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CAPT. CHARLES HARDY ON THE CAROLINA STATION,  
1742-1744

COMMANDER W. E. MAY, R.N.\*

The *Rye* was one of a number of 24-gun frigates ordered built when war broke out between England and Spain in 1739. Constructed by Elias Bird of Rotherhithe she was launched early in 1740 and was commissioned by Capt. Franklin Lushington, spending the next year in the English Channel and at Lisbon. Her officers consisted of a lieutenant, a master, two master's mates, five midshipmen, a lieutenant of marines, a surgeon and his mate, besides the purser, boatswain, and gunner.

In July 1741 James Ouchterlony, the surgeon, and John Druitt, the boatswain, wrote separately to the Admiralty complaining of having been unjustly confined by the captain. The surgeon also complained that the captain and lieutenant had robbed and beaten him. The Admiralty ordered a court-martial to enquire into the affair, which assembled on board the *Sandwich* on August 3. The court found that the two complainants had been in the habit of drinking together until late at night and that both had been justly confined. Ouchterlony was also guilty of making malicious and unjust accusations against his captain and was sentenced to be dismissed his ship and mulcted of three months pay. Druitt had also been disobedient and insolent to his superior officers and was mulcted of six months pay, but was left in the ship to Captain Hardy's subsequent regret. The court concluded that Captain Lushington had done his duty. The Admiralty, however, did not appear to have been entirely satisfied with the findings for on August 10, 1741, they appointed Capt. Charles Hardy to relieve Lushington.

Charles Hardy was the son of Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy (died 1744) and the grandson of Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy (died 1732). His first appointment had been on February 4, 1732, as a volunteer in the *Salisbury*, 54, Capt. Edward Falkingham, in which ship he made a voyage to Newfoundland and saw service off the coast of Portugal. She returned home and paid off July 23, 1736, but before she

\* Commander May was Deputy Director of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, S.E. 10, England, for seventeen years until Dec. 31, 1968. This article is based on the logbooks of the ships of the Royal Navy which can be found in the National Maritime Museum and the Public Record Office in London. It is also based on the letters sent home from the captains on foreign station and by authorities in the colonies. The former are to be found in Adm. 2 and the latter in C. O. 5 in the PRO.

left Lisbon the Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Norris, took Hardy into his flagship, the *Britannia*, 100. For his time in the *Salisbury* he had earned the pay of £55.17.3 which, after certain deductions, was paid to his father. He had been rated midshipman in 1734.

On March 26, 1737, Sir John Norris promoted his midshipman to be lieutenant of the *Swallow*, 60, Capt. Thomas Graves, an appointment which was subsequently confirmed by the Admiralty although Hardy had not completed the six years sea service necessary, nor is there any record of his having ever passed the requisite examination. The ship paid off May 2 in the same year so there was not even the excuse that he had held his lieutenant's appointment for some time.

Hardy's next service as lieutenant was under Capt. John Byng in home waters in the *Augusta*, 60, in 1738 and the *Portland*, 48, in 1739. Leaving the latter ship when she recommissioned for foreign service he was appointed to the *Kent*, 70, Capt. Thomas Durell. In October 1740 he was appointed first lieutenant of the *Rupert*, 60, an appointment to the *Boyne*, 80, being cancelled.

On May 4, 1741, the *Rupert* took the Spanish privateer *St. Anthony de Padua*, Capt. John Baptista D'Escarte, with 14 guns and 151 men. Hardy brought in the prize, and, when the Admiralty decided to buy her into the Navy as a sloop under the name of the *Rupert's Prize*, he was promoted to master and commander and placed in command of her on June 9, 1741. While taking her from Long Reach, in the Thames, to the Nore the pilot twice ran her ashore, a habit of pilots which was to plague Hardy during the next few years.

On August 24, 1741, a fortnight after his promotion to captain and appointment to the *Rye*, Hardy was ordered to take her and the *Rupert's Prize* to South Carolina, where they would relieve the *Phoenix*, 20, Capt. Charles Fanshawe, and *Tartar*, pink, 20, Capt. the Hon. George Townshend. In the long letter of instructions sent to him<sup>1</sup> he was directed to give passage to Governor James Glen,<sup>2</sup> to concert with the governor and Council over the measures to be adopted for the safety of the colony and of the trade, and to keep in touch with the ships on the Virginia station. In particular he was warned of the common complaint that His Majesty's ships spent too much time in harbor. He was also instructed to take all possible steps to prevent smuggling, to prevent Spanish privateers from raiding the coasts of South Carolina for black cattle and hogs, to cruize off St. Augustine in order to prevent that Spanish colony from being provisioned by sea, to ferry pressed men from Sheerness to Spit-

<sup>1</sup> Adm. 2/57, p. 248, Public Record Office, London (hereinafter PRO).

<sup>2</sup> Glen did not actually leave for America before 1743.

head on his way thither, to stop for one day in the Downs to take under his care any vessels for the Americas, and to call at St. Helens for the same purpose. In particular he was to convoy the *Loyal Judith*, John Leman, master, with recruits and clothing for Georgia.

There was the usual delay in fitting out. Hardy complained to the Admiralty that of his permitted complement of 150 men there were 45 absent without leave and that he had only 20 of the 30 marines allowed. He was told to apply to Lieutenant Colonel Patterson for the marines needed.

On October 8 the captain of the *Rupert's Prize* reported that his ship was not fit for foreign service, and authority was given for the *Hawke* to go to South Carolina instead, but, as she had to be refitted first, Hardy was told not to wait for her.

The *Rye* received orders to give passage to William Pritchard and a Mr. Wright, but their names do not appear in the muster book. It is probable that when they found she was not ready to sail immediately they sought a faster passage.

The *Rye* sailed on October 13, called at Spithead from October 18 to 27 and at Falmouth, where she took shelter to avoid being blown back up the Channel by a westerly gale, from October 30 to November 2, finally reaching Cork on November 6. While at Spithead, instructions had arrived to take dispatches for Admiral Vernon to the *Greenwich* at Cork, but if she had sailed to take them to Jamaica, not calling at Madeira or anywhere else on the way or waiting for any trade. Leaving Spithead, she sailed out through the Needles Channel to the westward instead of passing as was more usual east and south of the Isle of Wight.

At Cork the *Rye* joined the *Greenwich*, 50, *St. Albans*, 50, *Fowey*, 40, and *Dolphin*, 20, four bomb vessels, and over seventy merchant vessels, the whole fleet sailing two day later. Her logbook is filled with the usual account of a convoy—ships being detached to chase strange sails and rejoining, firing at merchant vessels to make them bear down, shifting sails to keep station, and the like. The number of ships in company varied as merchant vessels got out of touch and rejoined again. On November 27 only 30 sail were in sight. Finally, on December 6, when the convoy was in 32° 19' N., 13° 19' W., the *Rye* was detached to make her own way to her station, the convoy then consisting of the *Greenwich*, *Fowey*, *St. Albans*, three bomb vessels, and 56 sail of merchant vessels.

The furthest south reached by the *Rye* was 24° 48' N., 44° 0' W. on December 21, and on the 28th she suffered much damage aloft in a gale. Henry Bishop fell from the main topsail yard and was drowned, and John Savage suffered grievous injuries by falling from the main shrouds

into the yawl. On January 13, 1742, the *Rye* anchored off the coast of South Carolina, and two days later a pilot brought her over the bar into Cooper River, where she found the *Phoenix* and also the *Rose*, sister to the *Rye*, which was stationed in the Bahamas. Hardy reported his arrival by letter of January 21, but this letter is missing from the file and may never have arrived.

As nearly all the rigging of the *Rye* was unserviceable, it was three months before she was completely refitted. She was at Hobcaw<sup>3</sup> to heave down from February 24 to March 24. Twenty feet of the false keel had started two inches from the main keel, probably due to the ship having been ashore at Sheerness before Hardy took command of her. The mainmast was sprung and had to be fished. In the meantime the *Flamborough* had arrived from England on February 8, and the *Phoenix* had sailed for home with a convoy on the 22nd. Two sloops had also arrived, the *Hawke* from England and the *Swift* from the West Indies.

The *Rye* was ready for sea on March 26, waiting for merchantmen to load provisions for Georgia. She was very shorthanded, and attempts to press men out of merchantmen were frustrated by threats of legal proceedings under an act of Queen Anne which forbade the pressing of men on the coast of America. Application had to be made to the governor and Council who issued orders to the watch to pick up seamen lurking about the town. The system was hardly conducive to the efficient raising of men. Any man picked up by the watch had to be taken before a magistrate who after having examined each man delivered to Hardy "all those that are found not then actually to belong to any ship or vessel in this harbour, or have been legally discharged or shall be found not to be inhabitants of this Province."<sup>4</sup> Thus there were many who evaded the net. Hardy tried to press one man out of a merchantman but was threatened with legal action. After the watch had been given fresh orders on April 7 and offered an inducement of £5 for each man enlisted, they seem to have been reasonably successful in making up his numbers. The *Rye* was also prevented by contrary winds for fourteen days from crossing the bar.

On April 24 the *Rye* finally sailed in company with the *Rose*, Capt. Thomas Frankland, to convoy the merchant vessels for Georgia, but she struck on the flats off Sullivan's Island, sustaining considerable damage aft, and, when she got off next day, she returned to harbor, the *Flam-*

<sup>3</sup> Hobcaw was the center of the ship-building industry in South Carolina. It was located on the eastern shore of the Wando River just above the Wando's junction with the Cooper River.

<sup>4</sup> C. O. 5/369, folio 56, PRO.

*borough*, 20, Capt. Joseph Hamar, taking her convoy. Going up to Hobcaw on May 12 the *Rye* ran ashore again. She was back in the Cooper River on June 8.

On June 18, 1742, the Council summoned Captain Hardy to attend a meeting together with Captain Frankland of the *Rose* who had come in that day with prizes.<sup>5</sup> A letter of June 4 from Gen. James Oglethorpe in Georgia had given news of considerable Spanish reinforcements arriving at St. Augustine, and he had expressed fears of an imminent attack on Georgia and South Carolina. The *Flamborough*, which had arrived on June 8, had also brought news of having had a brush with Spanish vessels in the vicinity of St. Augustine.

Captain Hardy told the Council that he himself could do nothing to help, as the *Rye* was still unfit for sea after the damage from grounding and the defects to her mainmast. Frankland, however, offered to go south with the *Flamborough* and a colonial galley.<sup>6</sup> The *Hawke* and *Swift* were also dispatched, but Hardy pointed out to the Council that though his instructions permitted him to send the sloops to give aid off the coast of Georgia he could not authorize them to enter any sound or harbor there. The *Rye* lent men to make up the complements of the *Flamborough* and *Hawke*.

According to the lieutenant's log-book the *Rye* was careened again, though Hardy told the Admiralty he had managed to dispense with this. On July 17 she fouled a merchant vessel when weighing. It was not until two days after this that, with considerable help from the Council in refitting the ship and completing her complement besides pressing twenty men from merchant vessels,<sup>7</sup> Captain Hardy at last got to sea in company with six colonial vessels—the *Success*, 22, *Ranger*, 12, *Carolina*, 10, a sloop, 10, a schooner, 6, and a snow, 10, the last being one of the prizes lately taken by the *Rose*. The Council hoped that if the Spaniards had retreated Hardy would pursue them to the southward.

The squadron arrived off St. Simons Island on July 26, and there Hardy heard that the Spaniards had invaded that place with 46 vessels, consisting of: 1 ship, 20 guns, 200 men; 1 schooner, 16 guns, 120 men; 1

<sup>5</sup> For Captain Frankland's exploits see *South-Carolina Gazette*, June 21, July 5, 1742. For the following story as contained in the minutes of the Council see Council Journal, No. 8 (Mar. 15, 1742-Dec. 25, 1742), Sainsbury Copy, pp. 61-292, S. C. Archives. Also see Council Journal, No. 8 (Mar. 15, 1742-Feb. 19, 1743), passim, S. C. Archives.

<sup>6</sup> See W. E. May, "Captain Frankland's *Rose*," *American Neptune*, XXVI (1966), 44-46, for some account of the Spanish invasion of Georgia and of the movements of the *Rose* and *Flamborough*.

<sup>7</sup> Some of these men were subsequently returned to their own ships.

settee galley, 3 guns, 120 men; 6 half galleys, 1 gun, 25 men; and 37 small vessels—all carrying 4,500 troops. On July 13, the *Flamborough*, *Hawke*, and *Swift* had arrived off St. Simons and seeing the large Spanish force and not realizing its real weakness had returned to Charleston, missing Hardy. The Spaniards were equally alarmed by the sight of these three vessels, and, their troops having been repulsed by General Oglethorpe, they reembarked their men and fled. About twenty of their vessels returned immediately to Cuba, while their smaller ones attacked Fort William and were again repulsed.

On getting this news and not realizing that the larger vessels had in fact returned to Cuba, Hardy feared that they might attack Port Royal, which was defenseless, so he sent three of the colonial vessels home and then, finding the wind southerly and it therefore inconvenient for him to go south in pursuit of the Spaniards, he followed his consorts. All were back off Charleston on July 30.

These proceedings caused an acrimonious argument between Hardy and the Council. In the absence of Lt. Gov. William Bull, Col. John Fenwicke wrote: "It is our opinion that his Majesty's Service would have been much better carryed on, by your Embracing the Opportunity of going to St. Augustine immediately from St. Simons, than by returning with the shipping hither, before so considerable a part of the Service as the destroying of the Enemys strength by Sea: And for which Our shipping were fitted out at so considerable an Expence to this Province, had at least been attempted."<sup>8</sup>

To this complaint Captain Hardy replied that from information received on July 14 from a Mr. Stephen Bedon it had been gathered that, whether they succeeded or failed at St. Simons, the Spaniards intended to make an attempt on South Carolina that season. The enemy had left St. Simons eleven days before the *Rye* arrived there, and it was believed that while the smaller vessels had gone to St. Augustine, where the *Rye* could not reach them, the larger vessels had stood out to sea and might have gone anywhere. In view of the contrary wind he had thought it better to return to Charleston to make sure that all was well there. He continued: "by the reasons already mentioned you may be sorry to say that His Majesty's Service might have been better carryed on by immediately repairing to St. Augustine: And if I was fond of reflecting on other peoples Conduct, I might justly say had the most Speediest measures been used to Man His Majesty's Ship under my Command it would enable me to have joyned Captain Hamar & His Majestys Ships time enough to have repaired off St. Simons before the Enemy left that Place

<sup>8</sup> C. O. 5/369, folio 78, PRO.



instead of my being delayed in the Port of Charlestown three days with a fair wind.”<sup>9</sup> Hardy went on to say that in his opinion it was more important to protect the trade from privateers than to go to St. Augustine on a possible wild goose chase, but if the Council would like him to go there instead of protecting their trade he would do so.

The Council continued the correspondence with another long and acrimonious letter. No recrimination had been intended but they could not understand why Hardy had changed his original intention of going to St. Augustine. He ought to have realized that the Spaniards would have gone south rather than north and that some of their ships were too large to get in over St. Augustine bar. They had given Hardy more help than they had ever given to any other commander and still thought that the best way of protecting the province from the Spaniards was “by Blocking ’em up.”

Hardy could not leave things alone. In a letter of August 1, he said that he did not propose to attempt to justify himself. “I am not accountable to any for my behaviour, I am quite Satisfied with my Self in all my Actions since I have been in the Province. . . . But I have not been used like a Gentleman nor like an Officer in the King’s Service.”<sup>10</sup>

Lieutenant Governor Bull returned to Charleston on August 3 and asked Hardy to take all available vessels in search of the enemy. After studying the correspondence which had passed between Captain Hardy and the Council he tried to smooth things over, writing to Hardy on the 13th: “I am concerned to find that the manner wherein their opinion was Signified should be understood as intending either reproof or direction to you: and occasion the least appearance of any Indignity to be offered.”<sup>11</sup>

In the meantime, however, Hardy had been stung into action. Although a request to the Council for aid in watering had produced only twelve tons, he sailed again on August 5 with the *Hawke*, was off St. Augustine on the 7th but saw only a schooner and a sloop, looked into St. Johns on August 8 and on the 14th entered St. Simons. There he heeled and scrubbed and was joined by the *South Sea Castle*, 40, which had come from Virginia in response to a call for aid. In this harbor they were found by Captain Frankland who, in response to a call for help from South Carolina, had returned with the *Rose* from Providence, collecting the *Flamborough* and *Swift* and four colonial vessels from Charleston. Taking the vessels which he found at St. Simons together

<sup>9</sup> C. O. 5/369, folio 79, PRO.

<sup>10</sup> C. O. 5/369, folio 81, PRO.

<sup>11</sup> C. O. 5/369, folio 82, PRO.

with two colonial galleys under his orders, Frankland moved to St. Augustine, where the whole squadron arrived on August 27. Two days later he sent Captain Hardy with the ships' boats and the *Charlestown* and *Beaufort* galleys<sup>12</sup> to try to tempt out the enemy, but the six Spanish galleys would not venture without the bar and it was deemed unwise to take the boats within. On August 30 the squadron reconnoitered Matanzas, but heavy surf prevented their approaching the coast there, and on September 8, being short of water, the *Rye* returned to Charleston.<sup>13</sup>

In a letter to the Admiralty of September 8 Hardy gave his version of the affair. He said how sorry he was that the unfitness of his ship had delayed his sailing for so long and blamed the lack of success against the Spaniards on this and on the failure of Captain Hamar to remain off St. Simons in the *Flamborough*, through not having received Hardy's orders to do so.

The lieutenant governor did not write a full report to His Majesty until October 20. In addition to requests for military aid, in case of another attempt by the Spaniards, he asked for two 40 or 50-gun ships to be based on Port Royal in addition to the other ships already serving on the American coast. He also asked that a ship from Jamaica should always cruise in May off the north coast of Cuba to intercept any expedition. He added a plea for better cooperation between the ships and the colonial government: "By some further Instructions being given to the Commanders of your Majestys Ships upon this Station if any should appear to your Majesty necessary (for we Scarse know what are their Instructions: some of the Commanders producing them on their arrival, And some not; And then reading perhaps such part as they please and that cursorily without any copy being left to have recourse to) to make them answer fully the purposes for which they are sent; Many of the Commanders of such Ships as have been Stationed here for some Years past declaring themselves Accountable to no Authority here for any of their proceedings or behaviour; have layed up in harbor as they pleased instead of Cruizing for the Protection of the Trade whilst at the same time this Province have upon several Emergencies been Obliged for that reason to fit out Vessels to do, what was there duty to have done. And in particular the present Commanding Officer of Your Majestys Ships upon the Station who from the time of his arrival

<sup>12</sup> These "Row Galleys" are described in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, July 5, 1742.

<sup>13</sup> The return of the fleet was noted in *South-Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1742. The fortifications in Charleston were vigorously carried forward. *South-Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1742.

here, the beginning of January last never put to Sea again until he went to the relief of Your Majesty's Troops at St. Simons in July; being expostulated with for not pursuing the Enemy upon their retreat, so far as Augustine and destroying them there with Your Majestys Ships and the Provincial Vessels According to our opinion and Advice, it being Apprehended by us that his so doing would come within the very letter of his Instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty; Replied by letter "That instead of receiving the Opinion of the Council it rather appeared to him they were induced to direct him in his proceedings as well as to censure those who were not, And he hoped never would be under their Authority' And this We the rather Remark because had that Officer pursued the Enemy so far as Augustine it is highly probable that he would have come up with many of their Vessels for nine of them were by our Gallies discovered lying in St. Juans After he returned from St. Simons to this Bar."<sup>14</sup>

On her return to Charleston the *Rye* stored, watered, heeled, and scrubbed. After advertising by signal for some days his imminent departure, Hardy sailed with three merchant vessels in convoy on September 26. On October 1 when in 30° 12' N., 70° 50' W., the *Rye* lost sight of the convoy. Hardy, still fearful for the safety of Georgia, turned back and arrived off St. Simons on October 6, informing General Oglethorpe that he would cruise to the southward for three or four weeks, hoping to prevent supplies reaching St. Augustine and to pick up intelligence of the Spaniards' intentions.

On October 9 the *Rye* was off Cape Canaveral. There were no Spanish settlements there who might see him lurking off the coast and give the alarm, and he had a good chance of intercepting enemy vessels, as those from Havana were in the habit of making the land at that point.

On October 13 the *Rye* was driven from her station by a gale, having her foremast sprung and sustaining other damage aloft. Returning to the coast she looked into St. Augustine on the 26th, but saw no shipping there. Two days later while passing St. Simons Hardy made the private signal<sup>15</sup> to Oglethorpe that he was returning from his cruise.

On November 3 off Charleston bar, the *Rye* spoke the *Shoreham* and *Hawke* conveying troops back to Jamaica since they were no longer required. She also spoke a Dutch snow, which had off the Bermudas on

<sup>14</sup> C. O. 5/369, folio 26, PRO.

<sup>15</sup> The private signal was one previously arranged between Hardy and Oglethorpe. We are not told what it was. It could have been made in a number of ways—a particular flag hoisted in a particular position, lowering and hoisting topsails, firing a number of guns or a combination of any of these.

October 24 fallen in with two Spaniards, one of 50 and the other of 20 guns, from Havana to Porto Rico with three English prizes in company. Writing to the Admiralty three weeks later Hardy expressed the opinion that the coast was clear of Spanish privateers.

The *Rye* entered harbor next day and found the *Rose* and the *Flamborough* at Hobcaw. Writing again to the Admiralty on November 24 Hardy reported a rumor that three English privateers had fallen in with the Spanish fleet returning from St. Simons and had chased some vessels ashore, taken others, and shattered the rest. Their Lordships would be "glad to hear of the Success with which three Privateers attacked the Spanish Embarkation on their return from Georgia, and wish His Matys Ships had been as successful."<sup>16</sup> As there is no other reference to this affair, it may have been invented to annoy the naval officers, whom the locals blamed for the lack of success against the enemy!<sup>17</sup>

The *Rye* took in new fore and main masts and went to Hobcaw to careen on December 13 returning again on January 10, 1743, but not before she had been blown ashore once more.

By mid December the *Spy* was ready to take a convoy towards Europe, but she needed thirty men to complete her complement. Lacking the ordinary resort of pressing from merchant vessels, Hardy again sought the assistance of the lieutenant governor and calling on the Council on December 15, 1742, read to them a copy which he had received of a letter written to them on the subject of men by the secretary of the Admiralty on August 14. The Council had not yet received the original of this letter and did not do so until January 12, 1743, but Hardy refused to let them see his copy. Corbett, the secretary, had written: "Their Lordships command me to Signify to you, what a prejudice and disservice it must be to the Colony itself, To have his Majesty's ships which are sent out for their defence, so disabled or weakened, as not to be in Condition to defend their Coasts and Trade, from the Insults of the Enemy; and therefore their Lordships not doubting but you will do everything in your power, as Governor, to discountenance such practices."

On this occasion the Council was very dilatory in issuing warrants to the watch and did not do so until December 25. No doubt this was intended as a reprisal on Hardy for not letting them have his copy of their

<sup>16</sup> Adm. 2/478, p. 524, PRO.

<sup>17</sup> There was one sea captain whom the local citizens greatly admired. When Capt. Thomas Frankland of the *Rose* returned from a cruise in February 1743, the merchants presented him with a silver bowl. *South-Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 21, 1743.

letter. By the time the warrant was issued Hardy had written to them again on the 23rd reporting that eight of his men had deserted the previous day and offering up to £20 a man for their recovery. The Council decided that, as Hardy thought it likely that the men might be making for Virginia overland, it was no use for them to try to do anything. Hardy published a description of the men in the *South-Carolina Gazette* and by his own exertions recovered five of them.<sup>18</sup>

On January 1 Hardy was again asking for twenty men. On January 12 the long delayed letter from the secretary of the Admiralty arrived, and the Council decided that they ought to do something about the manning of His Majesty's ships. The lieutenant governor advised the Assembly to pass a law to prevent the harboring of deserters and to take steps to prevent deserters making their way to the northern colonies. The Assembly replied that any suggestion that the inhabitants of South Carolina harbored deserters or aided them in any way was a slur upon their character. A law had been passed as long ago as March 16, 1695, to prohibit sailors from running into debt and making the sheltering of deserters punishable by a £20 fine. In the forty-eight years since the law had been passed no captain had ever started legal proceedings against a resident for sheltering a deserter and so it was quite clear to the Assembly, if not to anyone else, that no such crime could ever have been committed! In former times the land to the northward of Charleston had been too wild for any seaman to attempt the journey to other colonies, but now with the spread of colonization and the institution of ferries at the river crossings it was no longer a difficult journey, and, to the knowledge of the Assembly, many deserters took the road north, often using violence to obtain passage over the ferries without paying. The Assembly promised to see what could be done to check this exodus.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> A copy of the press warrant issued by Bull to the commander of the watch in Charleston, dated Dec. 25, 1742, is recorded in Council Journal, No. 3 (Mar. 15, 1742-Dec. 25, 1742), Sainsbury Copy, p. 292, S. C. Archives. The continual search for deserters can be followed in the *South-Carolina Gazette*. The issue of Nov. 1, 1742, described three men who had deserted from HMS *Flamborough* at Hobcaw on Oct. 28. The issue of Dec. 13, 1742, contained an advertisement of Capt. Joseph Hamar who offered £20 currency reward for a deserter from the *Flamborough*. The issue of Jan. 3, 1743, described eight men who had deserted from HMS *Rye* at Hobcaw on Dec. 22. Samuel Hallin paid for an advertisement in the Jan. 17, 1743, issue in order to say that he had asked Captain Hardy for two impressed men back but got only the sharp reply: "That he had something else to mind than any little Rascally Merchant-Men."

<sup>19</sup> The Assembly passed on May 7, 1743, "An additional and explanatory Act, to an Act, entitled, an Act to prevent Mariners and Seamen running into Debt, and

There is no doubt that at this time desertion from men-of-war was made much worse by masters of merchant vessels who were in the habit of offering bounties of £20 sterling for any man who would join them. This amount was nearly seven times the £20 local currency which was the fine for hiding a deserter. Hardy also discovered that the merchants were clubbing together to prosecute Captain Hamar on the return of the *Flamborough* for having pressed men out of merchantmen.

Bull did not answer the Admiralty's complaint until March 16, 1743. He then sent to them transcripts of all the Council's transactions with Hardy during the year and wrote: "I apprehend this Province has been misrepresented to their Lordships by the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships on this Station, who have on all occasions had the assistance of this Govt. in procuring seamen as well as other necessaries."<sup>20</sup>

Hardy now ran into further trouble. His boatswain, John Drewitt, had already been involved in trouble with Captain Lushington, before Captain Hardy had been appointed to the *Rye*. As early as August 31, 1741, Hardy had complained to the Admiralty of Drewitt's disregard of duty. Matters now came to a head. In December 1742, when the *Rye* was at Hobcaw heaving down and the boatswain's presence was particularly necessary he was repeatedly absent without leave or neglecting his duty. He told the master that he hated his job and would do everything he could to be "broke." Hardy obliged him! He suspended Drewitt from duty on January 1, 1743, and appointed Francis Cane, boatswain of the *Spy*, to relieve him. Drewitt went home in the *Gibraltar*.

On January 6 the *Flamborough* returned, having taken her convoy 100 leagues to the eastward. In a severe storm she had been struck by lightning and had sustained much damage aloft. Hardy had to order a survey upon her which found her fore and main masts as well as other spars in need of replacement. About this time Hardy had also to order a survey upon provisions which had been supplied to the *Gibraltar* at

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to prevent the Desertion of Seamen," which was printed in its entirety as a postscript to the *South-Carolina Gazette*, May 23, 1743. For the text, also see *Statutes of S. C.*, III, 600-602.

<sup>20</sup> Hardy's struggle to man his ship is revealed in the following figures: The *Rye's* complement was 150 officers and men, including marines. When she arrived in Charleston in January 1742 she had only 136, of whom 31 were marines. During the year she lost 31 men by desertion, 12 of them being marines, 5 dead, 7 discharged for medical reasons, 2 taken by the Spaniards, and 8 discharged for various reasons which included officers promoted to other vessels. Altogether she had lost 54 men and since 58 were entered during the year, she had barely kept her numbers and had never made up her original deficit. The Council had apparently assisted Hardy during the early part of 1742, but had then slackened in their support.

Jamaica. These were condemned. As the local contractors refused to take them off his hands, Captain Durrell was ordered to dump them at sea.

Soon after the *Rye's* return to Charleston from Hobcaw on January 10, Captain Hardy started the daily hoisting of a signal inviting masters of merchant vessels who desired convoy to come on board. No one took advantage of the invitation. The *Swift* came in on January 28, and Hardy had hoped to sail next day but consented to wait a further three days for the trade, which was not ready. He borrowed fourteen men from the *Flamborough* to strengthen his crew, as she would not be able to get to sea for some time.

News came of an agreement reached in Paris for the exchange of prisoners. At the request of Lieutenant Governor Bull, Hardy agreed to take thirty-one Spanish prisoners with him and to land them at St. Augustine. If that colony did not hold an equal number of Englishmen for exchange, he was to accept the Spanish promise for them to be sent later.

At last, on February 2 the *Rye* sailed out over the bar in company with three merchantmen. Once outside James Cowie, master of the *Loyal Judith*,<sup>21</sup> and William Willson of the *Phoenix* deigned to come on board and accept convoy, but a brigantine made off to the eastward by herself. The two ships, both of 200 tons, were American built and carried pitch and rice for Cowes and Holland. Hardy sent two of the Spanish prisoners on board each of the ships as they were short-handed. One would have thought this a rather risky proceeding as well as somewhat unfair to the prisoners, whose release date would thus be postponed.

On February 4, the *Loyal Judith* sprung her tiller and lost touch for a few hours, and on the 9th, when nearly 450 miles out in the Atlantic, the *Rye* lost sight of both merchant vessels. She continued in search of them for three days, and then having reached 34° 11' N., 68° 38' W. she made sail back towards Charleston. During this part of the voyage she spoke the *Carolina*, Robert Stephenson, from Jamaica to New York in ballast; the schooner *Phoenix*, Dan Dunbigan, Cape Fear to Antigua; and a sloop from Philadelphia to Charleston. The first of these reported that the English cruisers in the Windward Passage were so active that six Spanish privateers were shut up in Barracoa.<sup>22</sup>

The pilot who guided the *Rye* over the bar on February 27 told Hardy of many wild rumors current in Charleston, including one that the

<sup>21</sup> The *Loyal Judith*, James Cowie, of Bristol, had a long association with Carolina. See *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, ed. Philip M. Hamer and George C. Rogers, Jr. (Columbia, S. C., 1968), I, passim.

<sup>22</sup> Captain Hardy noted in his log-book the names of most of the merchant vessels encountered at sea, a rather unusual custom at this date.

Spaniards had landed in the Bahamas, but Lieutenant Governor Bull only had news of great preparations going forward at Havana. In harbor were the *Rose*, *Flamborough*, *Gibraltar*, *Swift*, and *Hawke*.

Hardy took in water and intended to sail again on March 6, but was prevented by contrary winds from getting out before the following day. The *Rye* then sailed in company with the *Rose* and *Swift*, but these stood to the eastward while the *Rye* went south with the *Charlestown*, colonial galley. There was a heavy swell on the bar, and the *Rye* struck the bottom several times getting out.

Off St. Augustine, on March 12, the *Rye* encountered a ship from Georgia, which reported that most of the Spanish invasion force of 1742 was still in St. Augustine and that General Oglethorpe had landed in the St. Johns River with the intention of marching to the southward so as to take the Spaniards from the rear.

The *Rye* cruised in the vicinity of St. Augustine, usually in company with the *Charlestown* and the *Success*, Captain Thompson, another colonial vessel. It was generally too hazy to see into St. Augustine, but on one occasion when they were successful they saw three sloops, a schooner, a settee, and five quarter galleys. One day the *Charlestown* went close enough into Matanzas to exchange shots with a quarter galley.

On March 22 the *Rye* went to St. Johns and found that Oglethorpe had returned. He also had received intelligence of great preparations going on in Cuba. Hardy decided that, as the Spanish prisoners were mostly soldiers from St. Augustine who since their capture had seen much of the colonial resources at Charleston and at St. Simons, they would be invaluable to their countrymen, he would not release them. This action was subsequently approved by the Admiralty.<sup>23</sup>

The *Rye* left St. Johns again on March 24 and continued to cruise off St. Augustine. She returned to Charleston on April 15, took in stores, some of which had arrived from England in the bilander *King George*, and Hardy had his ship heeled and her bottom scrubbed. The *Greyhound*, Thomas Perkins, arrived with military stores for Georgia, and a letter dated December 17 from the Admiralty telling Hardy to convoy her thither. As he was not ready, he ordered Commander Bladewell of the *Swift* to escort her instead, but she did not get away until May 10, by which time Hardy could have taken her himself.

From April 26 to May 9 Hardy carried out the same procedure as before of making a daily signal for the masters of merchant vessels desiring convoy. Although merchantmen made a great fuss about not

<sup>23</sup> Adm. 2/479, p. 494, PRO.



getting convoy, they were apparently reluctant to accept when it was offered. On May 12 the *Rye* sailed alone and next day, having overtaken a brigantine bound from Charleston to England, convoyed her for six days. Then, taking advantage of a day of light airs, Hardy hoisted out his boats, heeled the ship, and scrubbed her bottom, which was very foul although recently cleaned. It looks as though the work had been scamped on the earlier occasion.

Cruising between Charleston and Cape Fear on the lookout for Spanish privateers, the *Rye* spoke a brigantine, *Winyah* to Poole; "Johnson's Snow," William Rice, Charleston to Bristol; the *Primrose*, brig, John Ross, Madeira to Charleston; the *Carolina Packet*, seven days out, Charleston to Hull, by whom Hardy sent letters to the Admiralty; the *Exeter*, brigantine, Jamaica to Boston; and a ship from Philadelphia to Charleston. It seems strange that the *Rye* did not extend convoy to any of these vessels. At Charleston, on June 10, the *Rye* found the *Rose*, *Spy*, and *Swift*.

From June 19 to 28 the *Rye* exhibited her usual signal to masters of merchant vessels, inviting them to come on board to arrange convoy, but none came. There was no lack of merchant vessels preparing to sail, for between June 21 and 24 the *Rye's* log-book records a ship, three snows, and a brigantine coming down from Charleston to Rebellion Road.

Hardy had intended to sail on June 29, but on that day the wind was light, and he recorded; "At noon I went to town, to direct a survey on the *Spy* Sloop, when I landed, I was served with a writ, to Answer, for the Detaining, Robert Forsythe, Seamen (*sic*), whom I took out of the Workhouse months ago, at the request of the Mercht. & Master of the Ship he belonged to."<sup>24</sup> Hardy sent word to the masters of merchant vessels that he would be delayed for a few days. Next day they all sailed without him.

On July 16, 1742, Hardy had pressed some men from a Boston ship, Captain Clarke, one of them being Robert Forsythe, her second mate. The *Rye* had sailed on the 19th, and on her return Clarke asked Hardy if he might have his men back. Hardy let him have two, one being Forsythe for whom Clarke had specially asked. A few days later Captain Clarke quarreled with Forsythe and put him ashore in the workhouse to prevent him from running away. He then told Hardy that Forsythe was a troublesome fellow and asked the former if he would take him back into the *Rye*. This Hardy did, sending his master to the workhouse to pay the workhouse fees in the presence of Clarke and to bring Forsythe on

<sup>24</sup> Adm./L/R, p. 374, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

board. Forsythe seemed to be quite content with the arrangement. He was later rated midshipman and though given shore leave made no attempt to desert. When the *Rye* came in on June 10, 1743, a merchant named Pringle asked for Forsythe, but Hardy refused to give him up without a substitute. Pringle then persuaded Forsythe to claim that he was detained on board the *Rye* against his will and when Hardy landed had him arrested by the marshal. Hardy had to find £2,000 currency bail and took legal advice. He was told that he could not possibly win his case in the courts, so he discharged Forsythe. Pringle, having got his way, magnanimously agreed to drop proceedings.<sup>25</sup> On receiving a report on this affair the Admiralty promised that they would refund Hardy's legal expenses when he returned to England.

This incident shows once more the difficulties that naval officers experienced in keeping their ships manned while in South Carolina. While the local merchants complained continuously of lack of convoy for their vessels, they put every obstacle in the way of the ships which should have provided it and even when His Majesty's ships were available the merchant vessels preferred to sail alone. At this time Captain Hamar and the officers of the *Flamborough*, which had come in on June 18, were

<sup>25</sup> Robert Pringle wrote John Erving, June 13, 1743: "I observe the Paragraph in your Letter of the 12th April in Relation to the young man Named Robert Forsith on b'd his Majesties Ship the *Rye* Capt. Hardy (being One of Our Station'd Ships) Said Ship is just Come in to the Road from a Cruize for a few Days, & is Going Out again to Sea; I took the Opportunity the Other Day to enquire of the Purser who was ashoar about Said Mr. Forsith, who tells me that he Enter'd Sometime agoe a Voluntier & on the acct. Capt. Hardy has prefer'd him to the Station of a Midshipman, & believe it's the young man's Inclinations to Remain on Board, & that it will be a hard matter on said acct. to Gett Capt. Hardy to part with him, who is not very Oblidging, especially to Trading People, by whom he is not well lik'd or Reguarded, & indeed his Behaviour here has been such as not to Meritt their Esteem or Respect, on which acct. he & I happen not to be on very Good Terms together, he has acted but very Indifferently Since he has been on this Station. However, I have this Day sent a Letter to Mr. Forsith on Board to know his own Inclinations from himself, & as soon as I have his answer, Intend to make my Application accordingly, & you may depend on it, that my utmost Endeavours shall not be wanting to Obtain his Discharge provided it is his own Inclinations to Leave the Ship & to Goe Home to his Father, & if it Cannot be Done before the Ship Goes Out to Sea again which will be in a few Days, hope to Effect it at her Return." A second letter of Pringle's to John Erving, July 14, 1743, gave the rest of the story. Pringle had gotten the young man released by having a marshal serve a writ upon Hardy charging him with false arrest. Hardy was tied down by special bail of £2,000. The action was dropped when Hardy released Forsyth. Also see Pringle to Capt. Alex. Forsyth (the father), July 14, 1743. Robert Pringle Letter-book, 1731-1742, typed copy, III, 553, 565-568, S. C. Hist. Soc.

afraid to land for fear of arrest because they had pressed some men. It was probably to reduce this manning difficulty that when the *Loo* and *Tartar* joined the station they were supplied with special press warrants. When on October 14 the *Flamborough* took the French letter of marque *La Vendre*, Captain Hamar kept his prisoners on board and doled them out, one or two at a time, to make up the crews of merchantmen, homeward bound. The government of South Carolina refused to have anything to do with the prisoners unless they were all landed, without exception.

The *Rye* sailed on July 1 and by the 9th was 345 miles away in Lat. 30° 47' N. She then turned westward, making the coast near St. Johns on the 31st and getting back to Charleston on August 5. During this cruise she searched a Frenchman, *Le Sephire*, from Mississippi to Martinique, took advantage of a calm day to scrub the starboard side, and Hardy made two entries in his log-book showing apprehension at the approach of the hurricane season. Entering harbor the *Rye* grounded off White Point and fired a gun as a signal for help. She obtained the services of three "Petty Augers" to take out her guns and shot before she got off.

On August 31, 1743, South Carolina was struck by a hurricane. The *Rye* was moored with a cable each way and lowered her lower yards. The *Flamborough*, *Spy*, and *Swift* unrigged; the merchant vessels and two privateers went round into Ashley River (except for three or four which remained with the warships in Cooper River). The gale reached its height between two and three in the morning, after which the wind shifted from N.N.E. to N.N.W. All but two of the merchant vessels which had gone into Ashley River drove ashore, but the *Rye* only sustained the loss of her pendant.

The *Rye* was at Hobcaw to heave down from September 3 to October 6 and no sooner was this operation completed than it was discovered that the main-mast was rotten.<sup>20</sup> Hardy decided that if it was fished with an anchor stock it would be serviceable for one more cruise, and, this having been done, the *Rye* sailed in company with the *Spy* for the southward on October 25, remaining at sea until December 13. During this period the two vessels remained off the coast between latitudes 29° and 32° N., usually having very hazy weather.

This autumn saw the ships on the station reinforced by two arrivals from England, the *Loo*, 44, Capt. Ashby Utting, on October 18 and the *Tartar*, 20, Capt. Henry Ward, with Governor James Glen, at last, on

<sup>20</sup> Frankland had to take the *Rose* to Boston for an overhaul in June and brought his ship back completely outfitted in December. *South-Carolina Gazette*, June 13, 20, Dec. 12, 1743.

December 18. The *Loo* brought orders for the *Rye*, *Flamborough*, and *Spy* to come under the orders of Captain Utting, while the *Tartar* brought orders for the *Rye* to return home.

The *Rye*, busy getting in her new main-mast, found that one which had been cut for her was also rotten so another had to be cut in the woods. On January 29 they heeled and scrubbed the ship for the last time on that side of the Atlantic, and, after the usual warning signals to masters of merchant vessels, the *Rye* sailed for home on February 7, having under convoy the *Molly*, 200 tons, Thomas White; *Loyal Judith*, 230 tons, James Cowey; *Rachel*, 160 tons, Alexander Wederburn; and *Phoenix*, 200 tons, William Willson. All these were loaded with rice, the first two for London, the *Rachel* for Oporto, and the *Phoenix* for Cowes and Holland. The *Daniel*, 150 tons, Martin Bernard, got under way with them, but the wind dropped, and, while the others were able to tow over the bar with their boats, she drifted ashore.

On February 18 a gale blew. The merchant vessels dropped astern, and so as not to get too far ahead the *Rye* reduced sail to a single top-sail. At 2 a.m. the sea increased so much that the cabin windows were broken in and to avoid being pooped Hardy had to increase sail. At day-break the convoy was no longer in sight, and after searching unsuccessfully for it for a while the *Rye* continued her voyage. When the parting occurred, they were N. 80° E. 301 leagues from Charleston bar. During the rest of the voyage the *Rye* spoke two brigantines, from Antigua for Liverpool, and from Poole for Oporto, respectively, besides the *Elizabeth*, John Miller, from South Carolina for Leith.

Land was sighted on March 16, but it was another fortnight before the *Rye* reached Sheerness, having anchored several times to let the wind become favourable. On April 12 being badly in need of a refit, the ship was put out of commission,<sup>27</sup> the ship's company being paid up to June 30, 1744, and given fourteen days leave with orders to join the *Strafford* on its completion.

After leaving the *Rye*, Charles Hardy was appointed to command the *Jersey*, 60, and to be governor and commander-in-chief at Newfoundland. Returning home in 1745 he was court-martialed for losing part of his convoy; but he was acquitted. He was, however, unemployed for ten years until he was appointed governor of New York in 1755, at the same time receiving a knighthood. In 1756 he was promoted to rear-admiral and, hoisting his flag in the *Sutherland*, 50, took every ship and man he

<sup>27</sup> The *Rye* was wrecked on the coast of Norfolk, Eng., on Nov. 27, 1744. A new *Rye* was launched the following year.

could raise to Halifax, joining Admiral Holbourne there with 101 sail for the attack on Louisburg. From 1759 to 1762 he served under Hawke, blockading the French fleet, and was present at the battle of Quiberon Bay in the former year. In 1779 he was at sea again as commander-in-chief of the Channel squadron, chiefly distinguishing himself by successfully avoiding action with the numerically superior Franco-Spanish fleet. He died while still serving in this capacity on May 18, 1780, during an apoplectic fit. Charnock describes him as having been "brave, prudent, gallant, and enterprising, without the smallest ostentatious display of his noble qualities—generous, mild, affable, and intelligent—his virtues commanded the most profound respect, enabling him to pass through days, when the rage and prejudice of party blazed with a fury nearly unquenchable, without exciting envy or dislike, without ever furnishing to the most captious man of party the smallest ground of reprehension or complaint."<sup>28</sup> One wonders what the Council of South Carolina would have thought of this eulogy.

<sup>28</sup> John Charnock, *Biographia Navalis*, V (1797), 104.

SAMUEL CHILES MITCHELL,  
SOCIAL REFORMER IN BLEASE'S SOUTH CAROLINA

DANIEL W. HOLLIS \*

In the summer of 1908 the trustees of the University of South Carolina were seeking a new president. His mission would be to lead this historic institution out of the wilderness.

Few institutions of higher learning in America have had a more tragic history than has South Carolina's state university. After enjoying several decades of ante-bellum prosperity as the South Carolina College, the school entered a half-century of recurring crises that had seen it reorganized no less than six times between 1865 and 1906. The University had not fully recovered from the devastating effects of Civil War, Reconstruction, and denominational attack when it was almost extinguished by the political revolution in South Carolina led by Benjamin R. Tillman. "Pitchfork Ben's" trenchant attacks upon the "aristocratic," "extravagant," "grand" university were one of the features of his 1890 gubernatorial campaign. The triumphant Tillman administration established Clemson and Winthrop colleges and reduced the University once again to a liberal arts college.<sup>1</sup>

For more than a decade the stricken institution lay prostrate, a refuge for the disinherited. But there were indications that better days were ahead. In 1906 the school was allowed to assume once again the name University, and the trustees, determining that the era of rest and quiet repose was over, announced on July 25, 1908, the election of Samuel Chiles Mitchell.<sup>2</sup>

Mitchell was born in Coffeerville, Mississippi, in 1864 and then lived for several years in Texas. In 1888 he was graduated from Georgetown College, Kentucky, and during the next few years taught in the Georgetown Academy and at Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi, and studied at the University of Virginia. In 1895 he entered the University of Chicago as a doctoral candidate in history, receiving his degree in 1899. The title of his dissertation was "The Change from

\* Dr. Hollis is professor of history at the University of South Carolina.

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Walker Hollis, *University of South Carolina*, Vol. II: *College to University* (Columbia, S. C., 1956).

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the University of South Carolina, July 25, 1908, Treasurer's Office, University of South Carolina; *Columbia State*, July 26, 1908.