

## The *Pandora's* 135 crew

MISCELLANEOUS DETAILS ABOUT THE 135 MEN ON BOARD HMS *Pandora* at the time of her departure from England. Sources: The *Pandora's* musters (The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office ADM 36/11136) and pay book (TNA: PRO ADM 35/1360) with additions from other sources (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11092; ADM 36/10776; ADM 36/11085).

Rank/rating	Name/Administrative details	Personal details/miscellaneous comments
CAPTAIN	EDWARDS, Edward - Commission dd. 6 Aug 1790, appeared 10 Aug 1790. Received £ 66.4s.3d advance pay on 26 Oct 1790. £235.9s.3d in 'neat wages' on 16 Oct 1792.	Age 48, born in Water Newton, Hunts. HMS <i>Pandora</i> was his last sea-going command. Subsequently appointed as a 'regulating captain' (i.e. recruiting superintendent) at Argyle in 1795 and at Hull in 1797. A series of honorary promotions followed—to Rear Admiral in 1799 and Vice Admiral in 1805—per the Royal Navy's post captain's seniority list. All honorary, these promotions saw Edwards eventually raised to Admiral of the White Squadron on 4 June 1814—titularly the third most senior officer in the Royal Navy. He died in April 1815.
CAPTAIN'S CLERK	EDMONDS, Edward King - Appeared on 10 Aug 1790. Received £5.14s advance wages and £28.15s.10d 'neat wages' on 16 Oct 1792.	From Ireland.
1ST LIEUTENANT	LARKAN, John – Commission dd. 6 Aug 1790, from half pay, appeared 14 Aug 1790. Received £33.1s.6d advance pay. Received £117.2s in 'neat wages'; paid on 17 Oct 1792 to James Sykes (Attorney?).	Age 43, born in Athlone (Co. Roscommon, Ireland) Promoted to Commander's rank after the Battle of the Glorious 1st June (1794); ended his career in command of an Irish division of 'Sea Fencibles' (Greatman's Bay to Blackhead, Galway) He died in 1830.
LIEUTENANT'S YEOMAN	GERMAIN, John - Volunteer, appeared 22 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid. Promoted on 20 Sep 1790.	
2ND LIEUTENANT	CORNER, Robert - Commission dd. 21 Aug 1790. Appeared on 13 Oct 1790; received £33.1s.6d advance pay; paid £110.12s. 'neat wages' on 26 Oct 1792.	Age 37. From London; christened 28 Jan 1753 in St. Martin-in-the-Fields as Robert Sedgely Corner (cf. IGI) Prior to his appointment to the <i>Pandora</i> as the 2nd. Lt, he was C O of a press gang operating in HMS <i>Richard</i> in the North Sea. It is interesting to note that a number of men in Corner's press gang and from the <i>Richard's</i> crew appear to have followed him to the <i>Pandora</i> (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11092). Hamilton (1793:27) mentions that Corner had been commissioned "in the land service" before joining the RN; Corner was first commissioned as an RN lieutenant in 1779 – at age 26. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant of HMS <i>Terrible</i> in 1792. He ended his career as Superintendent of Marine Police in Malta; and was buried in February 1819, aged 66, in St Paul's Cathedral (Valetta).
3RD LIEUTENANT	HAYWARD, Thomas - Appeared on 26 Oct 1790. Commission on same date; gave evidence at Bligh's Court Martial on board HMS <i>Royal William</i> 22 Oct 1790.	Sailed with Bligh in the <i>Bounty's</i> launch after the mutiny. Hayward drew the chart with the location of the <i>Pandora</i> wreck (original: Hydrographer's Office, Taunton,

MASTER	PASSMORE, George – By warrant dd. 10 Sep 1790, appeared 15 Sep 1790. 'Superceded' the original master. (Thomas Welsh) According to Edwards and surgeon George Hamilton, Thos. Welsh was unfit for service (it appears that he suffered from a 'bilious complaint', cf. TNA: PRO ADM 101/1338).	Somerset). Appointed to the <i>Pandora</i> at Capt Edwards' request. Passmore was court-martialled in 1794 for refusing to serve as a Warrant Officer; his naval record contains the comment "never to be appointed lieutenant" (TNA: PRO ADM 106/1317). Having made repeated requests to be commissioned, it would seem the Admiralty considered that Passmore did not have what they thought was required to be 'an officer and a gentleman'!
MASTER'S MATES	BOWLING, Edward - Appeared 2 Oct 1790 as a midshipman, promoted 20 Oct 1790. † OLIVER, William - Appeared 25 Sep 1790 as AB, from <i>Neptune</i> (tender), promoted 25 Sep 1790.  REYNOLDS, George – Appeared 22 Aug 1790 as a midshipman, promoted 1 Nov 1790. Received £5.14s advance and £46.6s.4d 'neat wages'. RICKARDS, Thomas – Volunteer, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> .	Age 19. In command of the tender ' <i>Matavaï</i> ', which he navigated from Tofua to Java. DD 30 Dec 1791 on VOC ship <i>Vredenburg</i> . Renouard mentions that Oliver died in his '20th year'.
QUARTER-MASTERS	† ANDREWS, John - Volunteer, appeared 16 Sep 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, Promoted 30 Sep 1790. Received £4.18s advance. 'Neat wages' apparently not paid out!  DODDS, James - Volunteer, appeared 29 Sep 1790 as AB, from HMS <i>Richard</i> , £3 bounty paid, promoted 29 Sep 1790. HAYTHORN, William - Volunteer, appeared 6 Aug 1790 from HMS <i>Sandwich</i> as AB, £3 bounty paid. † LINDSEY, Thomas - Volunteer, appeared 8 Oct 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Nov 1790.	DD 29 Aug 1791.  One of the <i>Richard's</i> crew, one of the men who followed Lt Corner from HMS <i>Richard</i> (TNA: PRO ADM 3 6/11092). Promoted to Master's Mate, then 1 Nov 1790 promoted to Quartermaster. DD 16 Jan 1792 on board VOC ship <i>Hoornweg</i> .
QUARTER-MASTERS' MATES	MANNERS, James – Volunteer, appeared 29 Sep 1790 from <i>Richard</i> (tender) as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Nov 1790. MARSHALL, John - Volunteer, appeared 29 Sep 1790, from <i>Richard</i> (tender) as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Nov 1790 SPENCE, Charles - Volunteer, appeared 29 Sep 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 20 Sep 1790. WATSON, Thomas – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> as AB, promoted 1 Nov 1790.	A member of Lt. Corner's press gang; one of the men who followed Lt Corner from the <i>Richard</i> (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11092). One of HMS <i>Richard's</i> crew and one of the men who followed Lt Corner from the <i>Richard</i> (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11092). Pressed at sea by HMS <i>Champion</i> , in Burlington Bay?
CAULKER	BELL, Christopher - Volunteer, appeared 6 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 6 Sep 1790 to carpenter's crew and on 13 Oct 1790 to caulker; £31.10s remitted at ship's pay-off; £6.7s 'neat' wages' paid.	Punished on 8 Dec 1790 with one dozen lashes for insolence and quarrelling with his superior officer.
SURGEON	HAMILTON, George - From half pay by warrant dd. 10 Aug 1790, appeared 13 Aug 1790. £29.4s.6d advance pay; £97.12s.8d 'neat wages' on 17 Oct '92.	Published a voyage account (based on his voyage journal) in 1793 in Berwick. Invalided out of the RN in 1794 having lost an arm while serving on HMS

		<i>Lowestoft.</i>
SURGEON'S MATE	INNES, James - Appeared 21 Aug 1790, by warrant. £11.14s.2d advance. Paid £61.10s.8d 'neat' wages.	
PURSER	BENTHAM, Gregory - Appeared 10 Aug 1790. Received £12.8s two month's advance pay. £32.8s.11d 'neat' wages received 3 May 1793.	One of the <i>Pandora's</i> standing officers. Bentham had been a clerk to Capt. Charles Clerke on Cook's third voyage (HMS <i>Discovery</i> ) Recommended to Joseph Banks' 'interest' by Clerke.
PURSER'S STEWARD	† BOWLER, Robert - Volunteer, appeared on 10 Aug 1790 as ORD, bounty paid £2; appointed purser's steward on 30 Sep 1790. Received £3.14s advance pay.	DD 29 Aug 1791. Age 28. From London, Christened 6 Jan 1763 at St James, Westminster, (cf. IGI) His sister Theodosia (one of 3 siblings, cf. IGI) received £8.1s.6d in 'neat wages' on 13 Nov 1792.
MIDSHIPMEN	ATKINS, James – Pressed by HMS <i>Richard</i> , appeared 8 Oct 1790 as AB, promoted 1 Nov 1790. £4.10s advance. 'Neat wages' £30.7s.6d paid to James Evans for attorney Thomas Scratcherd on 5 Oct 1792.  † FENWICK, John Philip - Appeared 17 Sep 1790, £5.14s advance, £10.19s.6d remitted when ship paid off. 'Neat wages' acquitted with his brother Benjamin on 6 June 1794.  McKENDRICK (or Kendrick), George - Volunteer, appeared 26 Aug 1790 as AB, from HMS <i>Enterprize</i> , £3 bounty paid, promoted 26 Aug 1790. £5.14s advance Received Paid £27.1s.8d 'neat wages'.  MATSON, John Grant - Volunteer, appeared 17 Sep 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Oct 1790. £4.10s advance. £18 remitted when ship paid off, 'neat wages' £8.2s.9d.  PYECROFT (Pycroft), Henry - Appeared 15 Sep 1790 as master's servant, D 25 Oct 1790, re-entered 26 Oct 1790 as AB, promoted 1 Jan 1791.  RENOUARD, David Thomas - Appeared 6 Aug 1790 as Captain's servant, discharged 22 Oct 1790, re-entered 23 Oct 1790 as midshipman.  † SIVAL (or Sivall), John - Appeared 6 Sep 1790, £5.14s advance, £5.14s.6d owing wages remitted when ship paid off (to his mother, Susanna cf. TNA: PRO ADM 35/1360).	DD 17 Jan 1792, died at sea in VOC ship <i>Hoorweg</i> .  A protégé of George Passmore.  In the <i>Matavai</i> tender when it was lost, he wrote a journal account of his experiences (Maude, 1964). A protégé of Captain Edwards.  DD 24 May 1791, lost in the cutter.
BOATSWAIN (BOSUN)	CUNNINGHAM, John - Appeared 10 Aug 1790. Received £12.8s advance pay. £32.16s.1d 'neat' wages paid.	One of the <i>Pandora's</i> standing officers. Joseph Cunningham (qv) was his son.
BOSUN's MATES	† JOHNSON, James - Volunteer, appeared 17 Sep 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 30 Sep 1790.  MOULTER (MOLTER), William Volunteer, appeared 26 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid; 28 Oct 1790. £22.6s.8d in 'neat' wages.	DD 31 Dec 1790, off Rio de Janeiro.  Punished with one dozen lashes for striking his officer; removed the scuttle from ' <i>Pandora's</i> Box' as the ship was sinking. 'Entrance Cay' (in Pandora Entrance) renamed Moulter Cay in 1984 in his honour.
COXWAIN	WISDOM, William - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Defence</i> as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Oct 1790.	

CARPENTER	† MONTGOMERY, Alexander - Appeared 10 Aug 1790, from the ordinary book. Received £12.8s advance. £18.11s.8d paid to his estate on 2 Nov 1792. A James Evans received these monies for Hitchins & Baynture (Attorneys acting on behalf of Montgomery's estate).	DD 7 Dec 1791 at Batavia Hospital. One of the <i>Pandora's</i> standing officers.
CARPENTER'S MATE	FARRENS, Jonathan - Appeared 15 Aug 1790 as AB, promoted 31 Aug 1790. £3 bounty paid. Received £5.2s advance wages.	Brother of Robert Farrens (qv). Both brothers made wills in favour of their mother Jane Farrens, a widow in Chatham.
CARPENTER'S CREW	† BROWN, Robert – Pressed by HMS <i>Champion</i> , appeared 8 Oct 1790 from <i>Sandwich</i> as AB, promoted 8 Oct 1790.  YOWELL, John – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from <i>Royal William</i> as ORD, promoted 1 Nov 1790.	DD 29 Aug 1791; a carpenter on a 'Greenland ship' (whaler); pressed at sea off Whitby.
GUNNER	PACKER, Joseph - appeared 10 Aug 1790, from the ordinary book. £12.8s advance. £34.5s.6d 'neat wages' paid on 26 Oct 1792.	One of the <i>Pandora's</i> 'standing officers.'
GUNNER'S YEOMAN	FOSTER, Robert - Appeared 29 Sep 1790 as AB, from HMS <i>Richard</i> , promoted 29 Sep 1790; paid £3 bounty and £4.6s advance.	One of the men who followed Lt Corner from the <i>Richard</i> (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11092). He was in Corner's press gang.
GUNNER'S MATE	STEWART, William - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790 as AB from HMS <i>David</i> (tender), £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Dec 1790.	Age 18, from Orkney; recruited by HMS <i>David</i> on 17 Aug 1790 at Kirkwall Roads.
QUARTER GUNNERS	CAMERON, John - Volunteer, appeared 29 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Richard</i> (tender) as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Nov 1790.  NICHOLAS, Henry - Appeared 13 Oct 1790 from <i>Polly</i> (tender) as AB, promoted 1 Nov 1790.  PUDNEY, William – Appeared 6 Sep 1790 from <i>Sandwich</i> as AB, volunteer, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Oct 1790.  REEVE (or Reeves), Robert - Volunteer, appeared 6 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Sandwich</i> as AB, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Oct 1790.	One of the men who followed Lt Corner from the <i>Richard</i> (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11092).  'Run' at Cape Town on 22 Feb 1792.
SAILMAKER'S MATE	JACKSON, Thomas - Appeared 14 Aug 1790 as AB, promoted to Qtr. Gunner 31 Aug 1790, sail maker's mate 1 Nov 1790.	
SAILMAKER'S CREW	† ARBUTHNOT, Alexander – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> as AB, promoted 1 Dec 1790	DD 29 Aug 1791. Recruited at (off?) Yarmouth by HMS <i>Richard</i> .
COOPER	REYNOLDS, Henry - Volunteer, appeared 3 Sep 1790 as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 30 Sep 1790. Paid £19.16s.3d 'neat' wages.	
MASTER AT ARMS	† GRIMWOOD, John - Volunteer, appeared 26 Aug 1790 as AB, paid £3 bounty, promoted 14 Sep 1790 to Corporal and 22 Oct 1790 to Master at Arms, £3.12s.9d 2 months' advance; no 'neat' wages calculated.	DD 29 Aug 1791. Reported to have remarked to the prisoners in the 'box': "Never fear my boys, we're all going to hell together", before jumping overboard himself.
CORPORAL	† RODRICK, William - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Defence</i> as ORD, paid £2 bounty, promoted 1 Nov 1790.	DD 29 Aug 1791.
COOK	† MAHONEY, Denis - appeared 10 Aug 1790.	DD 1 Dec 1791 at Batavia Hospital. One

	Received £4.10s advance, £11.11s.6d remitted when the ship was paid off.	of the <i>Pandora's</i> standing officers. A William Dodd was a beneficiary of Mahoney's will.
ARMOURER	† CLEMENTS, William – Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790 as AB, promoted 20 Sep 1790. Paid £3 bounty and £5.2s advance.	DD 2 Nov 1791 on VOC ship <i>Rembang</i> . His widow Ann Clements received £13.14s in 'neat' wages.
ARMOURER'S MATE	HODGES, Joseph - appeared 16 Sep 1790 as ORD, volunteer, £2 bounty paid, promoted 1 Nov 1790 to AB and subsequently to armourer's mate.  STAPLETON, Philip - appeared 22 Aug 1790 as AB, volunteer, £3 bounty paid, promoted 1 Sep 1790.	
ABLE SEAMEN	† BARKER, Thomas - AB. Volunteer, £2 bounty paid, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> .  BEACKIE (Brackie?), Thomas – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> .  † BRIXLEY, Thomas – Pressed, appeared 3 Nov 1790 from HMS <i>Flirt</i> (sloop) as ORD, promoted 1 Apr 1791.  BROWN, Allen - Appeared 1 Oct 1790, from <i>Polly</i> (tender). Volunteer, £3 bounty paid.  † BROWN, James - Volunteer, appeared 29 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Tagus</i> (tender) as ORD, £2 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.  CALLIGHAN, Timothy - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Defence</i> as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.  CAMPBELL, John - Volunteer, appeared 25 Sep 1790, from HMS <i>Friendship</i> (tender), £3 bounty paid.  † CARROLL (or Carrol), Thomas - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from HMS <i>David</i> (tender), £3 bounty paid.  † CARTER, William – Pressed, appeared 8 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Sandwich</i> .  COBB, Francis – Pressed, appeared 8 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Sandwich</i> .  COLLINS, Henry - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Defence</i> as ORD, bounty paid £2, promoted 1 Oct 1790.  † CULLEMORE, James - appeared 22 Aug 1790 as LM, promoted 1 Dec 1790, £2.18s advance paid. £9.14s.6d remitted to his heirs; among whom, his sister Eleanor Roberts, who received another 2d on final pay-out on 23 Apr 1793!  CURLING, John Godfrey - Volunteer, appeared 25 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Neptune</i> (tender) as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Dec 1790.  † DEDWORTH, William – Pressed, appeared 8 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Sandwich</i> .  DENEEN, John - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790	DD 22 Oct 1791 on board tender <i>Matavai</i> at Surabaya; recruited by HMS <i>Richard</i> on 17 Sep '90 off Whitby. According to David Renouard, Barker was 'much advanced' in age.  DD 29 Aug 1791  DD 26/12/1791 on board VOC ship <i>Hoorweg</i> .  DD 29 Aug 1791; recruited in Scottish waters (off Leith or Peterhead).  DD 29 Aug 1791. Pressed from a 'Greenland ship' (whaler) at King's Lynn or Burlington Bay?  Pressed at sea by HMS <i>Champion</i> .  From Manchester; left a will in favour of his wife Fanny (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11136/62).  DD 29 Aug 1791. He left a will in favour of his sister Elinor (sic) (a milliner and mantua maker from Bromley).  DD 29 Aug 1791; pressed at sea by HMS <i>Champion</i> ; from 'Greenland ship' ' <i>The Fountain</i> '.  Treated for 'venereals' on board HMS

from HMS <i>Defence</i> as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.	<i>Alcide</i> (January 1792)!
DOUGHTY, Thomas - Volunteer, appeared 16 Sep 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid.	
DUNNETT, John – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> .	
† DURLING, Daniel - Volunteer, appeared 16 Sep 1790 as LM, bounty paid £1, promoted 1 Apr 1791. £6.12s.6d neat wages paid to his uncle John Brock.	DD 29 Aug 1791.
† EGLINGTON, George - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from HMS <i>David</i> (tender), £3 bounty paid.	DD 29 Aug 1791. Recruited by HMS <i>David</i> while in Kirkwall Roads. Age 22. From Orkney.
† FARRELL, William - appeared 4 Sep 1790, volunteer, £2 bounty paid, promoted 1 Oct 1790.	DD 30 Dec 1791 on board VOC ship <i>Vredenburg</i> . £10.8s remitted to his mother Thirza Gardner in Chatham.
FARRENS (Farran?), Robert - Volunteer, appeared 15 Aug 1790 as ORD, £2 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.	Brother of Jonathan Farrens (qv), carpenter's mate. Both brothers made wills in favour of their mother Jane Farrens, a widow in Chatham.
† FLETCHER, William – Volunteer, appeared 3 Oct 1790.	DD 29 Aug 1791.
FUSS, James – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 as AB, from HMS <i>Royal William</i> .	
GEORGE, Joseph - Volunteer, appeared 21 Aug 1790, £2 bounty paid.	He made a will in favour of his wife Elisabeth and his mother Martha George, a mantua maker from Holbourne.
† HAMMOND, Samuel - Volunteer, appeared 2 Oct 1790 as ORD, £2 bounty paid, promoted 1 Nov 1790.	DD 29 Aug 1791. Recruited off Shields, Whitby or Scarborough by HMS <i>Richard</i> .
HANZELL, Jacob - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790 from <i>David</i> (tender) as ORD, promoted 1 Nov 1790.	Of German origin? Apparently he received no bounty!
† HENRY, Patrick - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790 as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.	DD 29 Aug 1791.
HOUSTON, Hugh - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from HMS <i>David</i> (tender), £3 bounty paid.	Age 33, from Orkney. Recruited by HMS <i>David</i> while at Kirkwall Roads.
INGLESBY (Ingoldsby?) William - Volunteer, appeared 15 Aug 1790 as ORD, £2 bounty paid, promoted 1 Dec 1790.	
KEMP, William – Pressed, appeared 11 Oct 1790.	Pressed at sea by HMS <i>Champion</i> from a 'Greenland ship' or at King's Lynn?
KING, Peter – Pressed by HMS <i>Richard</i> tender, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> .	
LAYSELL, James - Volunteer, appeared 6 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Sandwich</i> as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791. Paid £20.18s.3d 'neat' wages.	From Feversham (Faversham?)(Kent).
LOFT, Henry - Volunteer, appeared 25 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Neptune</i> (tender) as LM, bounty paid £1, promoted 1 Dec 1790.	
† LION (Lyon?), William - Volunteer, appeared 2 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Richard</i> (tender) as ORD, bounty paid £2, promoted 1 Nov 1790.	DD 29 Aug 1791. His son William and daughter Margaret received £9.0s.6d neat wages; he had made a will in favour of his son William (in Seaton, Devonshire) and wife Mary (from Hyde Littleton, Somerset).

MANSON, John – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> as ORD, promoted 1 Nov 1790.	
† MURPHY, John - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Defence</i> as LM £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.	DD 26 Oct 1791 on VOC ship <i>Rembang</i> (Coupang to Batavia). £9.11s neat wages paid to his brother Robertson on 4 Dec 1792 and £1.6s to his mother Margaret.
† MILTON, Robert – Pressed, appeared 8 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Sandwich</i> .	DD 19 Nov 1791 in Batavia Hospital; pressed at sea from a 'Greenland ship' (whaler ' <i>The Fountain</i> ') by HMS <i>Champion</i> .
MITCHELL, Moses – Pressed, appeared 29 Sep 1790 as AB.	Punished with one dozen lashes for disobedience of orders (19 Dec 1790).
† MURRAY, James - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from <i>David</i> (tender), £3 bounty paid.	DD 21 Mar 1792; age 21, from Orkney. Recruited by HMS <i>David</i> off Leith on 6 Aug 1790, died at sea while returning home in VOC ship <i>Zwaan</i> .
ORCHARD, Robert – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> as ORD, promoted 1 Apr 1791.	D in Cape Town Hospital (March 1792).
† PATTERSON, John - Volunteer, appeared 2 Oct 1790, £3 bounty paid, from HMS <i>Richard</i> (tender).	DD 15 Nov 1791 in Batavia Hospital; recruited at King's Lynn by HMS <i>Richard</i> .
PAXTON, Alexander – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> as ORD, promoted 1 Apr 1791.	Pressed by HMS <i>Polly</i> (tender).
† PERRYMAN, William – Pressed, appeared 26 Aug 1790 as ORD, promoted 1 Oct 1790.	DD 29 Aug 1791.
† PILCH, William - Volunteer, appeared 2 Oct 1790, £3 bounty paid.	DD 28 Nov 1791 at Batavia Hospital; recruited at King's Lynn by HMS <i>Richard</i> .
POWELL, Henry - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from HMS <i>David</i> (tender), bounty paid £3.	
† PUMMELL, Charles, Volunteer, AB. Appeared 24 Oct 1790.	DD 12 Mar 1792; died at sea when returning home on a VOC ship ( <i>Zwaan</i> ?).
RANCE, Silas - Volunteer, appeared 17 Sep 1790 as ORD, £2 bounty paid.	Treated for 'venereals' on board HMS <i>Alcide</i> (January 1792)!
† REEVES (Reeve), William - Volunteer, appeared 16 Sep 1790 as LM, paid £1 bounty, promoted 1 Apr 1791.	DD 29 Aug 1791.
ROBINSON, Alexander - Volunteer, appeared 29 Aug 1790, £3 bounty paid.	Paid £5.7s 6d 'neat' wages.
RUFFEY, John - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>Defence</i> as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.	He had made a will in favour of his father Peter Ruffey (a silk weaver from London).
† SKELTON, William – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> as ORD, promoted 1 Apr 1791.	DD 29 Aug 1791.
SMITH, Thomas - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790 from HMS <i>David</i> (tender), £2 bounty paid. Promoted 1 Dec 1790.	
SPRACKLEY, Thomas - Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> as ORD, promoted 1 Apr 1791.	Treated for 'venereals' on board HMS <i>Alcide</i> (January 1792)!
† SWAN, William - Volunteer, appeared 22 Aug 1790	DD 29 Aug 1791.

as ORD, £2 bounty paid, promoted 1 Nov 1790.

SWEENEY (or Swiney?), Roger - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790 from HMS *Defence* as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.

TAYLOR, Robert - Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 as ORD, promoted 1 Dec 1790.

THOMPSON, Lewis - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790 from HMS *Defence* as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.

VARLING, Thomas - Volunteer, appeared 25 Sep 1790 from *Neptune* (tender) as ORD, £2 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.

WELLS, Daniel - Volunteer, appeared 17 Sep 1790 as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Dec 1790.

WELLS, William - Volunteer, appeared 29 Sep 1790, £1 bounty paid, promoted to AB 1 Dec 1790.

WIDOW'S MAN - Appeared 10 Aug 1790, rated as an AB.

A fictitious man, entered for charity purposes, his wages were paid into a benefit fund for seamen's widows. Usually a vessel of the *Pandora's* class had 3 'widow's men' – this number was reduced by Admiralty order on 25 Oct 1790.

WILMOTT, John - Volunteer, appeared 3rd time on 21 Sep 1790 from HMS *Defence* as LM, £1 bounty paid, promoted 1 Apr 1791.

Discharged twice to Portsmouth Hospital on 17 Jul 1790 & 25 Aug 1790.

WORLDHAVE, Richard - Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William* as ORD, promoted 1 Dec 1790.

#### ORDINARY SEAMEN

† ADAMS, Henry – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS *Royal William*.

DD 14 Aug 1791 at sea (buried at sea off Vanikoro, Solomon Is.).

† CRAY, William – Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from HMS *Sandwich*, £2 bounty paid.

DD 29 Aug 1791. Age 26, from Orkney. Recruited by HMS *David* (tender) 15 Aug 1790 (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11085).

† CUNNINGHAM, Joseph - Originally on board as boatswain's servant and discharged by Admiralty order, re-entered as AB 26 Oct 1790.

DD 24 May 1791; lost in the cutter. The bosun's son.

† FEA, Robert - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from HMS *David* (tender), £2 bounty paid.

DD 29 Aug 1791; Age 21, from Orkney. Recruited by HMS *David* on 17 Aug 1790 at Kirkwall Roads. B. 26 Apr 1769, christened in Stronsay, Orkney 2 May 1769 (cf. IGI).

† GORDON, James - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from HMS *David* (tender), £2 bounty paid.

DD 29 Aug 1791; Age 21, from Orkney. Recruited by HMS *David* in Scottish waters, off Leith?

† MACKIE, Richard - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from HMS *David* (tender), £2 bounty paid.

DD 29 Aug 1791; Age 24, from Orkney, recruited by HMS *David* on 17 Aug 1790 at Kirkwall Roads.

† MAYSONER, Martin – Volunteer, appeared 6 Sep 1790, from HMS *Sandwich*, £2 bounty paid.

DD 29 Aug 1791; from Feversham (Faversham?)(Kent).

† MILLER, James - appeared 8 Sep 1790, from *David* (tender). Volunteer, £2 bounty paid. £5 12s 6d 'neat' wages paid on 26 Jun 1793 to a William Miller (of Orkney)

DD 29 Aug 1791; Age 21, from Orkney, recruited by HMS *David*.



## LANDSMEN

† SCOTT, James - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from <i>David</i> (tender), £2 bounty paid.	DD 24 May 1791; lost in the cutter. Age 19, from Orkney; recruited by HMS <i>David</i> , age 19.
† THOMPSON, William - Volunteer, appeared 8 Sep 1790, from HMS <i>David</i> (tender), £2 bounty paid.	DD 29 Aug 1791; Recruited by HMS <i>David</i> , off Leith?
† WEBBER, Robert – Pressed, appeared 26 Oct 1790 from HMS <i>Royal William</i> .	DD 29 Aug 1791.
† BANDY, Joseph - appeared 26 Aug 1790, Volunteer, £1 bounty paid. He had a brother, Samuel, to whom neat wages were paid (cf. TNA: PRO ADM 35/1360).	DD 29 Aug 1791. Probably from the Bedfordshire branch of the Bandy family. If so, Joseph was born in Houghton Regis in March 1774 and was 17 years' old at the time of the wreck.
† CONNELL, James - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790, from HMS <i>Defence</i> , £1 bounty paid.	DD 11 Nov 1791 in Batavia Hospital. He was from near Lymbreck (Ireland) and made a will in favour of his wife Jane. Connell was the sailor who drank seawater after the wrecking and ran 'amok' during the first night on 'Escape Cay'.
† DAVIS, John - Volunteer, appeared 6 Sep 1790, from HMS <i>Sandwich</i> , £1 bounty paid.	DD 29 Oct 1791 on board VOC ship <i>Rembang</i> .
† GOOD, James - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790, from HMS <i>Defence</i> , £1 bounty paid.	DD 24 May 1791, lost in the cutter.
† JONES, Evan - Volunteer, appeared 21 Sep 1790, from HMS <i>Defence</i> , £1 bounty paid.	DD 29 Aug 1791.
† WASDELL (or Wasdel or Wasdale), William - Volunteer, appeared 10 Aug 1790, £1 bounty paid; received £2.4s.10d advance pay.	DD 24 May 1791, lost in the cutter.

## NOTES:

Appeared = physically reported on board; a man's pay was reckoned from this day.

Bounty paid = paid in pounds sterling, depending on skills and experience (£3, £2 or £1, respectively to petty officers, AB and ORD).

Advance pay = the *Pandora*'s crew was paid this advance on 28 Oct 1790. According to the logbook (28 October 1790), the officers were paid 6 months' advance; the petty officers and seamen were advanced 4 months' wages.

'Neat wages' = final payment of wages owed a member of the crew (or his designated heir). Received when the vessel was paid off. Expenses incurred by him during the voyage [e.g. for medical treatments ('venereals'), tobacco, 'slops' purchases etc.] were deducted.

Standing officers = specific senior petty officers (e.g. bosun, carpenter, purser and gunner) who were on the ship's books even when the ship was decommissioned and 'in ordinary'; they saw to maintenance matters and provided a measure of continuity in terms of the administration and management of the ship's stores, furniture and fittings.

Pressed (or 'prest') = forced into naval service, not in receipt of 'bounty' money, i.e. the premiums received if someone volunteered, or was persuaded to 'volunteer'.

DD = Discharged Dead. Most men designated DD died as a result of the wrecking, on 29 August 1791 – but not all; many were DD upon succumbing to illness after surviving the wreck or they were 'lost' during the voyage – e.g. the 5 men in Sival's cutter. Two men died of illness during the voyage before the wrecking. It is noteworthy that none of the men who were signed on as ordinary seamen or landsmen survived the voyage!

D = Discharged (by Admiralty order or because the man had been deemed unfit for service)

† = Died during the voyage, either before, during or after the wrecking.

AB = Able Seaman.  
 ORD = Ordinary Seaman.  
 LM = Landsman.

IGI = International Genealogical Index Family Search.

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\*HMS *Champion* = Engaged on impressment cruises in the North Sea between July-September 1790. Commanded by Sampson Edwards (apparently not related to the *Pandora's* Captain Edward Edwards).

## Pressed men

This table contains the names of pressed men-those who were not entered in the *Pandora's* pay book as a "volunteer". A volunteer may well have been recruited against his initial inclination. Many men whose names appear in the *Pandora's* muster as a volunteer were actually recruited by a press gang. Frequently this had occurred while still at sea, after the (merchant) ships they were crewing had been boarded by a press gang. They had been presented with the option to volunteer and to accept a bounty. Having accepted, these recruits were henceforth referred to as a volunteer. The term volunteer does not therefore necessarily signify that they were patriotic or that they had joined to serve some noble cause or "higher" purpose, such as devotion to duty to King and country.

These pressed men should perhaps be considered as principled men. Alternatively, as honest men because they had not accepted bounty money-unlike many of the *Pandora's* volunteers who later deserted (i.e. "run")-some of whom after they had accepted a bounty payment or owed the navy for items from the "slops" store. It is unlikely that they had not been offered bounty money or were not aware that monies should be paid if they had "volunteered". The exceptions being Robert Milton and William Dedworth, whose actions on *The Fountain* were tantamount to piracy, given that *The Fountain's* crew had taken the ship from their captain-so he claimed at least-and had subsequently physically resisted an attempt by a boarding party to recruit them lawfully.

Crews resisting attempts by boarding parties to recruit them-such as the crew of the whaler *Fountain*, which initially defied the *Champion's* press gang-put themselves outside the law as well as of any entitlement "volunteering" brought with it, notably two months pay in advance and a bounty payment.

Pressed men onboard HMS *Pandora* 1790-91

Names preceded by † denote men who did not survive the *Pandora's* voyage.

Sources: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) ADM 36/11136; ADM 36/11085; ADM 36/11092.

Name (rating/age)	Pressed by	Pressed at/from	Remarks
Moses Mitchell (AB)	?	Chatham	
† William Perryman (AB)	?	Chatham	
† William Dedworth (AB)	<i>HMS Champion</i> *	at sea, from a whaler ("Greenland ship" <i>The Fountain</i> )	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
† Robert Milton (AB)	<i>HMS Champion</i>	at sea, from a whaler ("Greenland ship" <i>The Fountain</i> )	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
† Alexander Arbuthnott (AB)	<i>Richard (tender)</i>	Yarmouth	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Peter King (AB)	<i>Richard (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Francis Cobb (AB)	<i>HMS Champion</i>	at sea, from a whaler ("Greenland ship" <i>The Fountain</i> )	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
† Robert Brown (AB)	<i>HMS Champion</i>	at sea, from a whaler ("Greenland ship" <i>The Fountain</i> )	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
† William Carter (AB)	<i>HMS Champion</i>	King's Lynn	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>

Thomas Watson (Ord)	<i>HMS Champion</i>	at sea, from a whaler ("Greenland ship" <i>The Fountain</i> )	Held on HMS <i>Sandwich</i>
James Atkins (Mid)	?	Newcastle	Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Jonathan Dunnett (Dermott?) (AB)	<i>Richard (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Thomas Brackie (AB)	<i>Richard (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
† Thomas Barker (AB)	<i>Richard (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
† William Skelton (Ord)	<i>Richard (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
James Fuss (AB) (20)	<i>Superbe (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Richard Wouldhave (Ord) (18)	<i>Superbe (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Robert Orchard (Ord) (19)	<i>Superbe (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Thomas Pallister (AB) ("Run")	<i>Polly (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Alexander Paxton (Ord)	<i>Polly (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Thomas Sprackley (Ord)	<i>Pluto (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Jonathon Yowell (Ord)	<i>Pluto (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
Jonathon Manson (Ord)	?		?
Robert Taylor (Ord)	?		?
Robert Webber (Ord)	<i>Nemesis (tender)</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
† Henry Adams (Ord)	<i>Nemesis (tender)?</i>		Held on HMS <i>Royal William</i>
† Thomas Brixley (Ord)	<i>HMS Flirt</i>		Direct to HMS <i>Pandora</i>
* HMS <i>Champion</i> . Commanded by Samson Edwards (apparently not related to the <i>Pandora</i> 's Captain Edward Edwards)			

Bounties of between £1 and £3 were generally paid to volunteers. A skilled seaman, who could be rated as a petty officer-e.g. a bosun's mate, or a carpenter-received the highest amount (£3) A seaman rated "ordinary" (ORD) received £1 less than a seaman who was rated "able" (AB), who was paid £2.

So-called volunteer "landsmen" sometimes received £1 but only, it appears, after they had been deemed to have potential to be developed into a seaman. Those without such potential received nothing and were, more often than not, soon returned ashore, as regulating officers who knew their business would not want to be known as someone who encumbered ship's companies with men who would most likely prove to be a burden and who should not have been recruited in the first place!\* Captain Edwards alludes to this in a letter to the Admiralty dd. 12 Oct 1790, referring to landsmen on the holding ships, who were still awaiting rating and placement, as less desirable (TNA: PRO ADM 1/1736, Captain's letters, *Pandora*).

During the 1790 "press", the so-called "Spanish Armament" (May to November 1790) all recruits-pressed men and volunteers alike-were taken to HMS *Royal William* at Spithead (off Portsmouth) or to HMS *Sandwich* at the Nore (off Sheerness). These ships had been designated as holding ships for the 1790 press. Here the recruits were subsequently rated. This involved questioning by a number of officers (usually lieutenants and experienced petty officers) to determine whether-if so, at what level-

they could be rated. (Hence "rating" was used in the RN to denote "rank" other than officers who were appointed by commission or by warrant.)

Vice Admiral Roddam was charged with the organisation of impressment along the east and south-east coast of Britain during the "Spanish Armament". A number of warships (frigates or sloops such as HMS *Champion* and HMS *Flirt*) and smaller vessels such as the *Polly*, *David* and the *Richard* (tenders) were ordered to sea on impressment cruises. They cruised offshore (usually near the approaches to ports and fishing villages) and when a merchantman was sighted, cutters or yawls were launched carrying the press gangs as boarding parties.

The commanders of these vessels reported to a "regulating captain", i.e. a senior captain-usually an officer on the half-pay list-whom the Admiralty considered "fit to superintend and regulate the service of procuring men" (TNA: PRO ADM 7/967) in a county or in a number of ports along a specific sector of the coast. After the *Pandora's* voyage, Captain Edwards was appointed as a regulating captain, first in Inverary (Argyle shire) and later in Hull.

Regulating captains were shore-based or were based on holding ships. Receiving an allowance of five shillings/day in addition to their half-pay, they were also tasked to set up a rendezvous ashore which was intended to "receive raised men". They were specifically instructed to take care that no men be accepted "but such that are of able bodies, in good health and capable of serving His Majesty at sea and ... not under the age of 16 or above the age of 45" (TNA: PRO ADM 7/967).

Regulating captains were in command of several junior officers, whom the Admiralty considered "fit to procure men", i.e. be active at the business end of impressment, in command of a press gang operating from a ship ordered to engage on "impressment" cruises, or operating ashore. These officers were also given a set of instructions which set out exactly what constituted permissible actions under their "impress warrants". For instance, upon coming onboard a merchant ship they were "first to call the crew upon deck and let them know that if any of them will declare themselves willing to serve His Majesty ... they shall not only receive such bounties as H.M. may have thought proper to promise ... but also two months wages advanced ..." (TNA: PRO ADM 7/967).

Willing declarations were evidently not usually forthcoming, for instance HMS *Champion's* master, Murdo Downie's log (TNA: PRO ADM 52/2212) records events during an impressment cruise made off the Yorkshire coast in August 1790, among others, and he describes an incident off St. Abbott's Head ...

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

Several days later Downie describes boarding two other "Greenland ships" (whalers) in Burlington Bay, the *Parnasus* and the *Grampus* (both from London) from which they "took only 3 men from the former, the rest being (already) prest or gone ashore in boats" (TNA: PRO ADM 52/2212).

A number of the men taken during the *Champion's* cruise in August 1790 were eventually assigned to the *Pandora*. (See Pressed men table.) Charges of piracy were apparently not brought against the men from *The Fountain*, although *The Fountain* appears to have been seized (i.e. "assisted to port"). One can only wonder whether Robert Milton and William Dedworth considered themselves lucky to have escaped the charge of piracy, or did they think themselves very unlucky to have ended up on a warship about to head off to the other side of the world? Or were they just philosophical about it, knowing that theirs was a lot that could -and did ! - regularly befall British seamen in the 18th Century?

## Volunteer crew

Volunteers onboard HMS *Pandora* 1790-91

Sources: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) ADM 36/11085; ADM 36/11092; ADM 36/10776; ADM 35/1360.

Name (age)	Recruited by	From
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† George Eglington (22)	HMS <i>David</i> ** (4 Aug '90)	Orkney
Hugh Houston	HMS <i>David</i> (4 Aug '90)	Scottish waters (Leith or Peterhead?)
James Murray	HMS <i>David</i> (4 Aug '90)	Scottish waters (Leith or Peterhead?)
† William Cray (26)	HMS <i>David</i> (4 Aug '90)	Orkney
† Robert Fea (21)	HMS <i>David</i> (4 Aug '90)	Orkney
† Richard Mackie (24)	HMS <i>David</i> (4 Aug '90)	Orkney
William Steward (Stuard) (18)	HMS <i>David</i> (4 Aug '90)	Orkney
† James Miller (21)	HMS <i>David</i> (4 Aug '90)	Orkney
† James Scott (19)	HMS <i>David</i> (4 Aug '90)	Orkney
James Cummins (19)	HMS <i>David</i> (4 Aug '90)	Orkney
Jonathan Patterson	HMS <i>Richard</i>	King's Lynn
† William Pilch	HMS <i>Richard</i>	King's Lynn
† Samuel Hammond	HMS <i>Richard</i>	Off Shields
William Kemp	HMS <i>Champion</i>	King's Lynn
James Atkins	HMS <i>Richard</i>	Off Shields
† William Thompson	?	-
† Thomas Carroll	?	-
James Laysell	?	Feversham (Kent)
† Martin Maysoner	?	Feversham (Kent)
James Curshod	?	Newcastle

\*\* HMS *David* (tender) Commanded by a Lt John Yetts. Operating for the "impress service" in Scottish waters between 1 July and 31 Aug 1790 (weekly musters taken while the vessel was at Leith Roads, at sea, Peterhead and Kirkwall Roads) and between 1 Sept and 31 Oct 1790 (weekly musters taken at Peterhead, Sheerness, at sea, Leith Roads). Recruits were taken to HMS *Sandwich* at Sheerness, many subsequently "discharged" (transferred) on 7 Sep 1790 from HMS *Sandwich* to the *Pandora* (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11085).

\*\*\* HMS *Richard* (tender) Commanded by Lt Robert Corner. This vessel was under Corner's command between 12 July and 30 Sept 1790. Corner joined at North Shields on 12 July. He took the weekly musters of the crew and his press gang at Scarborough, Shields, Sheerness, Yarmouth and Filey Bay (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11092).

The decision to appoint Lt Corner to the *Richard* was made by the Admiralty on 22 June 1790; as was the decision to appoint a Lt Fleming in his place (on 21 Aug 1790), i.e. after the Admiralty had decided that Lt Corner should be appointed as the *Pandora*'s second lieutenant (TNA: PRO ADM 3/107). By this date the Admiralty had already resolved that the *Pandora*'s sole mission would be a policeman's: the vessel ordered into the South Pacific in pursuit of the *Bounty* mutineers.

It is likely that the Admiralty was keen to appoint a seasoned officer with experience in, if not motivating and inspiring men under his command, then at least effectively dealing with unwilling seamen. It appears that Corner possessed these leadership qualities. George Hamilton mentions that Corner had been in the "land service".

Corner was therefore apparently exactly the sort of seasoned officer the Admiralty was looking for to assist Captain Edwards to successfully carry out the *Pandora*'s mission. It is interesting to note that in the short time of his command of the *Richard*, Lt Corner appears to have demonstrated these qualities; for he had evidently gained the respect of the *Richard*'s crew as well as the men in his press gang; five of whom actually volunteered to join the *Pandora* on 30 August 1790.

In this regard, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that their motivation was to follow Corner into the South Pacific to embark on very similar tasks as they were already engaged upon as members of the *Richard*'s crew or Corner's press gang. Although the same did not apply as far as William Fox, Corner's servant in the *Richard*, was concerned. Fox obviously was not so eager to embark on a South Pacific adventure with Corner, in pursuit of wayward seamen-witness the fact that he "ran" (deserted) on 29 October 1790 (See Run volunteers below).

## Run volunteers

Volunteers who had "run" prior to the *Pandora's* departure from England on 7 November 1790.

Source: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) ADM 36/11136.

Name (age)	Run date/place	Volunteered at
PEGG, John	"Run" 31 Aug 1790 at Chatham.	Volunteer, appeared 10 Aug 1790.
WOODS, William	"Run" 31 Aug 1790 at Chatham.	Volunteer, appeared 14 Aug 1790.
OSBORN, Thomas	"Run" 31 Aug 1790 at Chatham.	Volunteer, appeared 21 Aug 1790.
FARRIS, John	"Run" 1 Sep 1790.	Volunteer, appeared 10 Aug 1790.
CHIVERS, John (Cooper)	"Run" 17 Sep 1790.	Volunteer, appeared 10 Aug 1790.
PERRY, Edward	"Run" 17 Sep 1790.	Volunteer, appeared on 14 Aug 1790, had received £0.18s 3d in "slops" (clothing).
MOSS, John	"Run" 17 Sep 1790.	Volunteer, appeared 26 Aug 1790.
DREWED, William	"Run" 2 Oct 1790.	Volunteer, appeared 13 Aug 1790 as LM, had received £0.16 s in "slops" (clothing).
SULLIVAN, Lawrence	"Run" 2 Oct 1790 at Chatham.	Appeared on 16 Sep 1790, had received £0.7s 3d in "slops" (clothing).
THUSSON, Laurence (or Lawrence)	"Run" 2 Oct 1790 at Chatham.	Appeared on 6 Aug 1790 as AB, £3 bounty paid, had received £1.3s in "slops" (clothing).
FOX, William	"Run" 20 Oct 1790 at Portsmouth.	Appeared 13 Oct 1790. Had served as Lt Corner's servant in HMS <i>Richard</i> .
SLOPER, Robert	"Run" on 29 Oct 1790 after receiving £4.10s advance!	Volunteer, appeared 16 Sep 1790 as AB, bounty paid £3.
DAVIS, John	"Run" 29 Oct 1790: after receiving £4.10s advance.	Volunteer, appeared 30 Aug 1790 as ORD, £2 bounty paid, had received £1.12s 8d in "slops" (clothing).
PALLISTER, Thomas James	"Run" on 4 Nov 1790, at "Jack in the Basket", by taking the yawl of which he was boat keeper from the stern of the <i>Pluto</i> in a squall of rain; the <i>Pandora</i> sent after the yawl on the flats and brought her back onboard.	Pressed by HMS <i>Polly</i> (tender) Appeared on 26 Oct 1790 from <i>Royal William</i> as ORD.

## The *Pandora's* officers

### Captain (later Admiral) Edward Edwards, RN

Christened in 1742 in the same church (St Remegius) in Water Newton where he is buried. He was the fifth of six children to Richard Edwards of Water Newton (Hunts) and Mary Fuller of Caldecot. Nothing is known about his early life—he must have gone to sea at approximately 11 years of age, probably as a captain's servant and then as a midshipman. He was 17 when he passed his lieutenant's exam and was commissioned; he would have required at least six years sea experience to do so. He was never married.

Naval career\*

- September 1759, commissioned Lt
- *Nassau* 3rd Rate (64), (4th Lt)
- *Lowestoft* (32), (2nd Lt)
- *Zephyr*, Sloop (Lt), Capt. John Inglis
- *Ferret*, Sloop (14), (Lt),
- *Active*, (28), (2nd Lt)
- *Pembroke*, (60) (3rd, promoted to 1st Lt)
- *Augusta*, (64), (1st Lt) Capt Francis Reynolds
- *Carcass Bomb* (8) (22 Apr 1778-5 Dec 1780)
- *Hornet* Sloop (14) (6 Dec 1780-9 May 1781) Post Captain (25 Apr 1781)
- *Narcissus* (20) (25 May 1781-27 Mar 1784)
- Six years on the half-pay list until 6 August 1790
- *Pandora* (24) (6 Aug 1790-29 Aug 1791)
- Court-martialled for the loss of the *Pandora* in 1792. Exonerated, but never given another seagoing command. That could just be coincidence-i.e. it does not imply any doubts within the Admiralty about Edwards' abilities as a seagoing commander. Maybe he was just considered too old at 50 in 1792! (Or too frail for the rigours of life at sea-see obituary below.)
- Appointed a Regulating Captain (i.e. in charge of recruiting) for Argyle in Scotland. He was based at Inverary.
- September 1796: reappointed, as a Regulating Captain for Hull (The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office ADM 1/1765).
- A series of honorary promotions followed-to Rear Admiral in 1799 and Vice Admiral in 1805-as per the Royal Navy's post captain's seniority list. These promotions saw Edwards eventually advance to Admiral of the White Squadron on 4 June 1814-the third most senior officer in the Royal Navy.

He died on 13 April 1815. He was buried on 15 April at Water Newton in the parish church of St Remegius. Edwards' obituary (in the Lincoln, Stamford & Rutland Mercury of 21 April 1815) mentions that as a result of the hardships suffered in the open boat voyage to Timor after the wreck of the *Pandora*, Edwards felt the effects "to the latest period of his life".

Edwards owned a small estate at Water Newton and farms in Norfolk and Huntington (TNA: PRO PROB 11/1569). His brother Samuel's house, where Edwards was living when he died, is located at 13 Barn Hill, Stamford (National Trust Monument). Edwards was later remembered by his niece as a "sweet old man", often out on a walk in the country lanes around Uppingham.

\* Extracted partially from research notes compiled by Ron Coleman (QM Research File).

## First Lieutenant (later Commander) John Larkan

Born in 1746, John Larkan was from Athlone (County Roscommon) in Ireland, where his father and grandfather were "cordwainers" (bootmakers). His father was also a Justice of the Peace. Nothing is known of John Larkan's early naval career; it has yet to be researched.

According to *Bounty* mutineer James Morrison (a prisoner in "*Pandora's* Box") Larkan was an uncaring man-a harsh officer with a brutal streak. Not much more is known about him. His younger brother (Capt. Robert Larkan, RN) was in charge of the Royal Navy Hospital in Greenwich at one stage of his career.

Any other journals or letters John Larkan may have written, or records and diaries kept by fellow officers mentioning him, have apparently not survived. After returning to England in 1792 after the loss of the *Pandora*, he served for several more years as a first lieutenant on HMS *Defence* under Lord Gambier. He saw action at the Battle of the Glorious First of June (1794), and soon afterwards was promoted to commander's rank. This was his last seagoing appointment.

His service during the remainder of the Revolutionary War has yet to be fully researched, but it is assumed that he returned to Ireland before it had ended, where subsequently, upon the outbreak of the Napoleonic War in 1803, he was appointed to command an Irish unit of "Sea Fencibles"-i.e. a volunteer naval defence unit-in Galway. (Marshall, 1825: 250) His command covered the coast between Greatman's Bay and Blackhead Cliff. (cf. Navy List 1805)



Larkan namestamp

Larkan's name stamp-found in the *Pandora* wreck-indicates that the middle starboard cabin on the lower deck was most probably occupied by him. This cabin was barely large enough to move around in comfortably, being approximately 1.8 metres (6') square and 1.75 metres (5' 9") high.

Furniture is likely to have been simple, sparse and functional-probably consisting of a sleeping cot suspended from deck beams overhead, a writing desk and a stool. Most of his personal possessions would have been kept in his sea chest. The artefacts found in the cabin provide us with interesting new information, which possibly tells us more about the man. They are attributed to Larkan because they were found in association with the name stamp.

Who was John Larkan?

- A tea drinker?  
The table at which he and his brother officers sat down to dine had all the trappings of any "middling class" table in Britain at the time, with brass candlesticks and fine Chinese porcelain tea bowls and saucers. According to Surgeon Hamilton, the *Pandora* was the first naval vessel to be supplied with tea from the ship's stores.
- A collector of curiosities?  
Excavation has also revealed that Larkan may have been a collector of Polynesian items, known as "artificial curiosities". The collection may have been intended to remind him of the different peoples he had encountered during his Pacific voyage, or he may have thought of them as conversation pieces. But most likely he had hopes of selling them to collectors or museums upon his return to Britain.
- A man of taste and refinement?  
As an officer in the Royal Navy, he can of course be considered a gentleman; possibly even a man of taste and refinement, who kept his port in a decanter and drank from delicate glasses? Perhaps he also poured his water from a glass carafe?



War Clubs

Larkan's possessions mainly reflect private or personal aspects of his life onboard the *Pandora*. The glass bottles may have been used to hold scented water. Perhaps the small bone or ivory handled brush-its bristles long gone-was it a wig brush?

Continued research involving comparisons between future excavations and artefact assemblages from other wrecks of naval vessels of the period may provide answers to these and other questions. For instance: was Larkan "typical of" late 18th century naval officers?

## Family

(Courtesy Barry Seymour Larkan)

John Larkan was married to Elizabeth Knott (marriage at St Mary's, Athlone). He fathered three daughters (Abigail, Elizabeth and Olivia) and two sons (William and Edward).

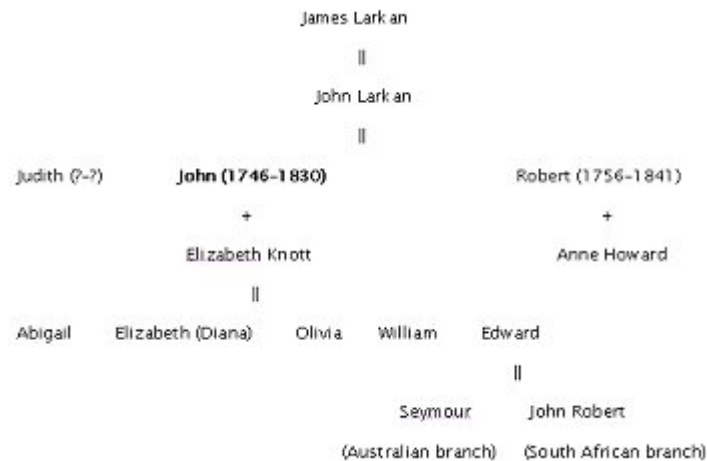
John Larkan died in 1831.

His daughter Elizabeth Diana Larkan (spinster) lived with her uncle, Captain Robert Larkan (near Greenwich), for some time. She wrote a memoir of a journey she made to Kent from Greenwich.



His son Edward lived at Larkfield (a manor near Athlone). Edward's son Seymour moved to Australia in the 1860s. There are many descendants in Australia. Another of John Larkan's grandsons (Edward's son John Robert) emigrated to South Africa in the 1870s-there is now also a large Larkan family based in South Africa.

Are his son William's descendants still in Athlone, or elsewhere in Ireland?



**Larkan genealogy**

## Second Lieutenant Robert Corner

According to George Hamilton, Corner had held a commission in the "Land Service" in the early years of his career (Thomson, 1915:103). On 20th November 1779 (when 26 years of age) Corner was commissioned Lieutenant RN and appointed to the *Thunder* (Bomb, 8 guns) (The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO): ADM 6/22).

On 2nd May 1780 he was appointed to HMS *Aurora* (28 guns) as the second lieutenant (TNA: PRO ADM 11/65:31).

Subsequently, on 24th January 1782 he was exchanged from the *Aurora* (TNA: PRO ADM 11/65:132) to HMS *Endymion* (44 guns), which was attached to Admiral Rodney's fleet at the Battle of the Saintes in April 1782.\*

Corner's career after the American Revolutionary War - which ended in 1783 - has not yet been tracked. He was probably on the half-pay list until 12th June 1790, when appointed to command a press gang operating from the tender HMS *Richard* (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11092).

Corner joined the *Richard* at North Shields (near Tynemouth) on 12th July 1790 and was in command until 30 September 1790. He took the weekly musters of the crew and his press gang at Scarborough, Shields, Sheerness, Yarmouth and Filey Bay, on the Yorkshire coast near Scarborough (TNA: PRO ADM 36/11092). On 20th August 1790, the Admiralty ordered him, then at Yarmouth, "to repair with such new raised men as may be onboard her forthwith to the Nore, & remain there until further orders" (TNA: PRO ADM 3/107).

The decision to appoint Lt Corner to the *Richard* was made by the Admiralty on 22nd June 1790; as was the decision to appoint a Lt Fleming in Corner's place (on 21st August 1790), i.e. after the Admiralty had decided that Robert Corner should be appointed as the *Pandora's* second lieutenant (TNA: PRO ADM 3/107). By this date the Admiralty had already resolved that the *Pandora's* sole mission would be a policeman's: the vessel was ordered into the South Pacific in pursuit of the *Bounty* mutineers.

Evidence has not yet been found to suggest that Corner had been specifically chosen by Captain Edwards; perhaps because of an earlier professional association between the two? Although it is possible that the Admiralty had received representations from someone who may have been acting as Corner's patron. It is more likely that the Admiralty was simply keen to appoint a

seasoned officer with experience in, if not motivating and inspiring men under his command, then at least effectively dealing with unwilling seamen. It appears that Corner possessed these qualities.

He was apparently exactly the sort of seasoned officer the Admiralty was looking for to assist Captain Edwards to successfully carry out the *Pandora's* mission. It is interesting to note that in the short time of his command of the *Richard*, Lt Corner appears to have demonstrated these qualities; evidently he had gained the respect of the *Richard's* crew as well as the men in his press gang, five of whom actually volunteered to join the *Pandora* on 30th August 1790 (TNA: PRO AM 36/11092). In this regard, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that their motivation was to follow Corner into the South Pacific to embark on very similar tasks as they were already engaged upon as members of the *Richard's* crew or Corner's press gang. The same did not apply to William Fox, who was Corner's servant in the *Richard*. Fox was obviously not so eager to embark on a South Pacific adventure with Corner, in pursuit of wayward seamen - witness the fact that he "ran" (deserted) on 29th October 1790.

Records have been found to partially reconstruct Robert Corner's career after the *Pandora*:

- 1793: appointed 1st Lt HMS *Terrible* (74 guns).
- 1794: appointed 3rd Lt HMS *Victory*, 1st Rate (100 guns).
- 1796: appointed 1st Lt HMS *Montague* (74 guns). This ship fought in the Battle of Camperdown in October 1797.\*

More research has to be done to determine his 'mid-career' activities, especially his service during the Napoleonic wars, as there is some evidence which suggests that Lloyds Patriotic fund may have awarded him one of their presentation swords for distinguished conduct; possibly while he was serving on board HMS *Thisbe*, which captured the French warship *Veloce* in 1803 (May & Annis, 1970:70).

For some years prior to his death in 1819, at age 66, Corner was Superintendent of Marine Police in Malta (Marshall,1825:38).\*\*

Lt Corner's place of birth and family background are still a little vague. According to the International Genealogical Index (IGI) there are two men with the name Robert Corner who were born in England at approximately the same time, i.e. in 1752 or 1753. One was born in Barnard Castle (near Durham) in August 1752; the other in Westminster (London) in January 1753. The *Pandora's* Robert Corner could be either one of them because his death is on record as occurring in February 1819 at age 66. According to the Malta Family History site he was buried at age 66 in St Paul's Cathedral in Valletta (in Malta) in February 1819.

If he was from London, he is possibly the individual who was christened Robert Sedgley Corner in St Martin-in-the-Fields in January 1753 (Cf. IGI). This would make him 66 at the time of his death in February 1819.

If he was from Barnard Castle -he would also have been 66 years old in February 1819- his 67th birthday would have been in August 1819.

\* Early and 1790s career details taken from the QM/MA Research File compiled by R.A. Coleman

\*\* The following has been transcribed from the register of burials 1819-92 from St. Paul's Anglican Pro-Cathedral, Valletta, Malta (Guildhall Library Ms 30766/1): "February 6th 1819, Robert Corner of Valetta, magistrate aged 66 years".

## Surgeon George Hamilton

George Hamilton had been a naval surgeon for more than 12 years when he embarked in the *Pandora* in 1790. He had served during the American War of Independence and had been on the half-pay list for nearly four years before he was appointed to the *Pandora*. His account of the *Pandora's* voyage was published in Berwick on Tweed in 1793.\*

His narrative suggests he was a capable surgeon, aware of the latest methods to maintain a healthy crew. In a time when death at sea from disease and poor health was still very frequent, only two men under Hamilton's care died of illness during the 10-month voyage.

Hamilton appears to have been a man of the world who had had the advantage of a formal education. He may have started his medical career at Edinburgh University; if so, it appears he did not graduate with a medical degree, preferring perhaps to follow a more "hands-on" route to medical practice. The first naval record of him is that he was rated by the Company of Surgeons as a first surgeon's mate for a first rate ship; and on 30 June 1777 he was assigned as the surgeon's mate to HMS *Tortoise*, a store ship (26 guns).

In July 1778 he was appointed surgeon's mate on HM Cutter *Ferret* (six guns) which was operating in North American waters. He ended his war service as a surgeon assigned to the 64 gun HMS *Agamemnon*. He was paid off in June 1783 but possibly at the captain's request he rejoined *Agamemnon* as a surgeon. Before being placed on the half-pay list in 1786, however, he was assigned to HMS *Brazen*, a 14 gun cutter. After four years on half-pay, he was appointed to the *Pandora* in August 1790.

After the *Pandora's* voyage, he was assigned to HMS *Lowestoft* in December 1792. But he was soon to be "invalided out" of the navy shortly after losing an arm-probably during a naval bombardment of a fortified tower on Cape Mortella in Corsica in February or March 1794. His name appears in naval superannuation records until December 1796 only; it is therefore reasonable to assume that he died in 1797.

\* A facsimile edition of Hamilton's narrative can be ordered through the MTQ Shop.

### Inside the Surgeon's cabin

Living areas in the *Pandora* were generally cramped, dark and airless. The officers' cabins on the lower deck, however, were at least a little more spacious, and provided the occupants with some privacy.

Three walls of Surgeon Hamilton's cabin were made of light wooden panels, one of which had a door with some glass panes. The fourth was the side of the ship. Very little natural light filtered down from the upper deck. Hamilton had to work by lantern or candlelight to prepare his medicines or write in his journal.



Engraving of George Hamilton from the frontispiece of his published narrative (*Voyage round the world in HMS Pandora*, Berwick, 1793).