n.d.], 1782, in New York Chamber of Commerce, Earliest Arbitration Records, pp. 3, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 26, 33, 34, 37, 51, 53, 58, 59, 80, 88.

[59]Receipt Book, July 12 and 30, August 12, and November 7, 1779, February 17, July 19 and 26, and October 21, 1780, and February 8, 1781, Jones and Ross of New York, 1779-1781, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York; and Receipt Book, December 31, 1778, and January 19, February 6, 10, 22, and 26, March 2, 12, 20, 22, 26, and 30, April 2, 13, 16, and 19, June 2, 1779, Taylor and Bayard of New York, [pp. 2, 6, 7, 11 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 30, 31, 32, 39], New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[60]Wells, Journal of a Voyage, pp. 29, 31, 32.

[61]Rivington's Royal Gazette, April 3, 1779, p. 2, April 7, 1779, p. 3, April 10, 1779, p. 2; and April 17, 1779, p. 3.

[62]Gaine's New-York Gazette, September 14, 1778, p. 3, and September 28, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, August 12, 1778, p. 3, and September 30, 1778, p. 3; and Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, September 28, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/117.

[63]North Carolina Gazette, September 11, 1778, in Clark State Records of North Carolina, 13:482.

[64]Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 5, 1778 p. 3, and October 26, 1778, p. 3. Although this newspaper ad states the Mermaid's cargo consisted of fifty hogsheads of tobacco, more authoritive court documents indicate there were only thirty-three; Rivington's Royal Gazette, October 3, 1778, p. 3; List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, October 21 and 28, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/127-128; Libel, Bridger Goodrich vs. sloop Mermaid, October 2, 1778, and Deposition of George Gregg, PRO, HCA32/401/30 (NC).

[65]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 14, 1778, p. 2; List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; Wells Jr. to Laurens, October 15, 1778 and editorial notes, in Ches-

nutt, Papers of Henry Laurens, 14:416, 416 ns. 7, 8; and Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, November 2, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/130.

[66]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82; Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 12, 1778, p. 3, October 26, p. 3; List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, October 14, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/123; and Libel Thomas Ian vs. schooner Whim, October 14, 1778, Register for Whim, November 6, 1777, and Bill of lading for Whim, September 15, 1778, PRO, HCA32/491/c (CW). Thomas Ian's name is spelled various ways, and the unusual spelling of "Junn" offers some indication as to the pronunciation. There is a strong similarity with Rhode Islander Francis I'ans name which could also be spelled a number of ways. This combined with Thomas's tentative association with Rhode Island indicates the possibility of some family link between the two men.

[67]Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 26, 1778, p.3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, October 28, 1778, p. 3; and Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, November 6, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/135.

[68]Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 19, 1778, p. 3; List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, October 21, 1778, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/126; and Libel, William Austin vs. schooner Victory, October 21, 1778, and Register for Victory, September 16, 1778, PRO, HCA32/487/c (CW).

[69]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82; Gaine's New-York Gazette, October 26, 1778, p. 3; Rivington's Royal Gazette, October 28, 1778, p. 3; Libel, Stanton Hazard vs. sloop Peggy, October 24, 1778, Affidavit of Francis Ians, October 23, 1778, Deposition of William Tucker, November 2, 1778, and Register for Peggy, September 9, 1778, PRO, HCA32/429/c (CW); and List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208.

[70]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 28, 1778, p. 3, and November 4, 1778, p. 2. D

[71]Ibid., October 28, 1778, p. 3; Assignation Books, 1779-1796, Court of Prize Appeals, March 18, 1780, PRO, HCA43/36/80-82; and Account of court expenses, for Charming Peggy, n.d., Ward Chipman Papers, Lawrence Collection, Political and Official, Admiralty, MG 23/D 1/1/9/4, Public Archives of Canada.

[72]Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, October 28, 1778, p. 3.

[73]Ibid.; Assignation Books, March 18, 1780, PRO, HCA43/36/80-82; and Bridger Goodrich to Hotham, February 7, 1778, PRO, Adm1/488/194.

[74]Gaine's New-York Gazette, November 2, 1778, p. 3.

[75]Minute Books, New York Vice Admiralty Court, November 4, and December 11, 1778, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/131, 4/152; Report, New York Vice Admiralty Court, January 11, 1779, PRO, T1/555/360; Petition of Bartlet Goodrich, March 16, 1780, PRO, CO5/117/136; and Account of sales of Le Nanette Margarette, January 7, 1779, PRO, HCA49/91/5/115.

[76]List of Captures and Recaptures, February 19, 1779, PRO, Adm1/489/208; Minute Book, New York Vice Admiralty Court, November 11, 1778, 1778, PRO, HCA49/92/3/130; Louis Arthur Norton, Joshua Barney Hero of the Revolution and 1812 (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 41-42; Gaine's New-York Gazette, November 2, 1778, p. 3; and Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

CONCLUSION

"THE SUCCESS THAT HAS ACCOMPANIED THEIR ZEAL BEARS TESTIMONY THAT I WAS NOT ERRONEOUS IN MY SUGGESTIONS OF THE IMPORTANT UTILITY OF THAT DEPREDATORY COMMERCE"[1]

So, by October, 1778, loyalist privateering was finally accepted and established. Regarding the loyalists themselves, a significant number were already involved in the activity and more would become so. Although the participants represented all walks of life, the majority emanated from the combined merchant and mariner classes, creating a solid core element around which farmers, artisans, public officials, professional men, and slaves gathered. Because the sample appears representative, it is safe to assume other participants mirrored the individuals discussed. Privateers came from all colonies and regions therein, but logically, most of the seafarers and merchants emanated from coastal, urban locales.

In terms of initial political stance, these men displayed varying degrees of commitment ranging from extremely equivocal to neutral, to hard-line, active supporters of the King. Regardless of their original position, all who were not solid or open in their support of the Crown in the beginning would become so. In becoming active, they were at the apex of loyalist involvement. This is evident not only from the aggressive methods they undertook to prosecute the war through privateering, but through their participation in naval, military, civic, official, and humanitarian capacities as well.

These men were motivated in their choice of sides by a combination of factors, most noticeably a decided belief in the existing system and loyalty to King and country were most evident. Nothing conveys the sincerity of the merchant/mariner class more than their decision to remain loyal despite the imposition of severe trade restrictions. The trade acts, which can only be viewed as oppressive to these loyalists, followed in the long line of such acts that had provoked pre-war protest and ultimately open rebellion. Yet, regardless of the significant negative affects these men knew the trade restrictions would have on their lives, they still opted to support the Crown. Furthermore, the positions of a number of these men remained unshaken even after losing vessels to the British under the acts' mandates and enduring other affronts from them as well. Other motivating factors included strong family and business ties, minority association, recent immigration, and the immediate presence of British forces offering security. Also, a high percentage suffered some form of ill-treatment from the rebels which undoubtedly effected the decisions of neutral or equivocal loyalists to become active and firmed the resolve of those who had already adopted an open, rigid stance. In either case, abuse tended to prompt a desire for revenge. At the same time, the fact these men were targeted for abuse further conveys their high level of commitment.

As to becoming involved in privateering, again, different factors came into play. For merchants and mariners, the activity presented the most logical means of expressing their active support, especially when acceptable alternatives were limited. Because of the trade restrictions, privateering offered the only viable employment or investment opportunities for many individuals, regardless of class or background, by which to make a living and maintain themselves and their families in an extremely disrupted social and economic setting.

By reflecting diversity in terms of background, experience, initial levels of commitment, and motivation, these people, in combination, mirror the established loyalist profile. As conveyed throughout, however, there were regional differences among them. There was a higher percentage of native born privateers in the New England and Delaware Bay/New Jersey regions than in the south and New York. The southern regions showed a much greater ethnic and racial mix than northern ones, New York excepted, with the Scots dominating the former category. In fact, the Scots were the most prevalent ethnic group regardless of locale. The Delaware Bay and New Jersey coastal area offered a far greater number of participants from rural backgrounds, and seemingly surpassed other regions in terms of men who were initially seriously neutral. That area certainly contained the largest number of equivocal privateers. This same region, and the southern coastal area as well, exhibited a lower ratios of merchants in their midst than elsewhere. While there were exceptions, especially among those who saw service with Dunmore, the privateers of the Chesapeake bay, in contrast with their associates from other locales, were seemingly less prone to become involved in other capacities to support the King. Finally, all indications are that privateering was less popular with men from the southern coastal region than it was elsewhere.

Significantly, regardless of where they came from or why, the vast majority of individuals discussed here appear to have been moderate, respectable, responsible, "cool, prudent" men, many of whom were leaders in one way or another in their respective communities. The merchants and captains comprising most of this group were certainly established men with the money, know-how, and background needed for successful privateering operations, putting them in a position of control. Wealth, knowledge, and experience translated into recognized leadership. These men do not convey the image of either swashbuckling

heroes or piratical banditti. Rather, most simply appear as angry, fearful, and virtuous men intent upon reestablishing and maintaining a sense of order in the world they understood and believed in. This assessment is based not only on their backgrounds, but on other factors as well. The fact that a number were involved in pre-war protest, yet ultimately remained loyal, refusing to support armed rebellion when it erupted, shows their moderate character. Their temperate nature is further illustrated by their stoic endurance of the trade restrictions which had the affect of inciting avowed rebels to stiffen their resolve. The initial neutral stance of many can be viewed as conveying a middle-of-the-road outlook despite the fact their world was coming apart around them. Also, the general civilized behavior of the captains when conducting operations says a great deal about their character. When pushed to the limits, however, beliefs, emotions, and compounding events fueled a transformation in these men, turning them into extremely active and aggressive supporters of the British.

Privateering was more than just an activity involving individual maritime paladins. It served to unite a large portion of the loyalist population, especially at New York, bringing like-minded merchants and mariners together in a common cause and offering employment and investment opportunities to many refugees, both seamen and landsmen. As a result, a distinct physical, business, and social sub-community developed that might have even constituted a unique maritime subculture. Furthermore, the strands of the intricate web that existed at New York extended to integrate with others to create a complex North Atlantic privateering network. This inter-colonial cohesiveness distinguishes privateers from other loyalist groups. Acknowledging this sub-community alters the traditional view of loyalist composition by adding another significant element to it.

The privateers' achievements are all the more remarkable in light of the prevailing official opposition they faced. The activity was severely restricted by the trade acts and lack of vice admiralty courts. Furthermore, the British refused to sanction privateering because in light of international law, it would have been tantamount to recognizing the colonies as independent. Also, privateers were not trusted to conduct themselves judiciously, causing fears that they would provoke a state of civil war, and so be detrimental to reconciliation efforts, or create an international incident that would embroil Britain with another power. Finally, legitimate concerns over available manpower combined with petty jealousies over prize money caused the navy to view privateering askance and implement measures that served to retard its acceptance.

Serving on tenders, provincial craft, letters of marque, and privateers, loyalist mariners had done quite well for the Crown and themselves by the summer and early fall of 1778. They had persevered in their desire to conduct independent operations at sea despite the opposition against them. Furthermore, they had proven their usefulness on numerous occasions, acting as naval auxiliaries, carrying dispatches and intelligence, performing essential convoy duty, and supplying beleaguered areas with much needed supplies from prizes.

They had also shown they were not only willing to fight, but were capable of doing so. Engagements such as those involving the Rose, the Clinton, and the Bellona's tender, as well as I'Annes's stout defense of a prize, attest to this. They had also proven they could be relied upon to conduct themselves in the appropriate manner, thus allaying fears that privateering might get out of hand. The gentlemanly good behavior of several captains even received glowing testimonials in the rebel press. Incidents that were questionable were

limited to the West Indies, particularly Tortolla, and were relatively few in number.

Most significantly, the privateers served to protect their own trade while significantly hurting the rebels'. The tenders under Dunmore were instrumental in curtailing rebel commerce in Chesapeake Bay and on the North Carolina coast. The provincial vessels and privateers of East Florida were in the forefront of warding off several invasion attempts. In Nova Scotia, they served to blunt the forays made by rebel privateers on that coast. In the West Indies, privateers sallied forth in opposition to their rebel counterparts and distinguished themselves there as well. Most notably, the loyalist privateers of St. Augustine and Bermuda (several of which had New York affiliations) seriously disrupted rebel trade along the southern coastline from Chesapeake Bay to Savannah.

Consequently, when the time came for Britain to expand the war effort to confront the French, the loyalist privateers constituted an exuberant, tried, and true entity. The privateers' incessant efforts for recognition in the face of numerous obstacles made their desires apparent, and perseverance and proven effectiveness could not be ignored. The logical move for the British was to finally acknowledge, accept, and rely on them.

By the end of the period covered here, October, 1778, at least seventeen tenders, twenty-one provincial vessels, one-hundred and fifteen letters of marque and privateers, and four privateer tenders had been fitted out in North America, Bermuda, and the West Indies, and were active. The tenders were all distinctly loyalist. A number of the provincial vessels, all of which were associated with East Florida and Nova Scotia, were as well. Of the privateers, seventy-five were West Indian, one was Nova Scotian, and eighteen were East Floridian. There was also one privateer tender from East Florida. As argued, the Nova

Scotia and Florida vessels can, in any case, be classified as loyalist in a qualified sense, but most, if not all did have true loyalist affiliations in one way or another. Some of the West Indian craft undoubtedly deserve this distinction as well, but with the exception of the Hammond, Whipple's privateer, and one Antiguan vessel as yet unidentified by name, captain, or owners, data confirming this is lacking. Finally, twenty-one privateers and three privateer tenders were solidly loyalist in their affiliations. When totaled, forty known privateers and four privateer tenders can be associated with the mainland colonies. In addition to the figures just stated, another twenty-eight privateers or letters of marque with New York ties, and three with Nova Scotia ties were commissioned during September and October, 1778.

When the figures presented throughout this study are tallied, as a group, by the end of October, 1778, the active vessels are known to have seized or destroyed, either by themselves or in consort with naval men-of-war, at least 374 prizes. Quite possibly as many as 420 were accounted for. As shown, others were undoubtedly taken, especially by the East Florida and West Indian vessels for which the records are sketchy. Significantly, twenty-three or twenty-four of the captures were rebel letters of marque or privateers conveying not only the commitment of these mariners to protect trade, but also their willingness to put themselves in harm's way. Between seventeen and nineteen of the total number of prizes were, in turn, recaptured by the rebels, and two or three of those were destroyed by them. Eleven prizes were recaptures for the British. One other was returned to the Dutch as an illicit seizure.

As to who took what, the total figure breaks down as follows: forty-six to fifty-five to loyalist tenders; twenty-three to twenty-four to Nova Scotia provincial vessels (inclusive of all of the General Gage's); eight to East Florida provincial craft; three to a Nova

Scotia privateer; forty-four to sixty-four to East Florida privateers and one privateer tender; one-hundred and twenty-one to one-hundred and twenty-two to West Indian privateers; and one-hundred and eighteen to one-hundred and thirty-three to distinctly loyalist privateers and privateer tenders. The total taken or destroyed by Bermudan, Nova Scotian and East Floridian privateers, together, was at least 165 and quite possibly as many as two-hundred. Loyalists were specifically involved in the seizure of two other prizes. Francis James was instrumental in capturing a rebel vessel, but it is unknown if he actually had a command of his own when he did so. Also, Dames (Demas) commandeered a rebel craft when he escaped from prison. Of the grand total, seventy-eight to eighty-two were captured by privateers or tenders associated with the Goodrich family, establishing them as the unchallenged leaders in the activity. Bridger's tally alone stood at the remarkable figure of sixty to sixty-four prizes.

In turn, British colonial losses in action to the rebels and French totaled twenty-eight vessels. This breaks down to ten tenders, three provincial craft (one of which was retaken), fourteen privateers or letters of marque, and one privateer tender. As to the lost privateers and privateer tender, nine were West Indian, three were from East Florida, and three were specifically loyalist. Also, one tender, one provincial vessel, and one privateer were cast away. All in all, the number of prizes taken far outweighed sustained losses.

Regarding the types of vessels seized, 267 were defined. This breaks down to one-hundred and two sloops, ninety-eight schooners, thirty-nine brigs and brigantines, eleven snows, ten ships, five boats, one galley, and one polacre of unspecified rig. Tonnage is known for fifty-eight prizes and totaled between 4,534 and 4,931 tons. This results in an average of seventy-eight to eighty-five tons per

vessel. When extrapolated by 374, 29,172 to 31,790 tons of shipping may have been seized.

Numerous important cargoes were captured on these prizes. Many were simply valuable. Others were crucial to the rebel war effort either to supply it or finance it. The breakdown of ladings in the latter category is as follows: forty-three, provisions; twenty-two, dry goods; twenty-seven, salt; fourteen, cooper's stores; five, medicines; twenty-one, naval stores; two, simply stores; one, bar iron; one, paper; one, navigational instruments; and fourteen, arms and munitions. Another eight, as a group, were described as shipping munitions, dry goods, and provisions as well. Finally, thirty-nine prizes transported tobacco. Of these, the exact lading is known for twenty-three. Including loose quantities, this amounted to the equivalent of at least 1,578 hogsheads.

This war on trade had the affect of forcing the rebels, particularly in the southern regions, to focus efforts on protecting their commerce. In the process, numerous ships, materials, troops, funds, and efforts were diverted from other operations in which they undoubtedly would have been of great assistance.

Throughout the period, there was a general trend for increasingly larger vessels employing more guns and crew members. This is indicative of escalating involvement in terms of investment, intent, and participation. By the end of October, 1778, a total of thirty-eight vessels with 418 carriage guns, 285 swivel guns, and 2,065 crewmen, had received commissions at New York. This was only the beginning.

Although the introduction of new material in a conclusion is traditionally considered improper, it is warranted in this case. Some additional data is necessary to reinforce arguments about levels of

involvement and bring them to their logical conclusion. Consider this an epilogue if you will.

Enthusiasm for privateering continued to grow during the weeks and months following October. As of December 23, another thirty-four privateers had been commissioned at New York with an additional 309 carriage guns, 131 swivels, and 1,506 crewmen. This brought the total to 3,571 men serving on loyalist privateers operating from that port. This is a solid figure in terms of showing the level of involvement. Only a little over three months had elapsed since the initial issue of commissions. Therefore, it is unlikely any vessels had had time to complete their first cruise, and so, it is doubtful that any crewmen had transferred from one privateer to another and are being counted twice.[2]

As of February 5, 1779, five months after the arrival of word to issue letters of marque, ninety-five loyalist privateers had been issued commissions at New York. These possessed armaments totaling 911 carriage guns and 562 swivels. Most significantly, 4,616 men manned these craft. At this point, 153 men and women were designated as principal owners of loyalist vessels, twelve of whom also acted in the capacity of captain. In addition, ten vessels owned in England or the West Indies had been commissioned at New York, shipping an additional 136 carriage guns and eighty-four swivels, and having crews totaling 326 men. It is unclear if any of these ten privateers were actually fitted out at New York, but it would seem likely that at least some of their crews signed on there. The total of one-hundred and five privateers included thirty-eight sloops, thirty-three schooners, eighteen brigs, twelve ships, three snows, and one polacre.[3]

Also as of February 5, 1779, inclusive of seizures already mentioned as having been sent into New York, the privateers of that port

had taken one-hundred and forty prizes. The estimated values of these and their cargoes was over £200,000 sterling.[4]

By early May, 1779, 139 privateers had been commissioned at New York. Tryon wrote Germain that they employed upwards of 7,000 men. Tryon exaggerated. The official crew tally indicates 6,522 were employed. This number includes the crews of vessels owned elsewhere totaling 366 men. Still, even after deducting these individuals, 6,156 loyalist crewmen remains a substantial figure. Again, this seems to be a fairly solid figure with relatively little allowance for duplication. As of this same time, only ten New York commissioned privateers had been lost in action, and the crews of these vessels were probably still detained. Four other privateers with crews totaling two-hundred and ninety men had been wrecked, and four with complements totaling two-hundred and twenty had been decommissioned. Allowing the benefit of the doubt that all of the wrecked men were saved, and they and the crews of the decommissioned privateers all signed on other vessels, then, there were still at least 5,646 loyalists serving on privateers out of New York at this time.[5]

In England, Germain was exceedingly pleased with the loyalist response to privateering and the results of their efforts. He should not, however, have been surprised. Even King George, who had earlier adamantly opposed the idea of privateers, expressed his "great Satisfaction" with the situation.[6]

Central to the continuing story of loyalist privateering was the Goodrich family. When the family members decided to become involved in privateering "to an extent unknown before," they did not exaggerate. By February 5, 1779, they had commissioned another three vessels at New York, and the whole Goodrich fleet at that point employed at least 550 men. In addition to having bases of operations at New York and Bermuda, there is evidence indicating they maintained one in Jamaica

as well. Following the war, John, Sr. claimed his sons and Robert Sheddon kept between ten and twenty vessels at sea at all times "furnishing constant employmt. for more than 1000 American and other Loyalists." Finally, Goodrich claimed the family's privateers were responsible for seizing about 500 prizes. There is no reason to doubt these figures. It is entirely possible that the family did run the largest privateering operation to date, perhaps of all time. All of this, however, is another story.[7]

NOTES FOR CONCLUSION

[1]Tryon to Germain, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/80.

[2]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Tryon to Germain, February 5, 1779, and Robert Bayard's List of Prizes taken by Letters of Marque, n.d., but enclosed with Tyron's February 5, dispatch, PRO, CO5/1109/80, 84. Both Tryon and Bayard state that 142 prizes were seized. Bayard's list from which this figure is taken, however, actually only notes 140. It seems Bayard miscounted, and therefore the lower number is cited as correct in the text.

[5]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, Tryon to Germain, May 3, 1779, Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, May 1, 1779, and Account of Vessels fitted out as Letters of Marque...Taken ...Cast away. or Rendered unfit, to May 1, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82, 122, 125, 126.

[6]Germain to Tryon, April 1, and June 25, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/88, 136.

[7]Account of Warrants Issued by Tryon, February 5, 1779, PRO, CO5/1109/82; Petition of Bartlet Goodrich for John Goodrich & Sons, March 16, 1780, PRO, CO5/117/138; and Memorial of Goodrich, Sr., PRO, AO12/56/166.

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Appendix A

Vessel Types As Defined By Rig and Hull

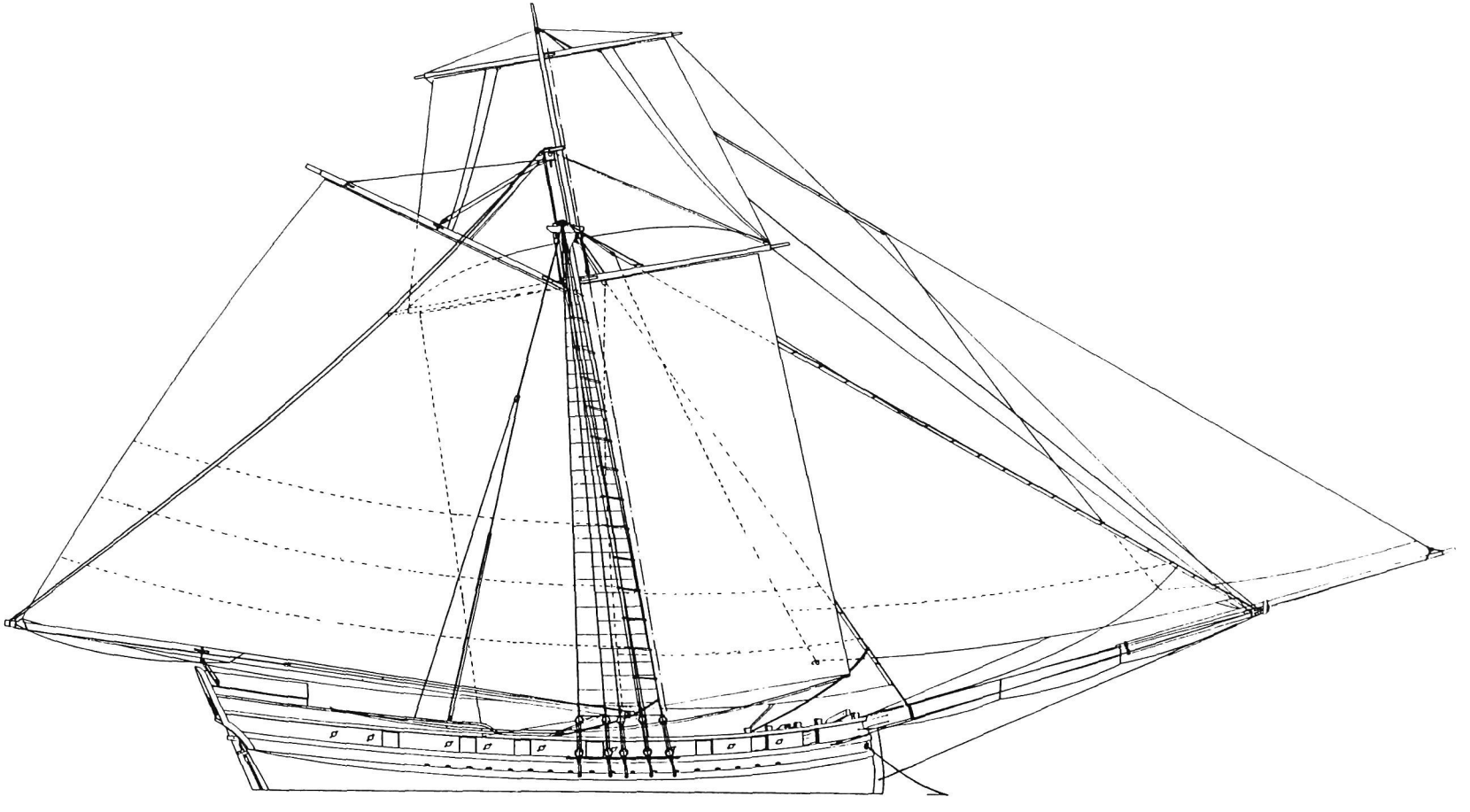


Figure 12: Sloop, Circa 1741, Defined By Rig. Drawing by Howard L. Chapelle from his The Search for Speed Under Sail, 1700-1855.

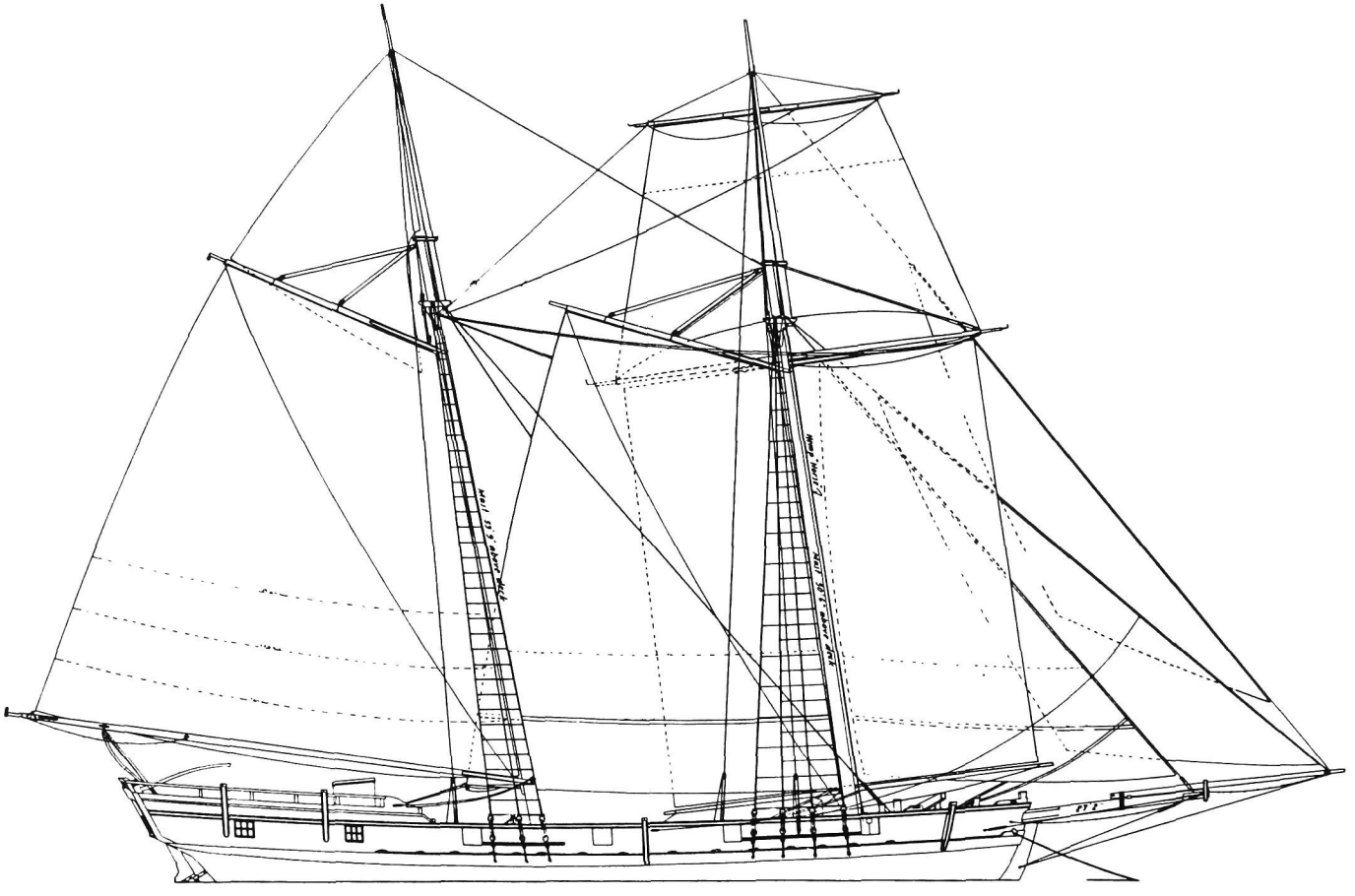


Figure 13: Schooner, Circa 1780s, Defined By Rig. Drawing by Howard L. Chapelle from his The Search for Speed Under Sail, 1700-1855.

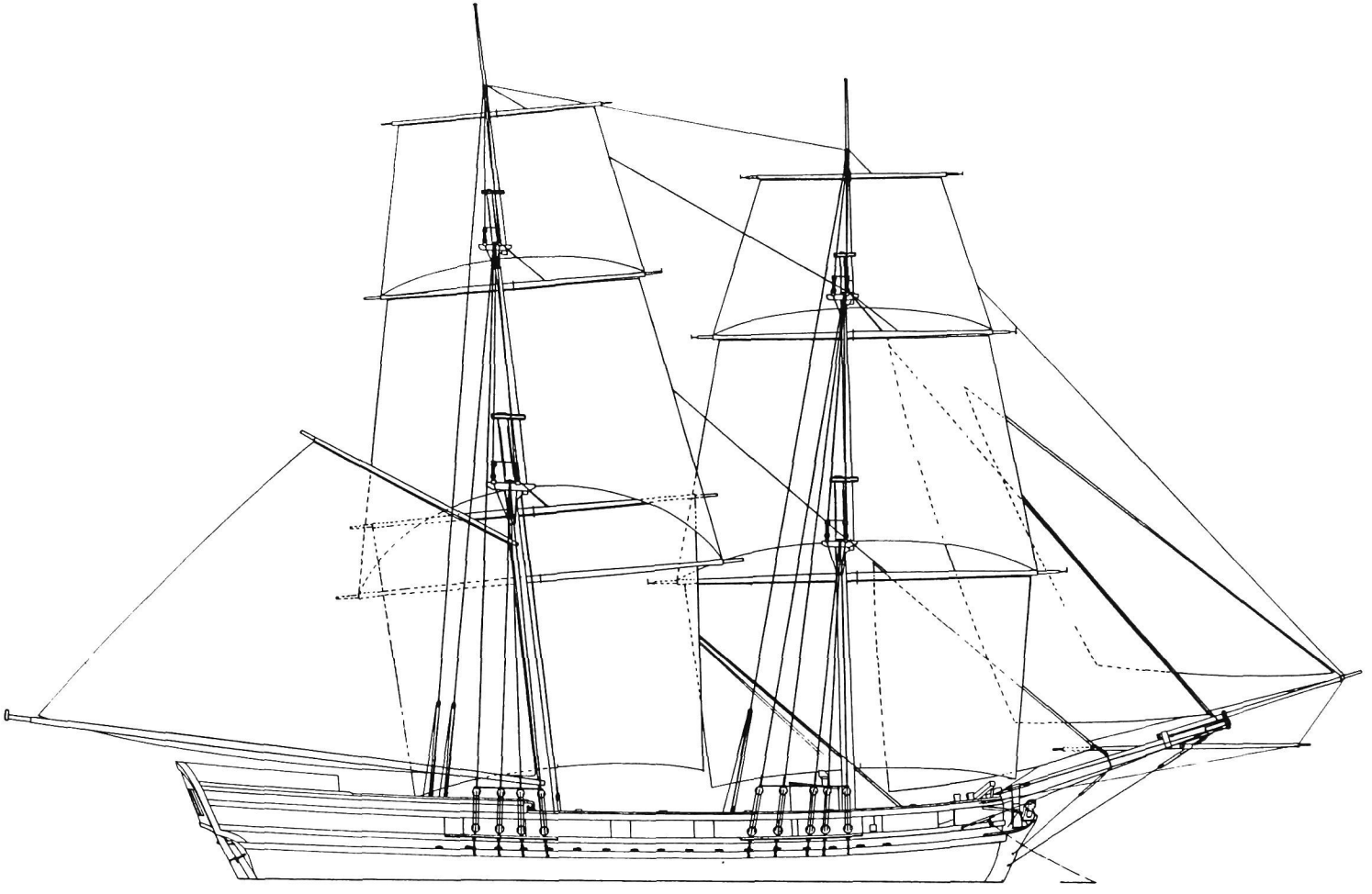


Figure 14: Brig, Circa 1777, Defined By Rig. Drawing by Howard L. Chapelle from his The Search for Speed Under Sail, 1700-1855.

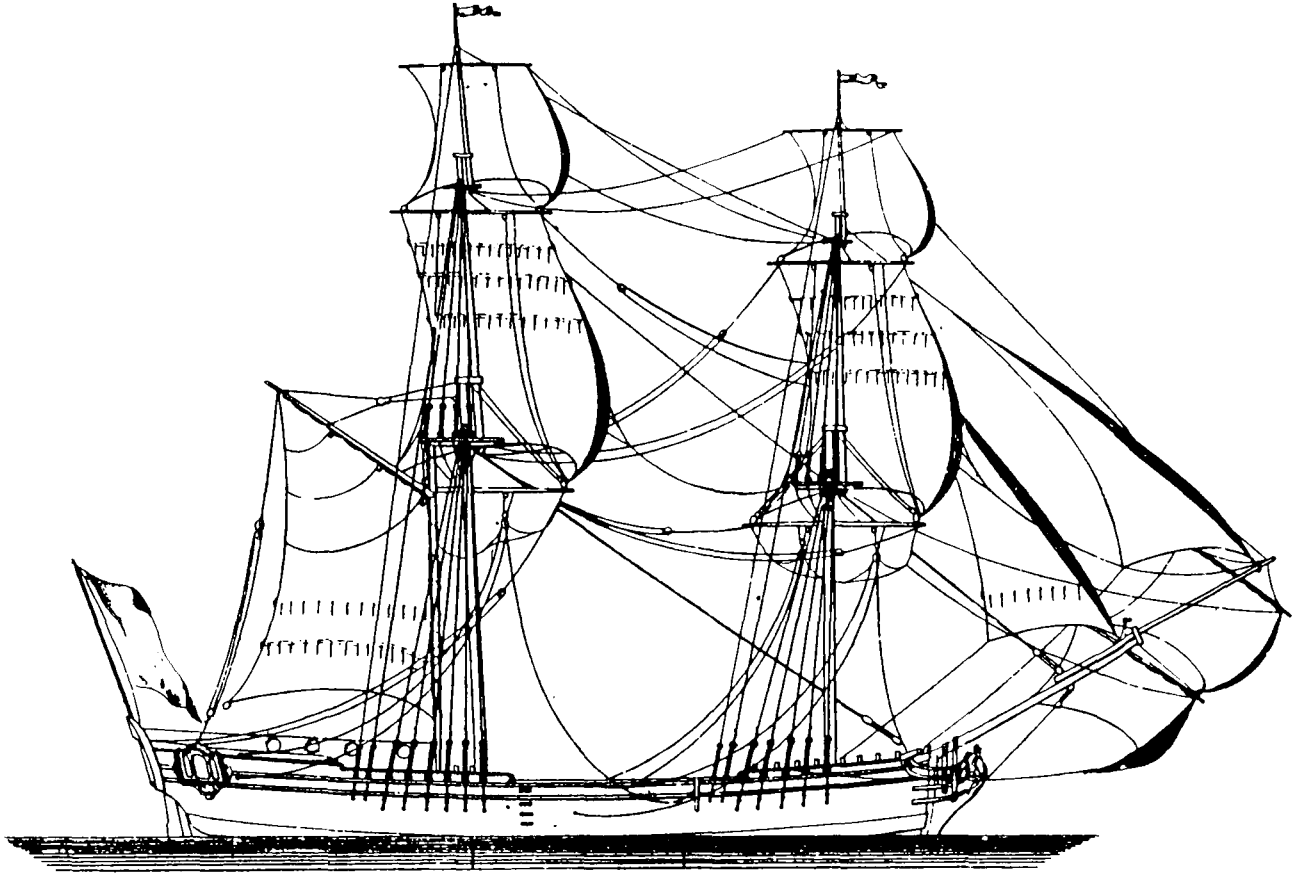


Figure 15: Snow, Circa 1768, Defined By Rig. Drawing by Fredrik Henrik af Chapman from his Architectura Navalis Mercatoria.

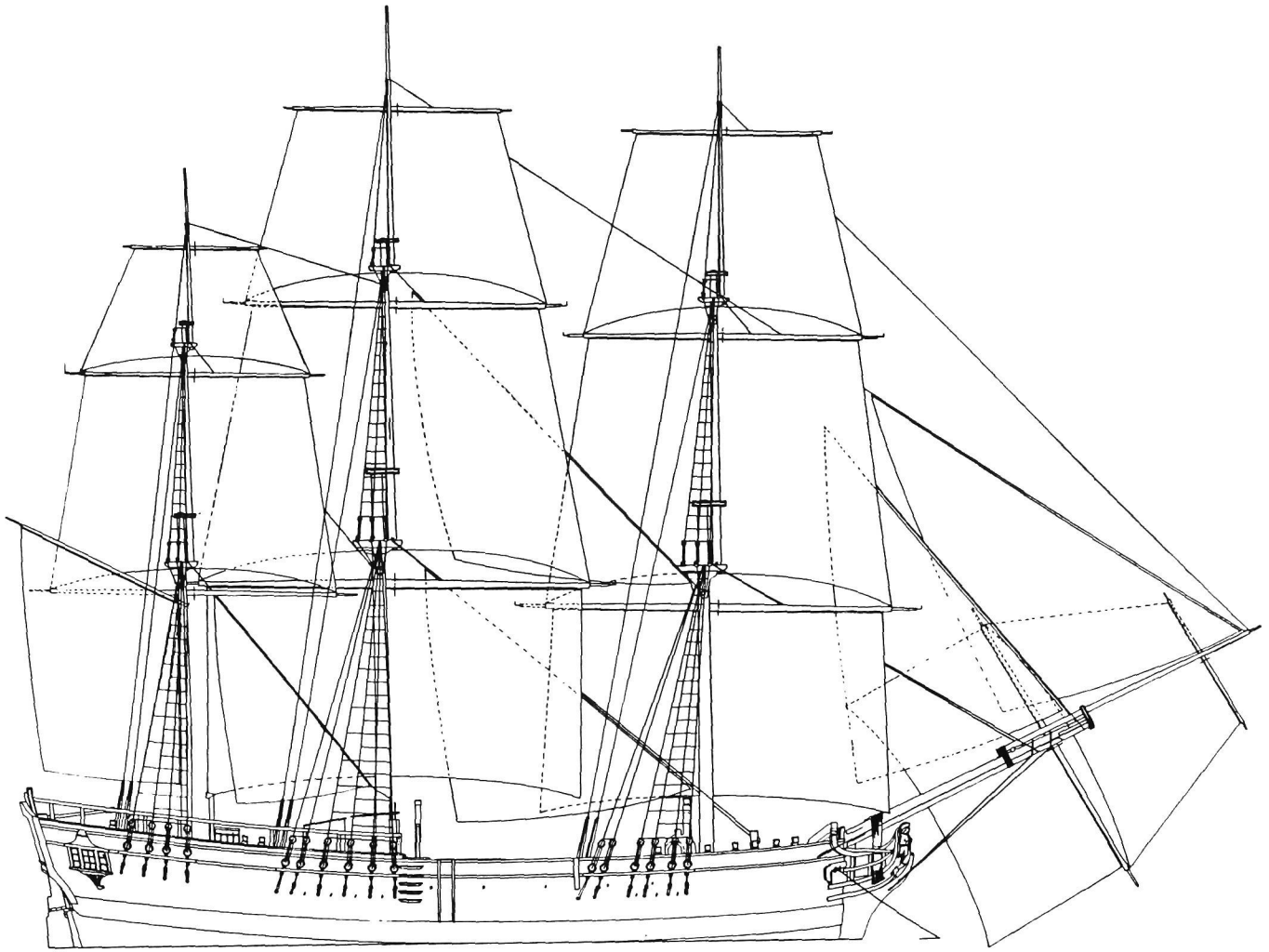


Figure 16: Ship, Circa 1773, Defined By Rig. Drawing by Howard L. Chapelle from his The Search for Speed Under Sail, 1700-1855.

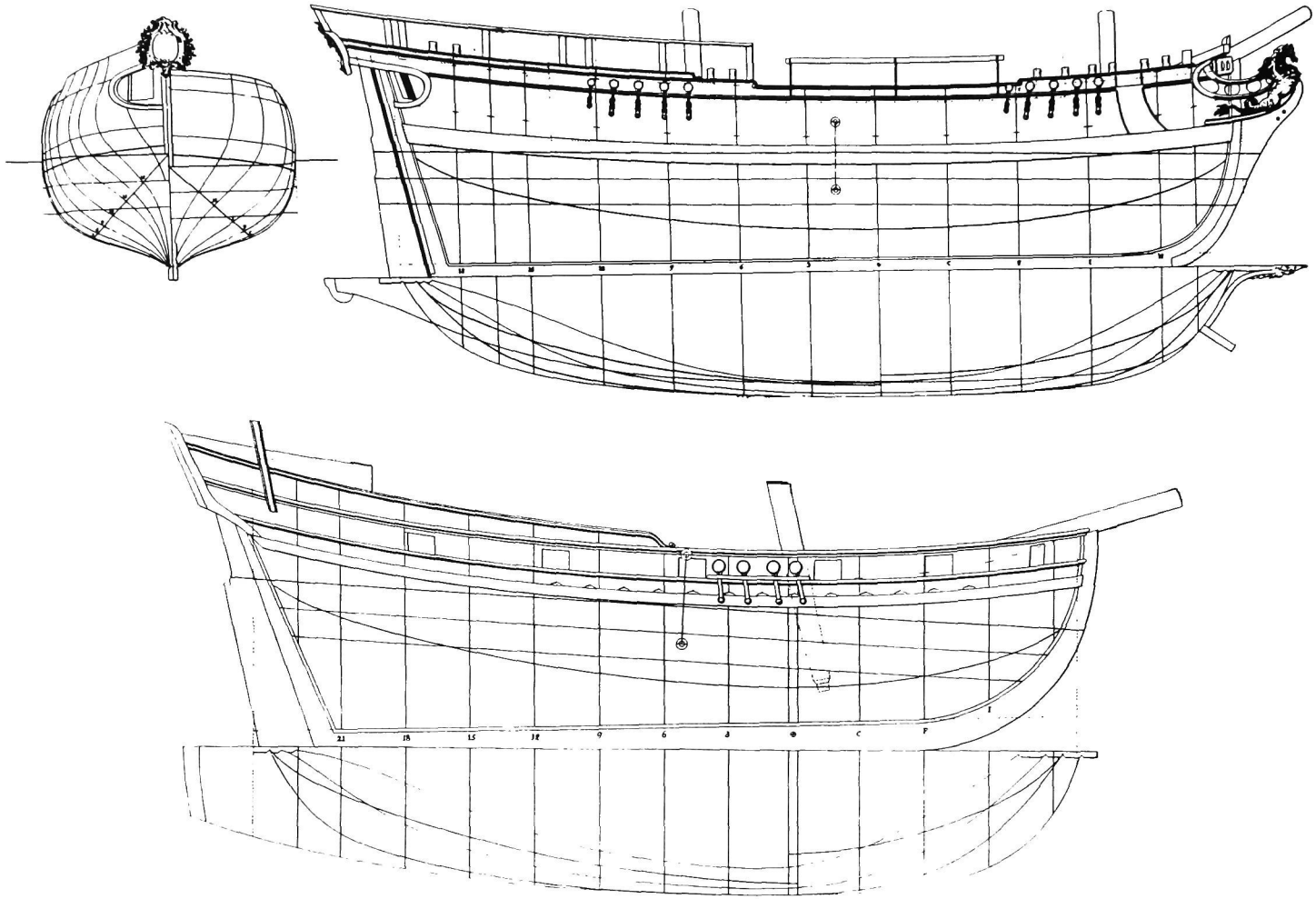


Figure 17: Pink, Circa 1768, (Top), and Bermuda Sloop, Circa 1768, (Bottom) Defined By Hull. Drawings by Fredrik Henrik af Chapman from his Architectura Navalis Mercatoria.

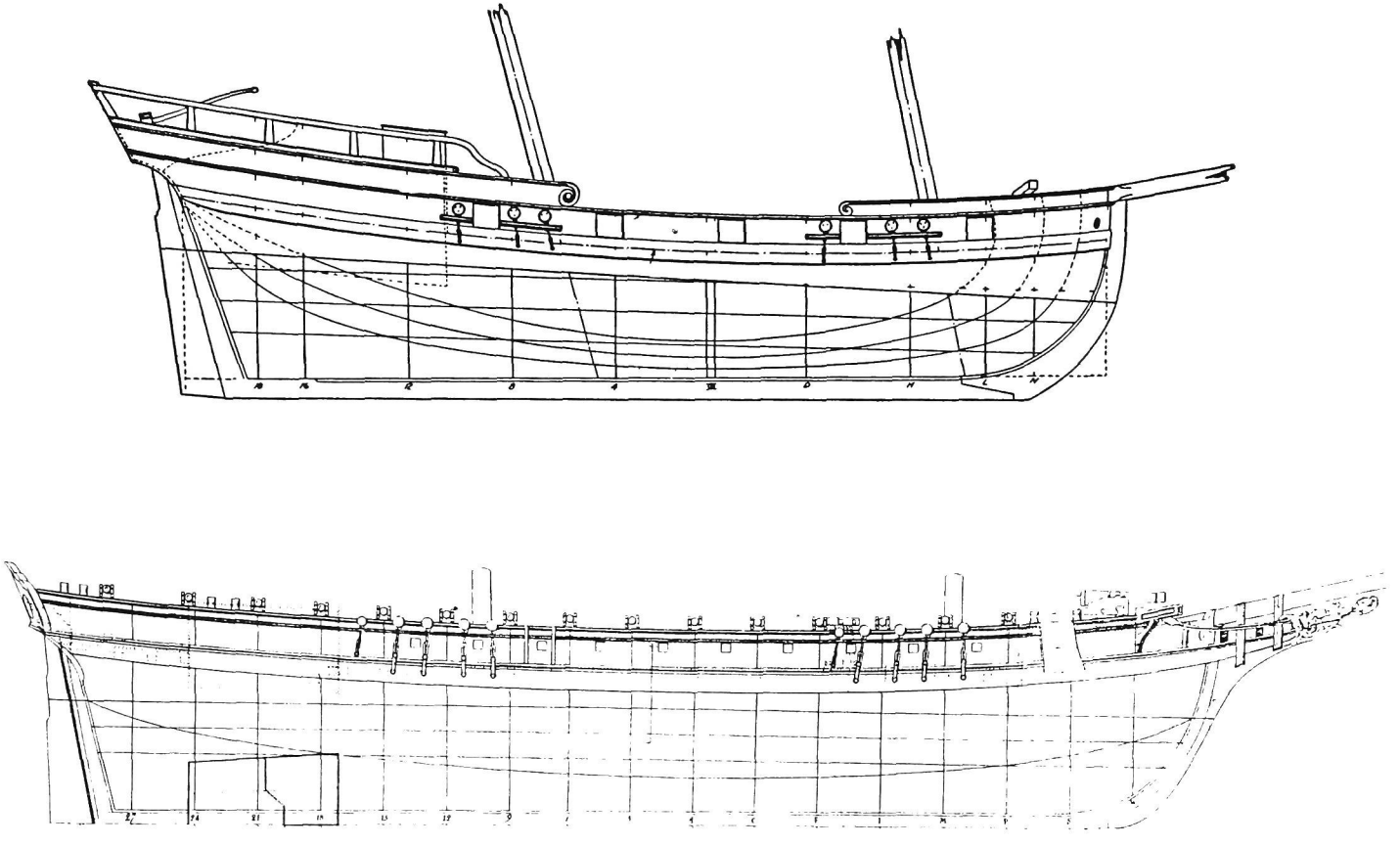
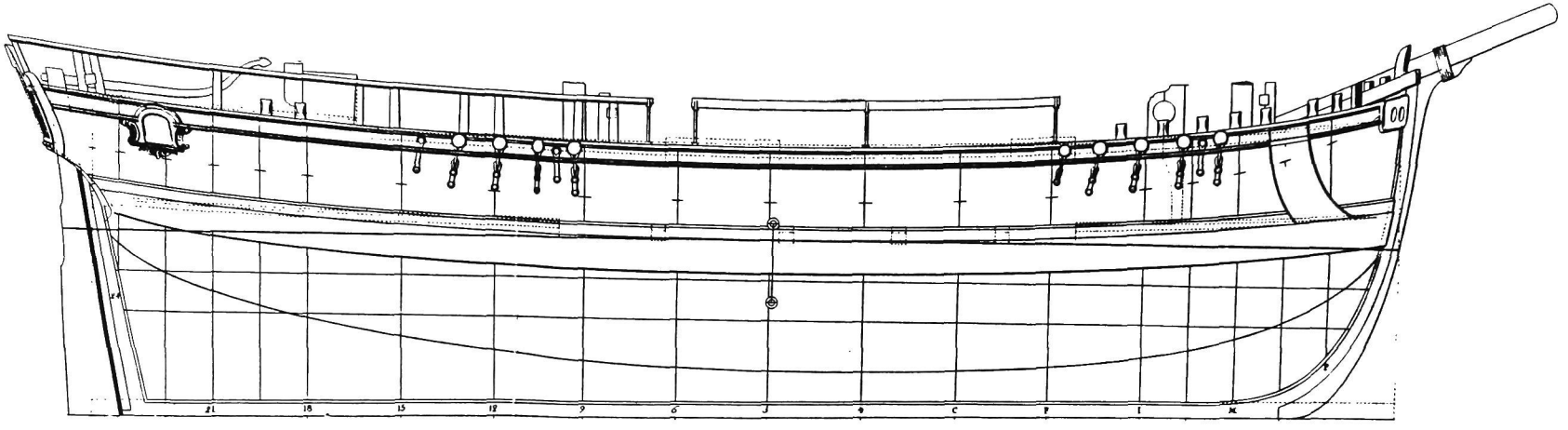


Figure 18: "Marble Head" Schooner, Circa 1767 (Top), and Privateer Schooner Circa 1768, (Bottom), Defined By Hull. Drawings by Howard L. Chapelle from his The History of American Sailing Ships, and Fredrik Henrik af Chapman from his Architectura Navalis Mercatoria, respectively.



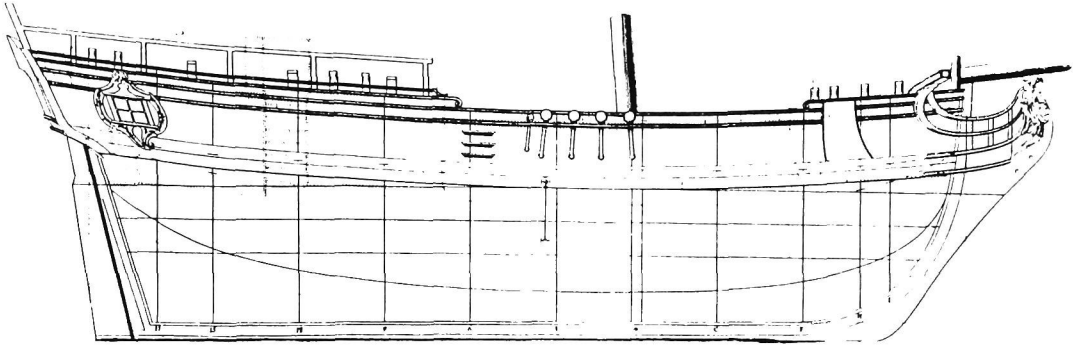


Figure 19: Bark, Circa 1768, Defined By Hull and Rigged as a Brig (Top), and Sloop, Circa 1768, Defined By Hull (Bottom). Drawings by Fredrik Henrik af Chapman from his Architectura Navalis Mercatoria.

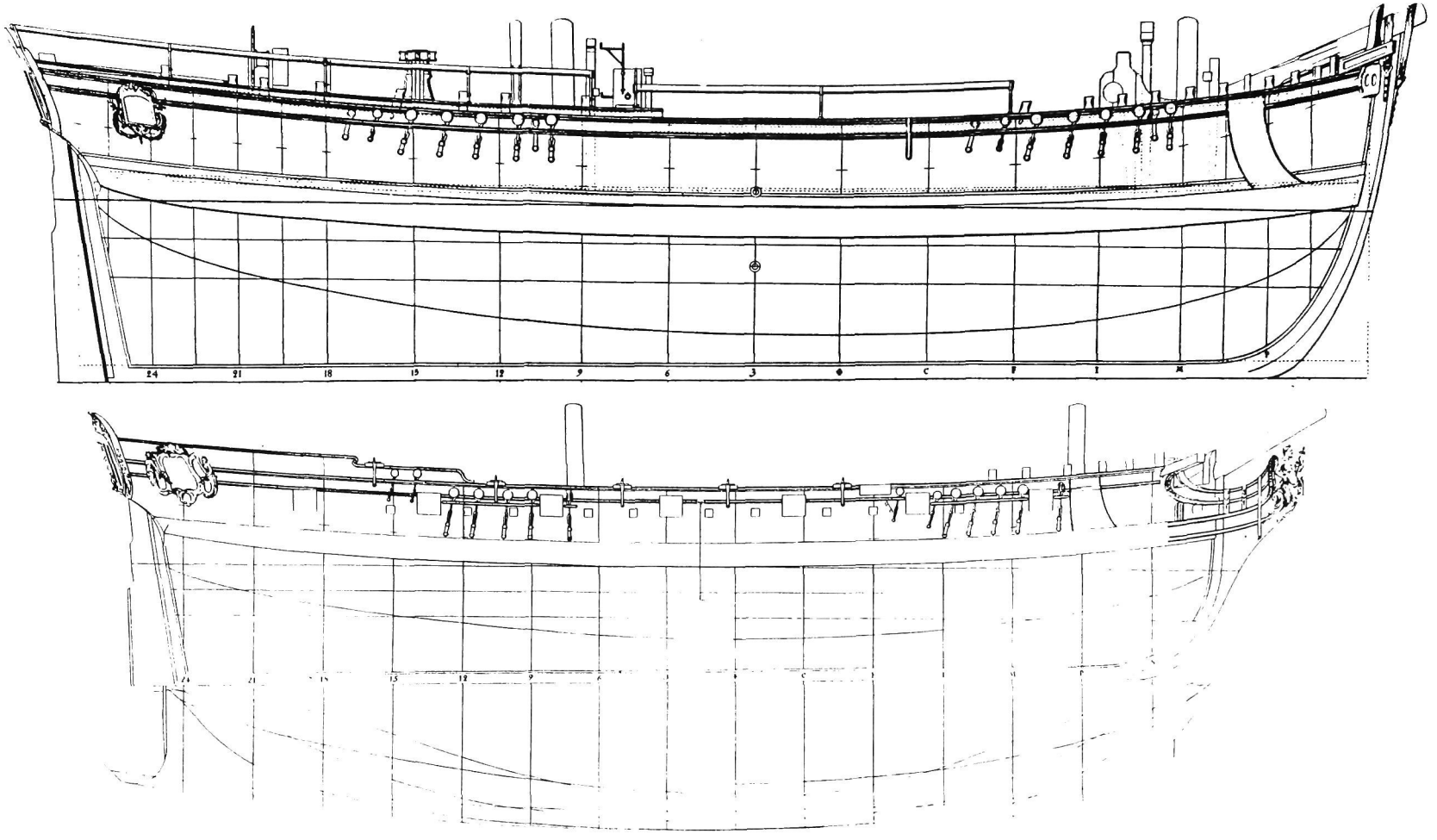


Figure 20: Bark, Circa 1768, Defined by Hull and Rigged as a Snow (Top), and Privateer, Circa 1768, to be Rigged as a Snow (Bottom). Drawings by Fredrik Henrik af Chapman from his Architectura Navalis Mercatoria.

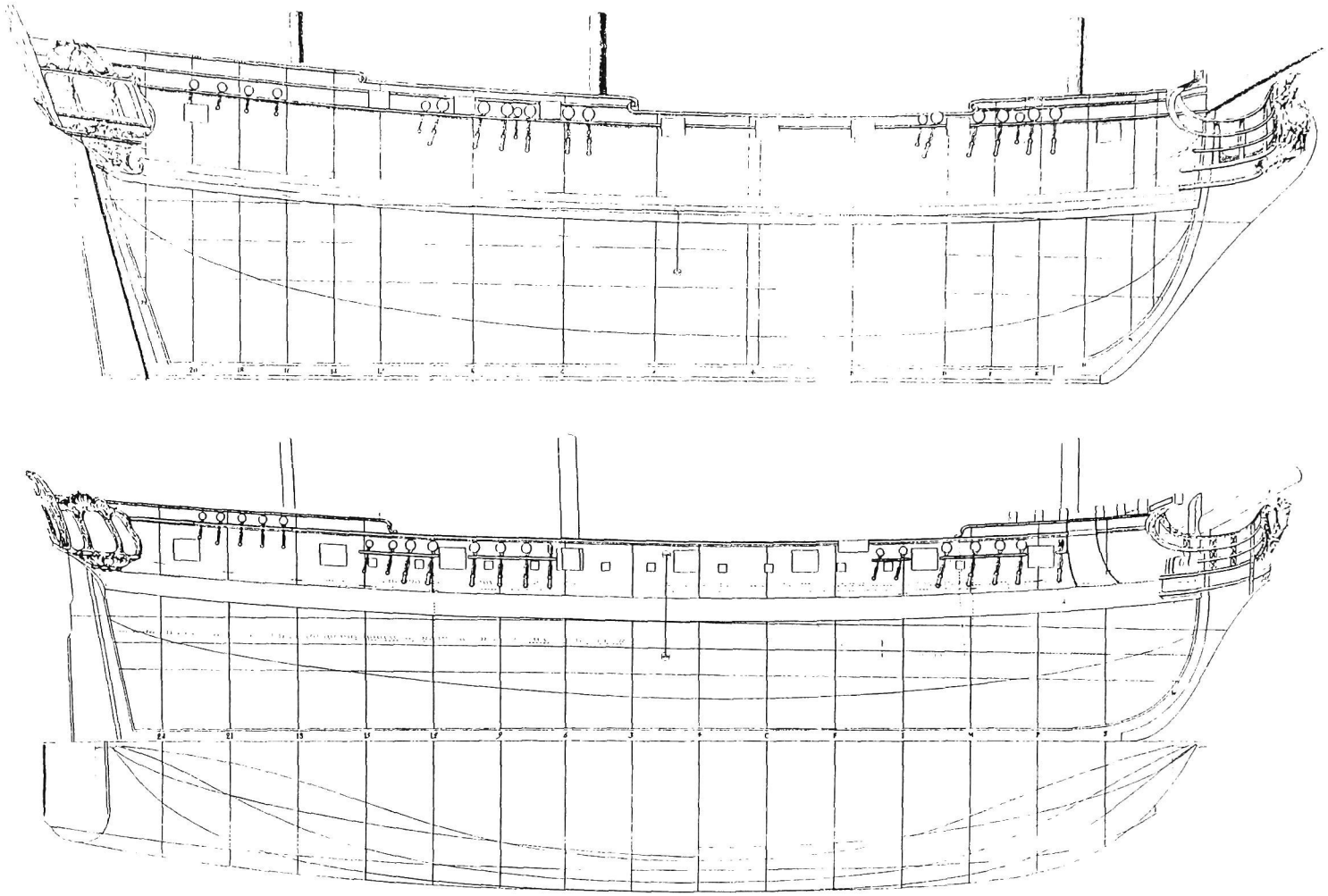


Figure 21: West Indiaman, Circa 1768, Defined by Hull and Rigged as a Ship (Top), and Frigate-Built Privateer, Circa 1768, Defined by Hull (Bottom). Drawings by Fredrik Henrik af Chapman from his Architectura Navalis Mercatoria.

Appendix B

Ordnance and Small Arms Carried Aboard Privateers

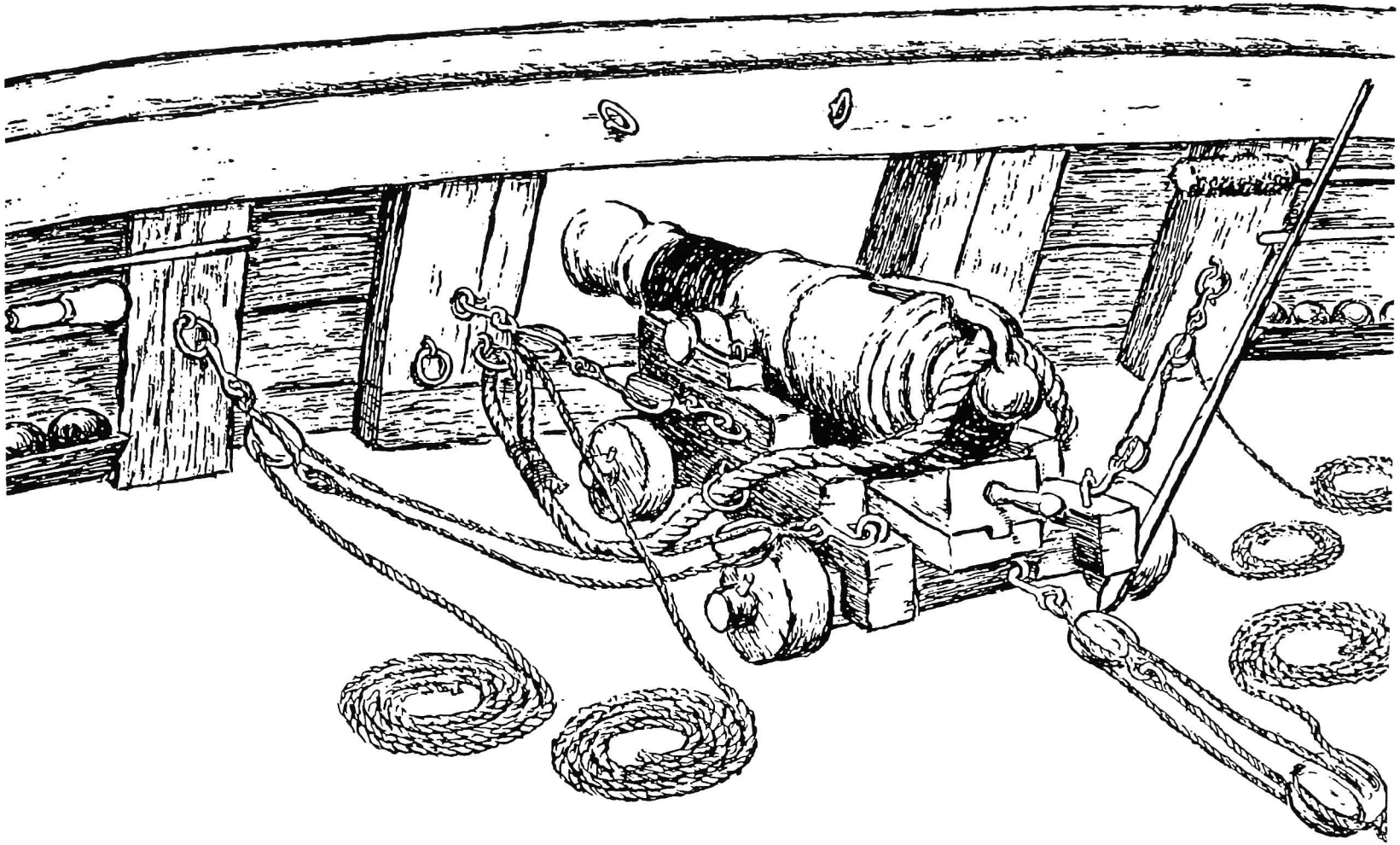


Figure 22: Ship's Carriage Gun. Drawing by C. Keith Wilbur from his Pirates & Patriots of the Revolution.

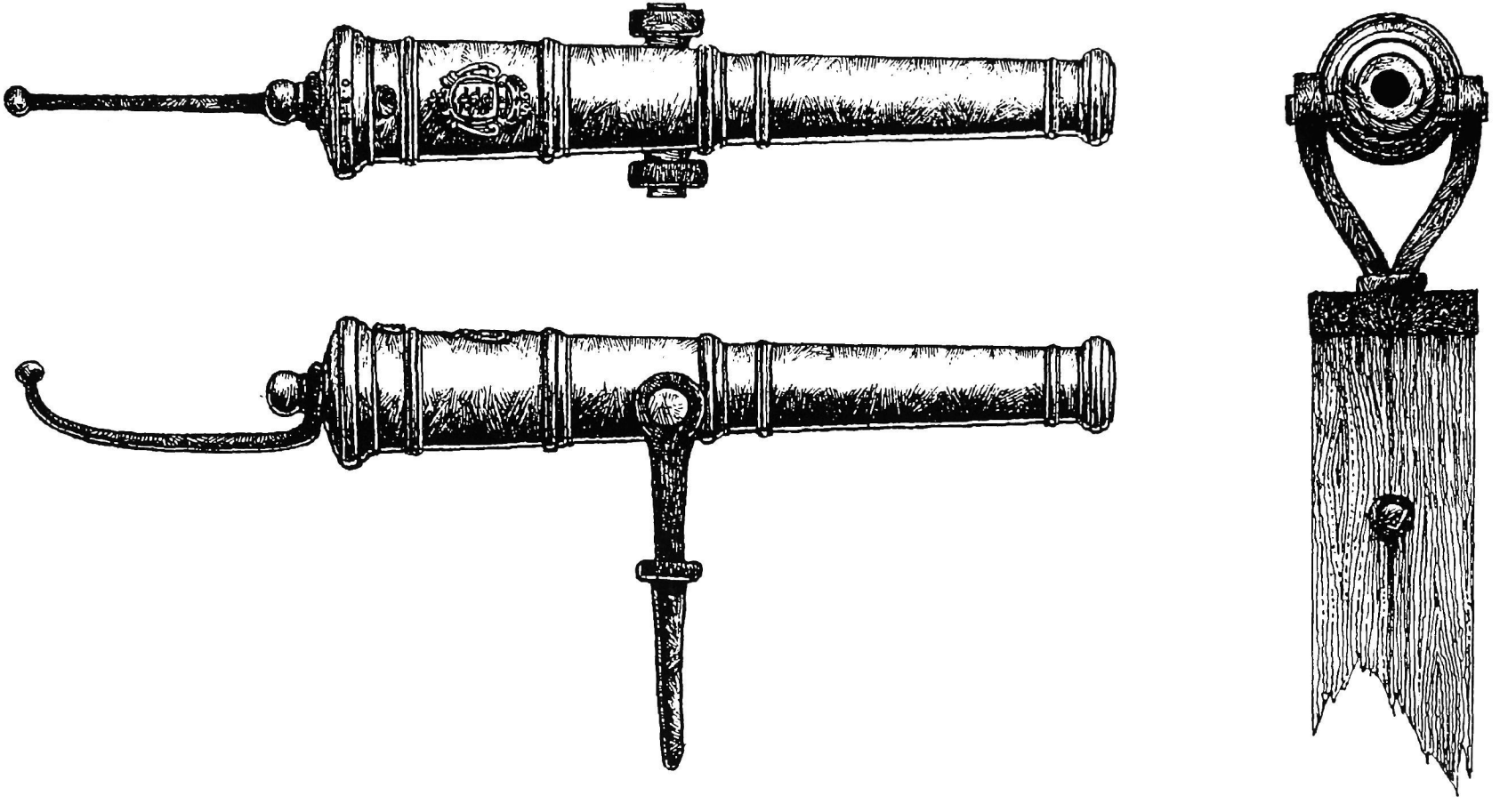


Figure 23: Swivel Gun. Drawing by William Gilkerson from his Boarders Away II: Firearms of the Age of Fighting sail.

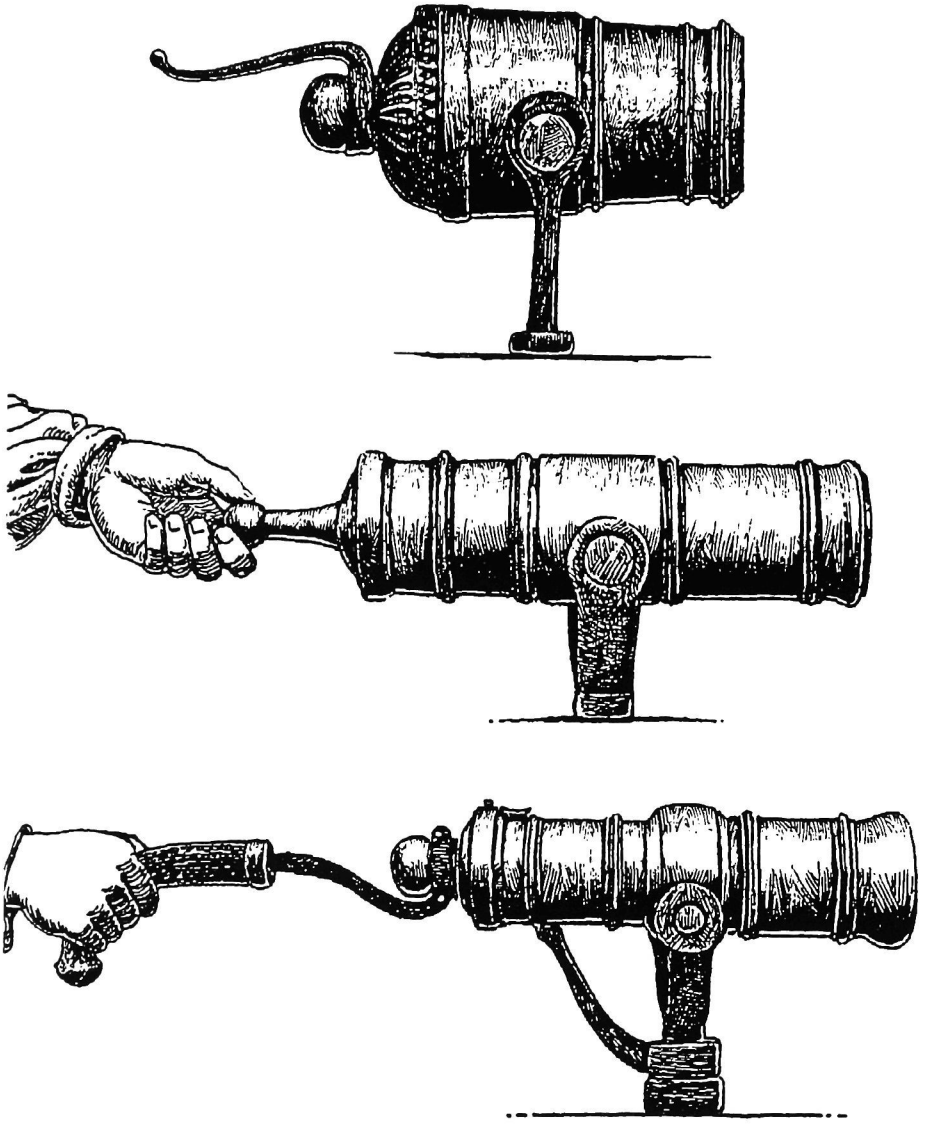


Figure 24: Swivel Howitzers. Drawing by William Gilkerson from his Boarders Away II: Firearms of the Age of Fighting Sail.

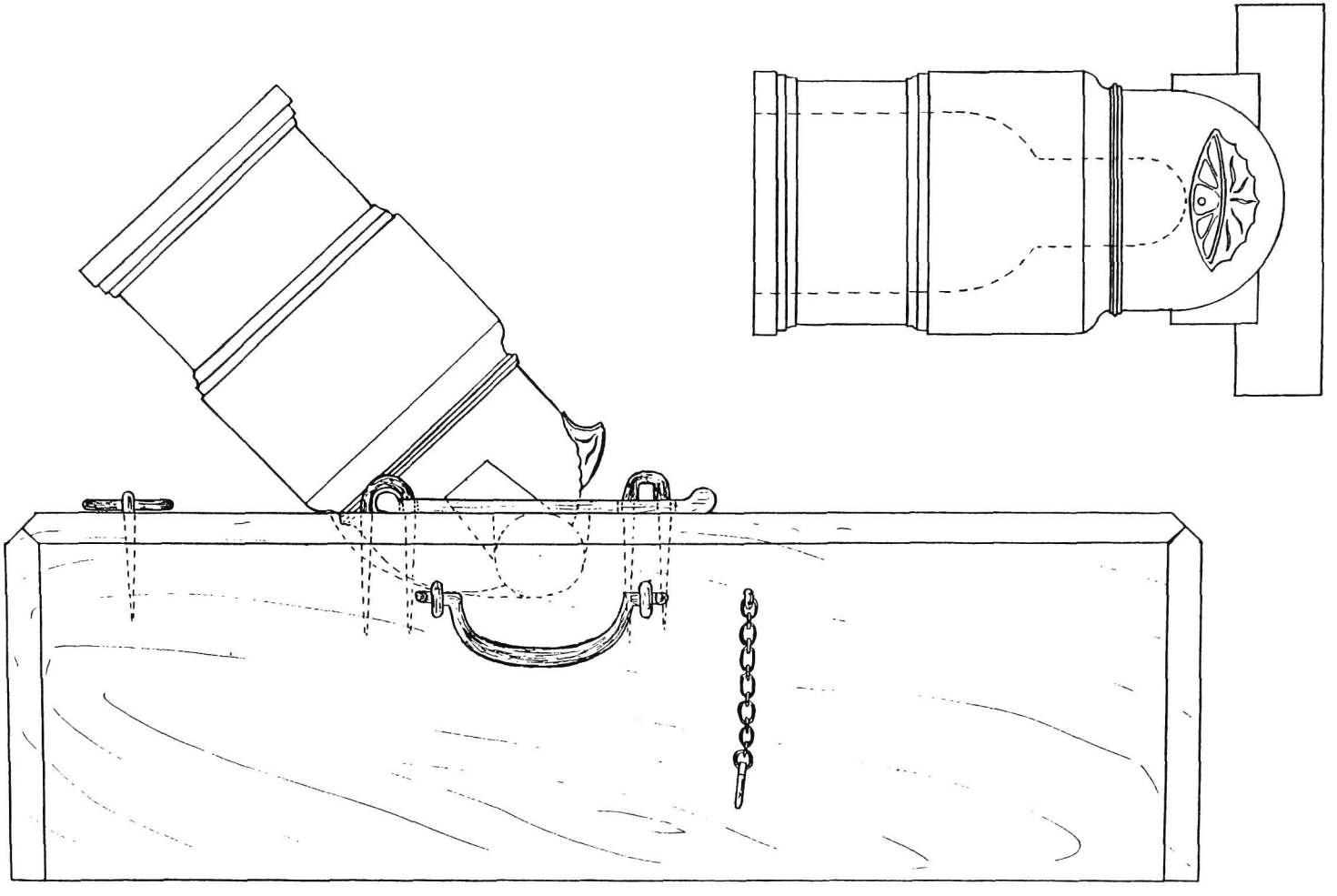


Figure 25: Cohorn Mortar. Drawing from Harold L. Peterson's Round Shot and Rammers.

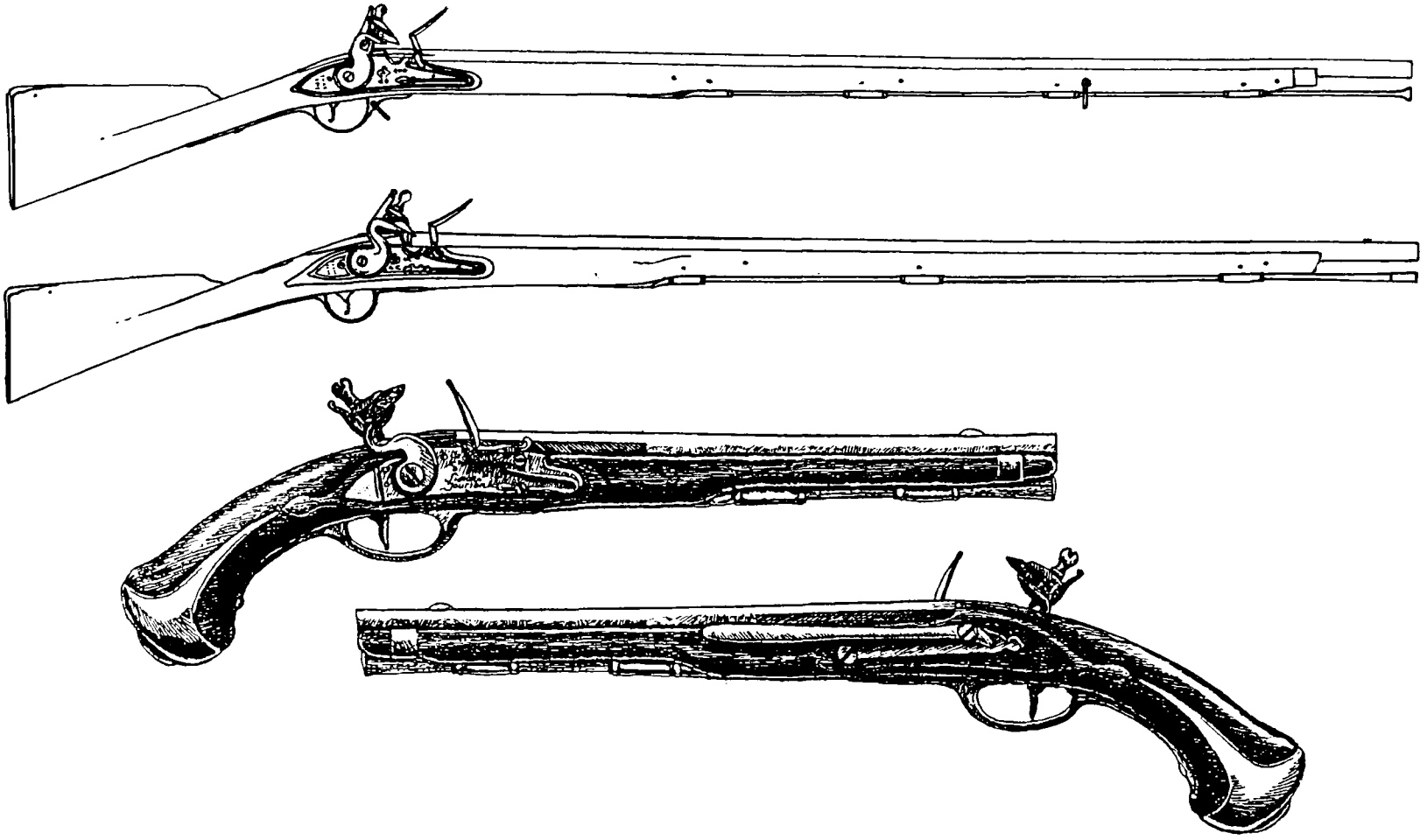


Figure 26: Sea Service Muskets (Top), and Sea Service Pistols (Bottom). Drawings by Robert M. Reilly from his United States Martial Flintlocks, and William Gilkerson from his Boarders Away II: Firearms of the Age of Fighting Sail, respectively.

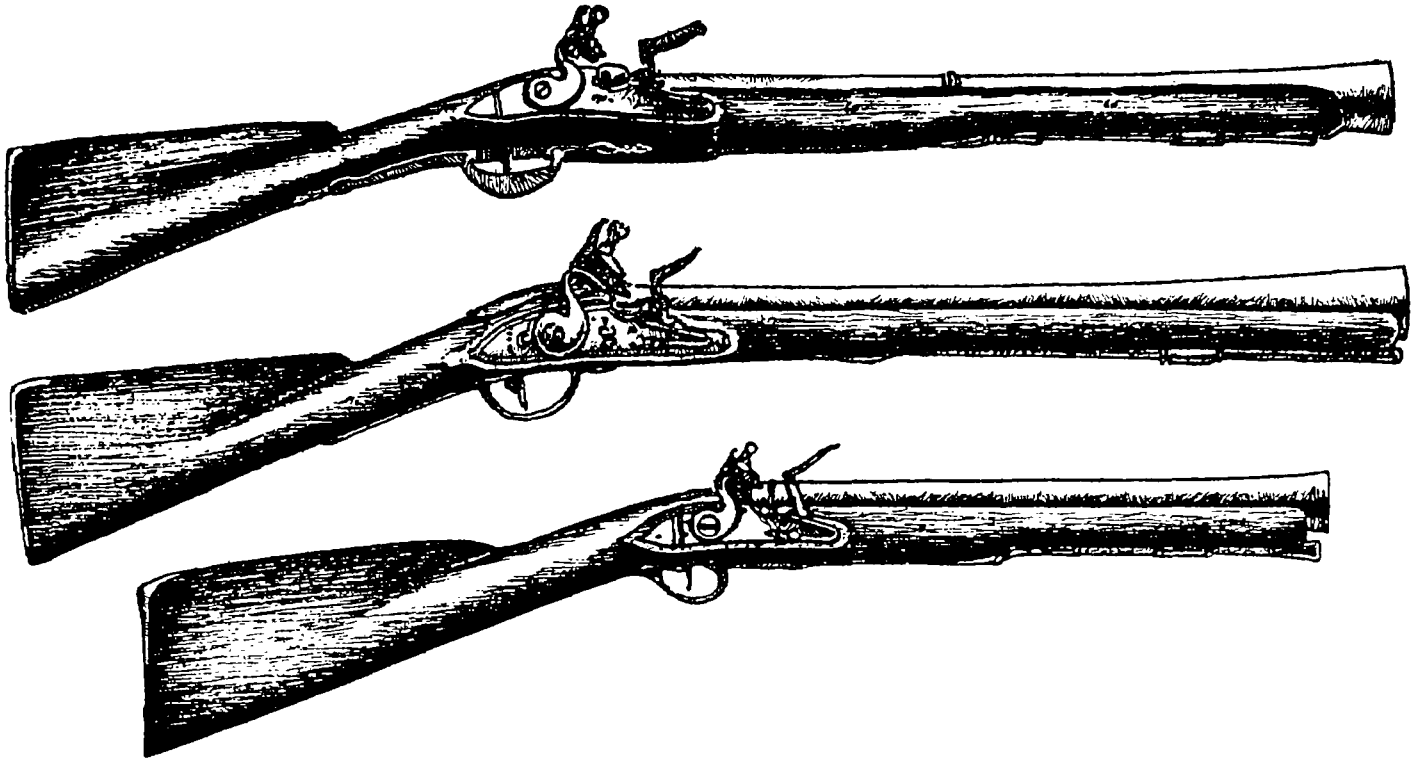


Figure 27: Ship's Musketoons. Drawing by William Gilkerson from his Boarders Away II: Firearms of the Age of Fighting Sail.

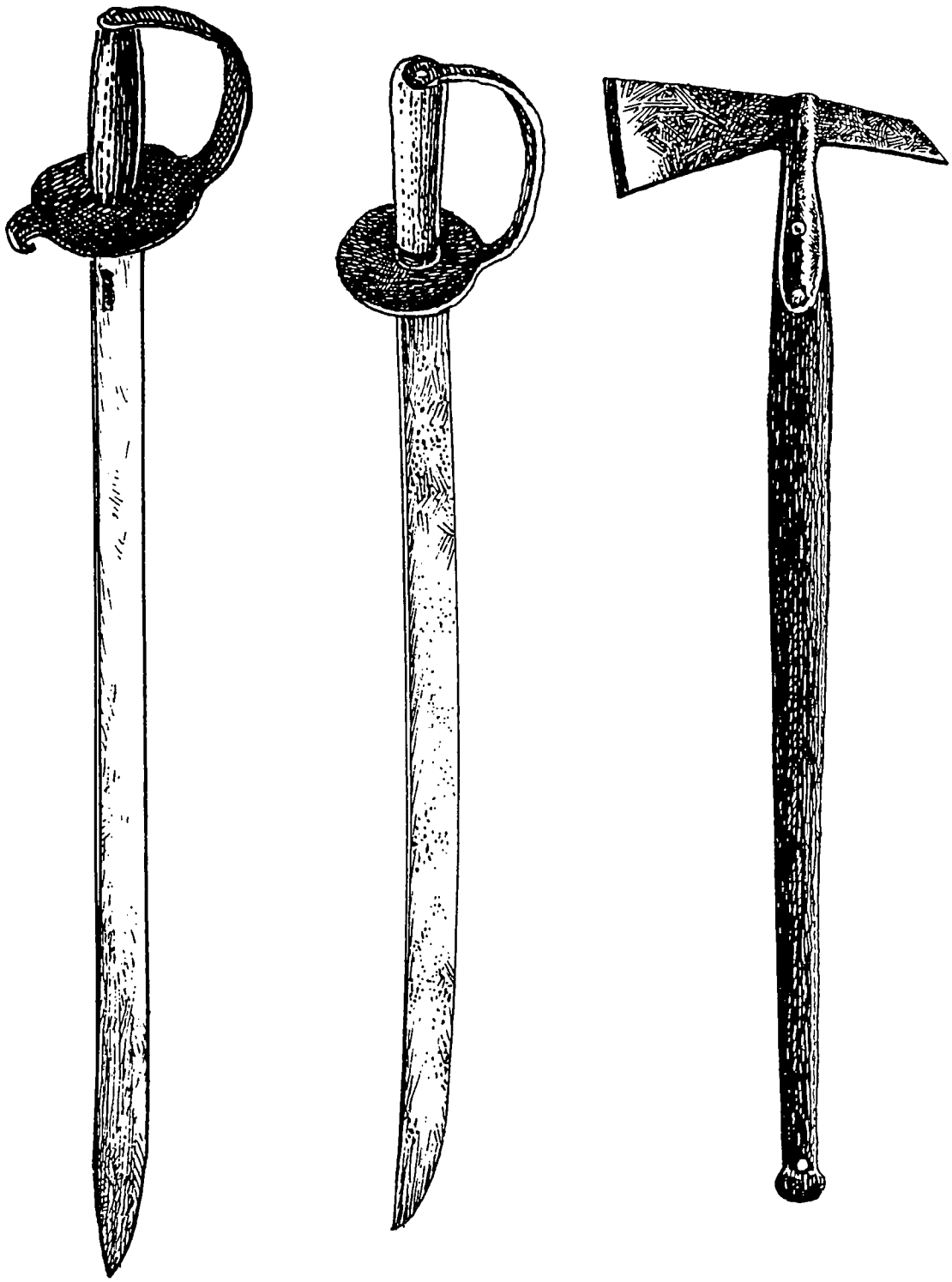


Figure 28: Boarding Cutlasses (Left) and Boarding Axe (Right). Drawings by William Gilkerson from his Boarders Away: With Steel - Edged Weapons & Polearms.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Richard D. Pougher was born in Rockford, Illinois, on January 25, 1952. He was raised there and graduated from Guilford Senior High in 1970. He attended Carthage College and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in History and Art in 1974. He then attended the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and Southern Methodist University where he received a Master of Arts degree in History in 1981. Following this, he enrolled at The College of William and Mary where he obtained a second Master of Arts degree in Anthropology, with a concentration in Historical Archaeology, in 1988. In 1992, he enrolled in the History graduate program at The University of Maine.

Richard is currently an adjunct faculty member in the History Department at Tidewater Community College, Portsmouth, Virginia. He is a candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in History at The University of Maine in May, 2002.