

Model of a British 50-gun ship of about 1710. The *Loo* was very similar to this type although slightly smaller. There are no existing models or pictures of a ship of the same class as the *Loo*. (Photograph from the Naval Museum, Greenwich, England.)

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS
VOLUME 131, NUMBER 2

THE LAST CRUISE OF H.M.S. "LOO"

(WITH 17 PLATES)

By

MENDEL L. PETERSON

Curator of Naval History
U. S. National Museum
Smithsonian Institution



(PUBLICATION 4224)

CITY OF WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
NOVEMBER 23, 1955

THE LORD BALTIMORE PRESS, INC.
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

THE LAST CRUISE OF H.M.S. "LOO"

By MENDEL L. PETERSON
Curator of Naval History
U. S. National Museum
Smithsonian Institution

(WITH 17 PLATES)

In the spring of 1951 I was invited by Dr. and Mrs. George Crile, Jr., of Cleveland, Ohio, to accompany them on an expedition to explore remains of a ship that had been wrecked about 5 miles off the main line of the Florida Keys over two centuries ago. The wreck had been shown to them by William Thompson, of Marathon, Fla. Only one thing was known about the ship—that it went down sometime after the year 1720. This was indicated by the fact that in 1950 Dr. and Mrs. Crile and their party had recovered some copper coins from the site, one of which was a Swedish half-ore piece (pl. 2, fig. 1) dated 1720. The site was a reef named "Looe" on the charts and was located some 25 miles southwest of Marathon. At the time, the source of the name was unknown, and its presence on the charts was not considered significant.

On Sunday evening, May 27, most of the members of the expedition assembled in Miami, and the next day left for the Keys and Thompson's yacht harbor, which was to be the base of operations. Here the entire party came together. It consisted of the sponsors, Dr. and Mrs. Crile; Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Link, of Binghamton, N. Y.,¹ Mr. and Mrs. James Rand, of Cleveland, Ohio; Mr. and Mrs. John Shaheen, of New York City; William Thompson, of Marathon, Fla.; Arthur McKee, of Homestead, Fla., an experienced diver on shipwreck sites; and myself. Necessary supplies and equipment were assembled and tested, and the boats were made ready. We were to use a barge built on a Higgins boat hull, a small fishing launch, and later Mr. Link's yawl, the *Blue Heron*.

Early Wednesday morning, May 30, the party left for the reefs

¹ The participation of Mr. and Mrs. Link in the expedition was to prove very fortunate for the National Museum since it led to the establishment of the Link Fund through their generosity. This fund enables the Museum to participate in annual expeditions to explore historic wreck sites in the Florida Straits area.

and by midmorning were over the wreck site (pl. 3). To locate the wreck exactly it was necessary to get into the water with face plates and carefully scan the sand bottom of a "valley" lying between two fingers of the reef which ran out to sea. Only the metal objects from the ship remained, and these were covered with a sand crust giving them the same color as the bottom—excellent camouflage, which made them almost invisible from the surface of the water. We detected the outlines of bars of metal, the ring of one of the ship's anchors (pl. 4) jutting from the reef, two long cylindrical objects, encased in marine growths, which were recognized as guns from the ship, and, upon closer inspection, piles of round objects encrusted with sand—solid shot for the ship's guns.

After a preliminary survey from the surface, the boats were pulled over the wreck and the diving gear was prepared for operation. Tight-fitting rubber masks that completely covered the face were connected to the air compressors by long lengths of strong rubber hose. The divers strapped on their lead belts, put on their masks or helmets, and went over the side on the diving ladder and lifeline.

The first object recovered was a large chunk of metal roughly triangular in cross section and stepped on the surface. It proved to be solid cast iron and was identified as permanent iron ballast cast to fit along the keelson of the ship. Clinging to it was a solid iron shot $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, a standard 6-pound shot of the eighteenth century. These finds immediately revealed two additional facts concerning the ship—she was most probably a warship, since merchantmen carried disposable ballast of stone, and she had 6-pounder guns in her batteries.

The next day the attention of the divers was devoted to the smaller objects lying about in the sand "potholes" on the site. By the use of a powerful jet of water the sand was carefully washed away and the articles were uncovered (pl. 5). Soon basketfuls of sand-encrusted hull bolts, nails, solid iron shot, fragments of rum or brandy bottles, Chinese porcelain dishes, and earthenware, and many other objects were being emptied on the decks of the salvage boats. On the first of two brief dives that the author made on the site a basketful of solid iron shot was gathered (pl. 6). In this lot was found a 6-pound shot with an arrow on it, which was immediately identified as the broad arrow (pl. 7). This was the first indication of the nationality of the ship, as this symbol has been used for centuries by the kings of England and Great Britain to mark royal property. The occurrence of the broad arrow on the shot was not conclusive evidence that the ship had been British, since ordnance stores could have been captured

or stolen by the enemies of Britain. But until further evidence proved the contrary, we could consider the ship to have been British.² In the basket 12-pound, 1-pound, and $\frac{1}{2}$ -pound shot were also found, giving additional information on the ship's batteries. The broad arrow also appeared on the 12-pound shot.

On Thursday, May 31, and Friday, June 1, numerous small objects were brought up, including more porcelain fragments, parts of clay pipes and rum bottles, the wooden knob of a walking stick, the eye-piece of a navigation instrument, pieces of stoneware decorated with blue flowers, and animal bones (later identified as pig and cow) from the pickled-meat stores of the ship. (See pls. 8, 9, and 10.)

On Saturday, June 2, the party remained ashore to sort, clean, and begin the preservation process on the objects recovered. Fragments of wood were packed in fresh water for shipment to the National Museum, the sand crust was cleaned from the cast-iron and other large iron objects by light hammering, and the objects were placed in baths of fresh water to leach out the sea salts.

The cast iron was found to have been oxidized to a depth of one-half to three-fourths of an inch. The removal of the sand crust from all surfaces (those portions having been converted to crystalline magnetite, which was very friable) had to be done with great care. The porous oxidized layer was saturated with chlorides, and to break these down the cleaned shot were placed in baths of sodium hydroxide. Most of the shot were packed with the sand crust on them, the crust protecting them from excessive drying while on the way to the Museum.

On Sunday and Monday (June 3 and 4) a continual stream of material came up from the wreck and was added to the piles ashore at our base (pls. 11, 12). There was such a quantity of specimens that it was decided that the author should devote a full day to identifying, sorting, cleaning, and preserving those that were to be retained. The boats went out as usual and that evening returned with one of the cannon barrels. Mr. Link had rigged the main boom of the *Blue Heron* and had lifted it to her side with block and tackle (pls. 13, 14). Through skillful seamanship and favorable weather the 2,000-pound barrel was brought to Marathon, hanging beside the delicate mahogany hull of the yawl, which was protected with rope fenders. As soon as the barrel was on the ground at our base we began removing the sand crust with a hammer. As the crust fell away (pl. 15)

² Later a chain plate, which was originally bolted to the ship's hull, was found by a salvage party from Miami. It also bore the broad arrow.

the beautifully molded contours of an eighteenth-century barrel were revealed (pl. 16). The appearance was deceptive, however, for while the physical form of the barrel was perfect it was evident that the surface of the iron had been oxidized deeply.

Two more clues to the identity of the ship were furnished by the barrel. On the second reinforce over the trunnions was a crowned rose, and in the muzzle were the remains of a wooden tompion. The crowned rose was an insigne employed by the Tudor and Stuart monarchs of England and was not used as the principal mark on royal artillery after the death of Queen Anne in 1714. The fact that the tompion was in the barrel indicated that the ship had run aground through accident or storm and not as an aftermath to a naval engagement. The crowned rose enabled us to estimate the date before which the ship sank. Since the normal life of an iron barrel on shipboard was usually not over 35 or 40 years, the barrel had probably not been in active service after 1714 plus 35 or 40 years, or 1749-1754. It was therefore assumed that the ship must have sunk before the year 1750.

The barrel was the last important object recovered from the wreck site in 1951, and we now had all the evidence that we could expect to recover that year. This evidence had told us that the ship was a British warship, had sunk between 1720 and 1750, had 6- and 12-pounders in her main battery, and had gone down as the result of an accident and not as a sequel to a naval action. We knew, of course, that the reef on which the ship had sunk was called "Looe Reef," but we had not suspected a connection between the name and the wreck itself.

After my return to Washington I began a search of the ship casualty lists for the eighteenth century published in Clowes "The Royal Navy," and found the entry—"1743 *Looe* 44 guns, Capt. Ashby Utting, Lost in America." Further research indicated that she carried 6- and 12-pounders. The conclusion was obvious—the ship we had investigated was the *Loo* whose wreck had given her name to the reef. That night I phoned Dr. and Mrs. Crile in Cleveland and they immediately called a friend in London. Within a week the Public Record Office had yielded a letter written by Captain Utting at Port Royal, S. C., February 15, 1743/44,³ in which he described the wreck of his ship. A year later I was in London digging out all the documents in the Public Record Office relating to the ship. The account that follows is based on letters, the Navy List, the *Loo's* pay lists and muster

³ The legal year began March 15. The calendar year was 1744. (See Appendix B for Utting's letter.)

rolls and other documents in the Public Record Office in London. All these documents are Admiralty papers. The references are given in the manner in which they are numbered in the collections of the Public Record Office, and bear the prefix ADM or AD.

On June 14, 1743, Thomas Corbett, Secretary of the Admiralty, sat down in his London office and countersigned an order directing Capt. Ashby Utting to prepare his ship, the frigate *Loo*,⁴ for a cruise to North America:

Having order'd His Majesty's ship under your command to be refitted at Portsmouth, for a voyage to North America, cleaned, sheathed and graved,⁵ and her provisions compleated to six months of all species, except beer, and of that as much as she can conveniently stow, and stored accordingly; you are hereby required and directed, to repair with her into Portsmouth Harbour, and strictly to observe the following instructions.

You are to give constant attendance.

W: IC: GL: ⁶
By T.C.

Thus began the last cruise of the *Loo*, the story of which might have been taken from a classic work of fiction.

The *Loo*, a frigate of 40 to 44 guns, had seen long service in the Royal Navy. She had been built during the expansion of the British fleet incident to the War of the Spanish Succession. In this war England was fighting to prevent the seating of a Bourbon⁷ on the throne of Spain—a scheme of Louis XIV to strengthen the position of France in Europe. The *Loo* was to meet her end during another war in which Spain and Great Britain were enemies, a war that began as a result of the succession of Maria Teresa to the throne of Austria.

⁴ Named for the old seaport town of Looe (also Loo), which lies on the rocky coast of Cornwall and which has supplied sturdy sailors to the Royal Navy since its beginning.

⁵ The first Royal Navy vessel to be sheathed with lead was the *Phoenix*; this was done in 1670. The practice had been followed in the Spanish Navy since the middle of the sixteenth century and in some cases by English merchant ships (see Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, vol. 2, p. 240). Lead proved impractical, however, and the practice of sheathing with thin fir boards was followed until the time of the American Revolution, when the British fleet was sheathed with copper. The thin fir sheathing was backed with pitch and horsehair, which discouraged worms from tunneling into the ship's planking. Graving was the process of burning sea life from the bottom of a ship.

⁶ Initials of the Lords of the Admiralty, "W" for Daniel, Earl of Winchelsea, First Lord of the Admiralty, March 19, 1742, to December, 1744. "T.C." for Thomas Corbett, Secretary of the Admiralty, 1742-1751. (Admiralty Out-Letters, ADM 2, vol. 60, p. 15, Public Record Office.)

⁷ The grandson of Louis XIV, who ruled as Philip V of Spain (1700-1746).

She was most probably launched in 1706⁸ since she first appears in the Navy List under the date April 1, 1707, when she was at "Longreach taking in Guns."⁹ Her complement at that time is given as 190 men and her battery as 42 guns.

The Navy List thereafter follows her career in terse monthly entries (see Appendix A).

Her first two cruises carried her to Archangel and Newfoundland.¹⁰ By 1709 she was back at Sheerness refitting, and afterward was on patrol duty in the Channel.¹¹ Early in 1710 she was attached to the Dunkirke Squadron and in the fall of that year was on convoy duty to the eastern countries.¹² In April 1711 she was in Holland "to bring the Queen's wine to the Nore."¹³ She then sailed convoy to Russia and during the last two months of 1711 was refitted and again sent to duty in British waters, meeting ships from Virginia and convoying them to British ports.¹⁴ During the winter of 1712-13 she transported troops to Bayonne and returned with prisoners of war¹⁵ and then again served in the Channel, cruising against smugglers.¹⁶ In the fall of 1714 she was sent convoy to Port Mahon in the Mediterranean and on return was paid off and laid up.¹⁷

Three years later the *Loo* was back in service as a hospital ship on duty with the Baltic Squadron.¹⁸ She was then laid up for the winter and the next spring again commissioned as a hospital ship and sent to the Mediterranean Squadron. A year later (April 1719) she appears in the Navy List with 30 guns and a crew of 125 men, which probably indicates that she had been reconverted to a frigate.¹⁹ Thus fitted out she served with the Mediterranean Squadron until the spring of 1722.²⁰ From that time until January 1728 she appears to have been laid up. On January 10, 1728, she was again in sea pay and until

⁸ At least one earlier *Loo* is recorded. Like her successor, she was a frigate of 40 guns and was also lost through shipwreck, having run aground on the Irish coast near Baltimore, April 30, 1697 (Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, vol. 2, p. 536).

⁹ Navy List, Jan. 1, 1707-Dec. 31, 1709, ADM 8/10, Public Record Office.

¹⁰ ADM 8/10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ ADM 8/10 and 8/11.

¹⁵ ADM 8/11.

¹⁶ ADM 8/12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ ADM 8/13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

July 1730 was on duty in British waters performing such tasks as transporting clerks and money to the pay at Plymouth and patrolling the Channel.²¹ In August she was ordered to the Mediterranean as convoy for transports going to Gibraltar and remained in the Mediterranean cruising against the Barbary pirates "on the Coast of Salée."²²

Coming home to Britain in August 1731, the *Loo* was again on Channel service until the next spring.²³ For three years she was again laid up and on May 5, 1735, was commissioned and fitted out as a hospital ship for duty in the Channel service. In August of that year she joined the naval forces at Lisbon, still as a hospital ship, and served there until the spring of 1737.²⁴ From that time until January 1742 she was laid up and, war having broken out between Great Britain and Spain, was recommissioned as a frigate of 44 guns on January 5 and placed in the Channel service under the command of the Earl of Northesk. While on a cruise in the area of Cape Finisterre (northwest Spain) the *Loo*, in company with the *Dealcastle* (24 guns) raided Vigo Bay, capturing four Spanish vessels in the harbor, an incident reported in the *London Gazette* for August 31, 1742.²⁵

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ ADM 8/17 and 8/18.

²⁴ ADM 8/19 and 8/20.

²⁵ Also mentioned in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for August 1742, p. 445, and September 1742, p. 494, giving an account of the *Loo* raiding in the Porto Nova and Santiago areas: "The Earl of Northesk, Capt. of his Majesty's ship the *Loo*, being on a cruize off of Cape Finisterre, and the parts adjacent, received intelligence of a small Privateer being at Porto Nova, upon which he stood in there on the 30th of June, but the Privateer discovering him, got higher up the river than the *Loo* could venture, and it falling calm, Ld. Northesk was obliged to anchor close by the towns of Porto Nova, and St. Iago, into which he fired a few shot, then landed some men and dismounted 4 guns which were on a battery at Porto Nova, and set fire to several houses at St. Iago. On July 7, Lord Northesk met with his Majesty's Ship the *Dealcastle*, commanded by Capt. Elton, and receiving intelligence of some vessels being at Vigo, they run up the river and anchored before that town, where they made prizes of 4 vessels, 2 of which they set on fire, being light, and not having Sails on board to bring them out. They fired several shot into the Town to cover the boats while they cut away the vessels, there being a pretty smart fire at them with small arms from the shore. On July 19, upon intelligence that the privateer was still about the river of Porto Nova, the *Loo* run in and anchored under the Island of Blydones, where Lord Northesk put a Lieutenant and 60 men, with 2 of the ship's 6 Pounders, into a Sloop taken at Vigo, and sent her up the river in quest of the privateer; the Sloop could see nothing of her, but in her return chased a bark on shore, and set her on fire; and Lord Northesk landed some men, and burnt a village of about 40 houses."

Following this cruise, the *Loo* was again in the Channel service until May 1743, when she was ordered "To cruize between Bilbao and St. Jean de Luz,²⁶ to intercept some Caracca ships²⁷ expected at St. Sebastian."²⁸ At the conclusion of this cruise, which lasted some six weeks, the *Loo* returned to Portsmouth to refit for her ill-fated voyage to North America. Meanwhile Capt. Ashby Utting had assumed command under a commission dated 4 April, 1743.²⁹ As the war between Great Britain and Spain had progressed, the people of the infant colonies of Georgia and South Carolina had felt increasing fears of an invasion by the Spanish from Florida and Cuba. In 1742 the Spanish had attacked Fort Frederica in Georgia but had been repulsed by the troops of General Oglethorpe at the Battle of Bloody Marsh. After this attempt by the Spanish the colonists felt that the threat of devastation of their homes and farms was even greater. Consequently, the Lords of the Plantations in London had been petitioned by the Governor of South Carolina to send a large warship to the Carolinas for the protection of the coastline. The result was the ordering of the *Loo* to the Charleston station.

Three days after Secretary Corbett signed the *Loo*'s orders Captain Utting had received them and replied that he would "punctually comply" with them and use his "utmost endeavours" to get his ship ready for sea.³⁰ The *Loo* sailed soon after Utting's letter was posted and arrived at Portsmouth on the morning of June 18. Reporting his arrival there to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Utting complained that the 6-pounders³¹ on the upper deck of the *Loo* were "very indifferent and not fit for a forrain voyage, being much honey combed."³² a fact made known to him by his gunner, Samuel Kirk.³³ Utting recommended that a battery of 9-pounders, which had been mounted for the *Hunnington*, be substituted for the *Loo*'s worn-out 6-pounders.³⁴

²⁶ On the northern coast of Spain.

²⁷ That is, ships of the Caracas (Venezuela) Company.

²⁸ ADM 8/23.

²⁹ Commission and Warrant Book, 1743-1745, AD 6/16, p. 335.

³⁰ Admiralty In-Letters, ADM 1, vol. 2625, pt. 3, No. 146.

³¹ Heavy guns of this period were rated by the weight of the solid shot they threw. The barrel of a long 6-pounder of this period weighed around 2,000 pounds.

³² That is, the barrels, which were cast iron, had small cracks in their bores.

³³ Kirk's name is mentioned in the record of the Court Martial of Captain Utting held May 3, 1744 (Admiralty In-Letters, ADM 1, vol. 5283).

³⁴ ADM 1, No. 417. Utting's recommendations were not followed. This is proved by the finding of the same 6-pounders on the wreck site of the *Loo*. They

Preparations for the cruise proceeded swiftly. On June 20, the day after Utting wrote his letter concerning the guns, the Admiralty ordered the Captain to "make out" his pay books "to the 30 June, 1742."³⁵ Five days later admiralty orders "about carrying candles up and down the ship and drawing off spiritous liquors and an order to cause the men's allowance of rum to be diluted with water when in the West Indies" were issued.³⁶ The order directed that "whenever the ship's Company under your command are served with Rum, Brandy, or any other spirituous liquor, instead of Beer, the same be constantly issued out to them by the Purser upon the open Deck, and nowhere else; and that you do order all officers and others under your command, never to draw off any arrack,³⁷ rum, brandy, or other spirituous liquors in places under deck, but always upon open deck."³⁸

bore the crowned rose, a device placed on royal guns during the reigns of the Tudors and the Stuarts. The *Loo's* 6-pounders were therefore cast before the death of Queen Anne in 1714. Thus they would have been at least 30 years old at the time of the loss of the *Loo*—a fact borne out by Utting's statement on their condition.

³⁵ ADM 2, vol. 60, p. 34. A year's delay in paying the men was a common (even usual) occurrence at this time.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41. These orders stemmed from the loss of the *Tilbury*, 60 guns, in the West Indies through fire on September 21, 1742. The incident was reported by Adm. Edward Vernon in a letter to Thomas Corbett written on the flagship *Boyne* in Port Royal harbor, Jamaica, October 3, 1742 (Admiralty In-Letters, ADM 1, vol. 233, extracts.) "I am heartily concerned for the melancolly account lately brought me by Captain Lawrence late of the *Tilbury*, who came in here the 24 September in the Island Sloop, with part of his officers and men, another part remaining on board the *Defyance*, in execution of my orders, and upwards of a hundred of them having perished in the sea or fyre, on her accidentally taking fyre, and burning, and sinking in the sea, amongst which are the Master, Boatswain, and Gunner, and a Marine Officer. But I cant proceed to enquire in it at a Court Martial, til the return of the *Defyance*, many evidences that saw the first of it, being absent in the *Defyance*, so all I can say of it at present is, that it took its rise from a Marine soldier's snatching to get a bottle rum, out of the Purser's boys hand, who had a candle in the other hand, declaring he would have a dram, and in the struggle with the boy, the bottle falling and breaking, and the candle with it the rum took fire, and communicating to more in the Pursers cabbिन where the fyre first began, that could not be extinguished by all their diligence afterwards, tho they say, they threw all their powder into the sea." Admiral Vernon at the same time submitted a copy of a general order he had published to his forces two years before requiring that the rum ration be served to the men on deck, and that it be diluted with water. The new concoction became known as "grog" after Admiral Vernon who was called "Old Grog" from his habit of wearing a "grogram" cloak. "Grogram" was a coarse material of silk and mohair. The name is derived from "gros-grain."

³⁷ A drink distilled from rum.

³⁸ Admiralty Out-Letters, ADM 2, vol. 59, p. 380.

Another order dated the same day directed Utting to have his ship "vichialled to four months only³⁹ for a forreign voyage, and what beer she cannot take in to be made up with good brandy . . . and to cause half of one and half of the other to be issued." It also instructed Utting to load the food as quickly as possible and "to take care, that the brandy supplied . . . be good and wholesome," and to report to the Lords of the Admiralty "the usefullness of the allowance of half brandy and half beer and what effect it has upon the health of the men."⁴⁰ Utting silently conformed with these orders as they were received, but on July 2, still hoping to receive the battery of 9-pounders to replace his wornout 6's, he wrote: "The time for taken in my guns draws very near, and ye officers of ye ordinance here has no orders concerning ye 9 pounders, which I had wrote for and was in hopes I should have had them as ye ship would well bare them and make her a much better man of war."⁴¹ He also requested that, if possible, he be told his ultimate destination since he knew only that he was to go to North America.

On July 11 orders were issued to the commanding officers of the *Rye*, 20 guns; *Flamborough*, 20 guns, and the sloop *Spy*, 8 carriage guns and 12 swivels, all stationed in South Carolina, to place themselves under the command of Captain Utting upon his arrival there. Utting was to carry these orders with him.⁴² The next day the Admiralty issued instructions to Utting concerning the impressment of seamen while in America, furnishing him with three press warrants. The instructions cautioned him that "it is not meant, that the trade of His Maj's. subjects in America, or ships provided with Letters of Marque to cruise against the Enemy should be distressed thereby, but only that such prudent use be made of the said press warrants as may enable you to procure men to make up your complement, when proper opportunities offer it. You are to take great care, that no indiscreet or unreasonable use be made of them." The instructions also directed that Utting was "never to molest the chief officers, such as the master, mate, boatswain or carpenter, or any seaman found on board with protections granted by us, pursuant to Act of Parliament."⁴³

³⁹ Thus rescinding the order of June 14, which had directed the loading of a 6-months' supply of food.

⁴⁰ Admiralty Out-Letters, ADM 2, vol. 60, p. 42. Beer had been a standard beverage in the English Navy since earliest times. Easy to keep, it was superior to water, which grew putrid in the casks.

⁴¹ ADM 1, vol. 2625, pt. 3, No. 418.

⁴² ADM 2, vol. 60, p. 79.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

The same day detailed orders covering all phases of the cruise to North America were issued. They are an excellent example of the type of orders of that period given to senior officers destined for independent duty in remote parts of the Empire, and they are here quoted in their entirety.⁴⁴

TO CARRY GOVERNOR CLINTON TO NEW YORK AND THEN
ATTEND ON SO. CAROLINA

Whereas we have appointed His Maj's. ship under your command to carry the Hon. Geo. Clinton, Esq. to his Government at New York, and then to attend on the Colony of South Carolina, you are hereby required and directed to make all possible dispatch in getting her compleated in all respects for the Sea, and you are to receive on board the said Mr. Clinton, with his Family and Equipage, and give them passage to New York, vichialling them as your Ship's Company during their continuance on board, and allowing the Governor all such accommodation as the Ship will afford.

And whereas the ship under your command is only ordered to be vichialled to four months, and to have two months French Brandy instead of two months beer; and the Comrs. of the Vichialling having a large quantity of Brandy in store at Guernsey, in the Charge of Mr. Nich S. Dobre, a merchant in that Island, you are in your way down the Channel, to call off of Guernsey, without going into the Port, and send the enclosed letter with your Purser on Shore to the said Mr. Dobre; and receive from him such a quantity of Brandy as you think necessary for the use of your Ship's Company and you can conveniently receive on board, which when you have done, you are to proceed directly to New York, without touching at the Madeiras, and there land the Governor, with his Family and Equipage; and having so done, you are to proceed on to South Carolina.

And whereas His Maj's Ships the Rye, Flamborough, and Spy Sloop, are stationed at South Carolina, You are to take them under your command, their Captains being directed to follow and observe your orders.

When you arrive at South Carolina, you are to communicate these our instructions to the Governor and Council of that Province, and to consult and advise with them from time to time, in what manner the ships under your command may be best employed in guarding the coasts, and securing the trade of that colony from any attempts of the Enemy, and to govern yourself according as shall be agreed on, using your best endeavors to take or destroy all such ships or vessels of the enemy, as shall come upon the coasts of the said Colony.

And whereas it has been represented to us, that the Coast of North Carolina is very much infested with Spanish Privateers, who have even landed in the Country and carried off hogs and black cattle, to the great terror of the inhabitants of those parts, you are, when you see proper occasions, to extend your cruize as far as Cape Hatteras, or to order one of the ships under your Command to do so, for the better protection of the trade of His Maj's. Subjects in those parts; and you are to acquaint the Governor of North Carolina with this part of our instructions.

⁴⁴ Admiralty Out-Letters, ADM 2, vol. 60, pp. 81-84.

And whereas it has been represented to us, that the Town of St. Augustine depends much upon what comes by Sea for provisions, and would be greatly distressed, if His Maj's. ships stationed at Carolina would sometimes cruize off that Port, to prevent provisions being carried to that place by Sea, you are to have a particular regard to that service, as far as may be consistent with the other necessary services on which you may be employed.

And whereas we have directed the Captains of His Maj's. ships attending on Virginia to hold a constant correspondence with you, you are, whenever you shall find the Enemy's ships to be too strong for you, to send immediate advice thereof to the Captains of the said ships, whom we have directed to repair to your assistance, and you are to endeavour joyntly to take or destroy them. And if the Captains of the said Ships shall at any time send you notice of the Enemy being too strong for them, you are with all possible diligence to proceed to their assistance, communicating in the first place the intelligence you have received to the Governor and Council of South Carolina, and receiving their concurrence for your so doing, and when the service is performed, you are to return to your station.

And whereas the Captains of His Maj's. ships stationed in America, have of late years taken a very unwarrantable Liberty of lying in Port with their Ships, for the greatest part of the time they have remained abroad, to the dishonour of His Maj's. service, and the disservice of the Colonies for whose protection they are appointed, and we being determined not to suffer any such neglect for the future, do hereby strictly charge and direct you to keep constantly at Sea, when the weather will permit, and cruize in proper stations for meeting with the Enemies ships or privateers, and for protecting the trade of His Maj's. subjects, and guarding the said colony of Carolina from any attempts of the Enemy.

You are not to fail to transmit to us, one in every two months an exact copy of the Journal, that it may be seen what care and diligence you have used in putting our instructions in execution and to order the Captains of His Maj's ships under your command to do the same.

And in order to enable you the better to keep the ships under your command in a good condition to cruize and protect the trade, as well as to annoy the Enemy, you are to cause them to be cleaned once in six months, at such times as it can be most conveniently done.

When the ships you command are in want of provisions, you are to apply to the Contractors of the vichialling at Carolina, for the same, and never to leave the said Colony defenceless by going somewhere to vichial; and you are to take on board no more provisions at a time, than are necessary for the service on which you are employed.

You are not to hoist the Union Flag on board the Ship you Command, on account of the Governor's being on board, or on any other pretence whatever.

In case of the death of any of the officers of the ships under your command, you are to appoint such other persons to act in their names, as by the quality of their Employments ought to succeed therein.

When you shall receive our orders to return to Great Britain, you are to take in no more provisions than shall be sufficient to compleat what you may have on board to three months of all species at whole allowance, upon the penalty of making good what damage, His Majesty may otherwise receive thereby.

You are, as you pass through the channel, to examine such ships and vessels as you shall meet with passing from Great Britain or Ireland to France, which

you shall reasonably suspect to have Wool⁴⁵ on board, and upon discovering any with that comodity in them, to send them into the nearest Port, and deliver them into the care of the Collector of the Customs, in order to their being prosecuted according to Law.

You are by all opportunities to transmit to our Secretary for our information, an account of your proceedings, and of the condition of the ships under your command as to the number of men, and all other particulars and in case of inability by sickness or otherwise, to be careful to leave these our instructions with the next Commanding Officer. Given 12th July, 1743.

W. J.C. G. L.

By

T.C.

Capt. Utting, Loo, Spithead.

Captain Utting must have received oral instructions that he was to carry Governor Clinton to New York several days before he received the above orders. In fact the Governor had either visited the ship or had otherwise instructed Captain Utting on the accommodations that he desired aboard the *Loo*. Five days before the detailed orders on the cruise were written Utting had written Corbett "the carpenter will have compleated every conveniency Mr. Clinton desires by tomorrow night . . ." ⁴⁶

On July 14 Utting acknowledged receipt of the orders of July 12 and reported that his ship was "in all respects fitt for sea." ⁴⁷ Four days later the Admiralty instructed Utting, who was now at Spithead ready to sail, to convoy the storeship *Pegasus* "laden with naval stores for New York and South Carolina" to America, ordering that he "convoy her safely to New York, where you are to cause her to be unloaden as soon as possible, and then proceed with her to South Carolina." ⁴⁸ At the same time additional instructions on cruising while in America were issued. ⁴⁹

TO CRUIZE BETWEEN CAPE FLORIDA, AND THE NORTH WEST PART OF THE GRAND BAHAMA WHEN THE SEASON OF THE YEAR WILL NOT PERMIT HIS CRUIZING OFF CAROLINA.

In addition to our instructions to you dated the 12th instant, you are hereby required and directed, when the Season of the Year is not proper for your cruising on the Coasts of South Carolina, and that neither the said Colony, nor

⁴⁵ The export of English wool was absolutely prohibited at this time in an effort to encourage the English woollen industry. The demand for English raw wool in the lowlands was great, and consequently the smuggling of it to the continent was profitable.

⁴⁶ ADM 1, vol. 2625, pt. 3, No. 419.

⁴⁷ Ibid., No. 420.

⁴⁸ ADM 2, vol. 60, p. 96.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 96-97.

that of Georgia is under any apprehension of being molested by the Enemy from Havanna or Augustin, to proceed with His Maj's. Ship under your Command and Cruize between Cape Florida and the North West part of the Grand Bahama, 'til such time as the Season will permit your return to Carolina, taking care to have a sufficient quantity of provisions on board to last you on that service.

You are diligently to look out for the Enemy's ships passing through the Gulph of Florida for Europe, and use your utmost endeavours, to take, sink, burn or destroy them.

But before you proceed on this Service, you are to communicate your design to the Governor of Carolina, and not to go thereupon, if you find any reasonable objections thereto. Given 18th July, 1743.

W. J.C. B.

By

T.C.

Capt. Utting, Loo, Spithead.

Utting had been thinking of the same operations plan as that of the Lords of the Admiralty, for on July 19, a day or so before he received the additional instructions, he had written :

I was a little hurried to save post with my last yet dont know whether I explained ye plans and time of cruising so plain as you could wish for fear of which beg you'll be pleased to indulge me with this to acquaint you. I propose (if ye service will allow me and you can git me orders) to saile from South Carolina ye 10 or 15 of October and cruise in and about ye Gulfe of Florida, as far as ye Cape⁵⁰ if I can git there till ye middle of Jany. then return to Carolina. And as soon as I can water, victuall, and refitt, in all respects, then propose to saile, and cruize on ye coast of Carolina of [off] St. Augustine or on such part of ye coast as I shall find the service require me most. Given ye 20 gun ships proper stations as ye service shall require, on this coast I propose to keep all ye summer months⁵¹; ye latter end of May shall go in for 6 or 8 days to victuall and water and then cruize till ye 20 or 25th. of July when as I shall be then about 12 months foull shall go in to heave down and about ye 20th of Sepr. shall saile to cruize on ye aforesaid station: yet I never propose to be in port above 2 months in ye year; after my first careening shall heave down every 6 months. But as I am graved and tallowed⁵² can go 12 months at first. There is an exceeding good careening place at Port Royall⁵³ which can be made ours

⁵⁰ Cape Florida.

⁵¹ That is, keep to the sea during the summer months.

⁵² See footnote 5, p. 5. In navy yards graving was usually done in a drydock. On remote stations it was necessary to careen the vessel by mooring her in a river, unloading her, and then "heaving her down" by pulling her over with tackles secured to trees on the bank. In this position half of her bottom was above water and could be cleaned. The process was repeated for the other side of the bottom. Hulls were coated with tallow as a protection against growths and water penetration of the ship's planking.

⁵³ South Carolina.

conveniently to heave down without expense to the government. I have wrote to ye Navy Board for careening gear, but have not had an answer.⁵⁴

On July 25 the Captain acknowledged receipt of the further instructions on cruising and the orders to escort the *Pegasus*, and prepared to set sail.⁵⁵

On August 6 Governor Clinton, his wife and her children, and suite of 15 persons came aboard the *Loo*.⁵⁶ She probably sailed within a week.

Six weeks later the *Loo* arrived safely in New York harbor with her charges, and the *Pegasus*. The Governor and his suite disembarked on September 22.⁵⁷ Utting reported in a letter dated in New York Harbor September 29 that the voyage had been uneventful "with nothing worth their Lordships notice." In the same letter the Captain made his first report on the trial ration of half brandy and half beer, stating that it agreed with men "extreamly well, and they are well pleased."⁵⁸ The ship, he reported, was unmooring as he wrote, and expected to sail that afternoon for South Carolina escorting the *Pegasus*. His departure was delayed until October 6, however, probably by adverse weather, but the bright lights of New York might have been the real reason, since Utting mentioned no cause for the delay. After a passage of five days the *Loo* arrived off Charleston Bar. In Charleston he found the sloop *Spy* ready for sea, the *Rye* "cleaned and almost fitt for sea," the *Flamborough* "sheating."⁵⁹ He immediately delivered the Admiralty orders instructing the captains of these ships to place themselves under his command, and then issued orders giving each ship stations for cruising off the Carolina coast for the defense of the colonies and protection of English and colonial shipping. Captain Hardy of the *Rye* was directed to "cruize on the coast of South Carolina, between Charles Town Barr and the So.W most part of the same coast, keeping off St. Augustine, and as near into the shore as you shall judge proper when winds and weather will permitt to intercept any trade that may come from the Havanah to that place."⁶⁰ Hardy was also instructed to inform the Governor of

⁵⁴ ADM 1, vol. 2625, pt. 3, No. 421.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Loo's* General Muster Book, ADM 36, Ser. I, vol. 1823.

⁵⁷ *Loo's* General Muster Book, ADM 30, Ser. I, vol. 1823.

⁵⁸ ADM 1, vol. 2625, pt. 3, No. 423.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 435. British ships were at this time sheathed with thin fir boards backed with horsehair and pitch. The sea worms ate through the thin board but were repulsed by the hair, and the ship's hull planking was thus protected.

⁶⁰ ADM 1, vol. 60, No. 435.

Georgia⁶¹ of his activity off that coast, to remain at sea as long as his water and provisions would permit, and, after returning to Charleston to take on supplies, to return to his station and cruise as soon as his ship was ready for sea.⁶² Captain Hamar of the *Flamborough* was directed to cruise off the coast of North Carolina. "Whereas the Rt. Hono. the Lords Commiss. of the Admiralty has been informed that the coast of North Carolina has been much infested with privateers [Spanish] to the great detrement of the inhabitants of that province, you are to use your utmost endeavours to take or otherwise destroy them or any of the enemy's ships as you may possible meet with in your cruise."⁶³ Hamar was directed to inform the Governor of North Carolina⁶⁴ of his cruising on that coast and told to keep to sea at all times possible.⁶⁵ Captain Newman (also spelled Newnham) of the sloop *Spy* was ordered to join the *Loo* and cruise with her until further orders.⁶⁶

The execution of Utting's plans was to be delayed, however, for the next day an "exstream hard gale of wind at ENE" struck the *Loo* as she lay at anchor off Charlestown Bar, obliging Utting to cut his "best bower cable"⁶⁷ and go to sea "for fear of a hurricane." For four days the *Loo* rode out the gale at sea, and when the storm was over Utting returned to his anchorage off Charleston, recovered his anchor and the next day (Saturday, October 25) "saild for Port Royall to refitt having received great damage in . . . masts and rigging."⁶⁸ Upon examining the damage to the *Loo*, Utting and his officers found the main yard sprung in three places and unserviceable. "The mainmast sprung in ye lower partners⁶⁹ about 6 inches in the not to bad but shall be able to fish⁷⁰ him and make as serviceable as ever . . ." ⁷¹ Utting was mistaken, however, in his estimate of the damage, for closer examination revealed extensive damage to the mast

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ ADM I, vol. 60, No. 436.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ The cable of the heaviest of the two anchors carried in the bow of a ship. The bower anchors were those used for anchoring under ordinary conditions of wind and sea.

⁶⁸ ADM I, vol. 2625, No. 438.

⁶⁹ Planks fitted snugly around the base of a mast, a hatch, or a capstan covering the opening in the decks.

⁷⁰ To splice a broken spar or mast by binding with splints and wedging firmly.

⁷¹ ADM I, vol. 2625, No. 438.

below decks and the *Loo* was not to leave Port Royal until December 30, when she began her last cruise.

While lying at Port Royal Utting continued active direction of the vessels under his command from the *Loo*. On November 18 he issued two orders to Captain Newman of the sloop *Spy*. The first directed Newman to watch for a vessel expected from Havana with prisoners of war which were being exchanged and, should he meet with her, "to take out thirty of the best seamen on board for the service of his Majesty's ship *Loo*."⁷²

The second order directed the captain of the *Spy* to keep close touch with Charleston to obtain intelligence of the expected declaration of war against France, and if hearing of such declaration to rendezvous with the *Loo*.⁷³

By Captain Ashby Utting, Commander
of his Majesty's Ship *Loo*

Whereas we are in dayly expectations to hear of the Declaration of a French War.

You are hereby required and directed when on your cruise to call as often of Charles Town, as you shall think convenient to get the best information you can. And when you find any certain intelligence of a French War being declared either by Publick or private letters. You are immediately to proceed and joyn me of the N W part of the Grand Bahama, and if not find me there to proceed of the Isaack Rocks and the Bominies and if not at either of those places to proceed of Cape Florida and the Martiars [Fla Keys]⁷⁴ where you are to cruise for me Ten days and if not find me in that time you are to proceed to Hinds Bluff one of the Burry Islands where you are to fill up your water and then proceed and cruise between the N W part of the Grand Bahamas and Cape Florida till you meet me or as long as your provisions will last; and then return to Port Royall where you are to compleat your water and provisions to three months and to proceed to sea, and cruise between that Port and Georgia till further orders. Given under my hand on board the said ship in Port Royall Harbour the 18th day of November 1743.

Ashby Utting

To Captain Newnham of his
Majesties Sloop *Spy*.

⁷² ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 426.

⁷³ ADM 2, vol. 2625, No. 426.

⁷⁴ Ponce de Leon named the Florida Keys "the Martyrs" because, he said, from the sea they bore a resemblance to the early Christian martyrs tied up on lines of stakes for execution. From 3 miles or so at sea the larger trees on the Keys indeed appear in long rows, the low-lying land of the Keys being out of sight over the horizon. In an age of Christian fervor, when religious significance was seen in every natural phenomenon, such an analogy would be the expected thing. The name "Martyrs" appeared on charts as late as the early 1800's.

On November 25 Captain Hamer of the *Flamborough* was also ordered to be on the lookout for the prisoner exchange ship expected from Havana, and to remove seamen for the *Loo*.⁷⁵

As work proceeded on repairing the storm damage to the rigging of the *Loo*, the carpenter discovered that the mainmast had been sprung in several places and reported to the Captain. Utting, on November 27, appointed the first and second lieutenants, the master,⁷⁶ the carpenter and the carpenter's mate to "take a strict and careful survey" of the mast and report its "exact condition" to him.⁷⁷ The survey board acted immediately and reported the same day that the mast had been severely sprung below decks and in their opinion was unfit for service.⁷⁸

For over a month the crew and officers turned to getting a mainmast cut and rigged, during which operations Warren Bolitha, the First Lieutenant of the *Loo*, broke three ribs, and on December 29, the day before the *Loo* sailed, he requested the captain to "let him go home in order to get cured."⁷⁹

While Utting was struggling to refit the *Loo's* damaged rigging, a letter arrived on December 14 from Capt. Charles Hardy of the *Rye* announcing that she, too, had sprung her mainmast. Utting immediately ordered Hardy to replace the mast "as soon as possible" and to return to his station off the Carolina coast. As a precaution against confusion on the part of the commanding officer of any ship that might relieve the *Rye* while the *Loo* was away on its expected cruise toward Cuba, Utting instructed Hardy to pass on his orders to his relief.⁸⁰

Meanwhile the *Flamborough* had been at sea and had fallen in with the ship that was bringing freed prisoners exchanged in Havana.⁸¹ On December 15 Utting ordered Captain Hamer to search out the *Spy*, which was then cruising off Charlestown Bar, and transfer to her, for transportation to the *Loo* at Port Royal, 30 of the seamen whom he had impressed, and then to proceed to cruise off Georgia, sending a boat to the Governor of that colony "for any intelligence he may have of any of the enemy's ships, or vessells being on that coast."⁸²

⁷⁵ ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 432.

⁷⁶ Warships of this period had an officer in charge of the active sailing of the ship known as the Master.

⁷⁷ ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 433.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 431.

⁸⁰ ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 430.

⁸¹ Among them, John Manley and Henry Spencer, who were to play a fateful part in the subsequent events. (ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 446.)

⁸² ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 434.

At the same time he ordered the *Spy* to take aboard the 30 seamen from the *Flamborough* and then to cruise off Port Royal Bar and join the *Loo* when she came out.⁸³

On December 22, Utting ordered Captain Ward of the ship *Tartar*, which had arrived to relieve the *Rye*,⁸⁴ to cruise on the Carolina and Georgia coasts on the *Rye's* old station.⁸⁵

Finally, on December 30, work on the *Loo* having been completed and the winds and tide favorable, the ship crossed the bar at Port Royal and began her last cruise. In a final letter to the Admiralty before the ship weighed anchor, Utting explained the long delay occasioned by damage the *Loo* had received in the storm off Charleston October 16-20, which he had underestimated in his letter to the Admiralty dated November 12, 1743, at Port Royal Harbor. He reported that it had taken him more than a month to get a new mast cut, partially seasoned, and rigged⁸⁶ and took occasion to point out again to the Lords of the Admiralty the desirability of cutting several trees and seasoning them as a reserve to be used for the manufacture of masts or yards in the event of further damage to the ships under his command.

At the same time Utting reported that he had relieved his first lieutenant, Mr. Bolitha, because of his injury, so that he could return home to England, and had promoted his second lieutenant and third lieutenant each one grade, then filling the vacancy left by the third lieutenant by the appointment of one William Lloyd whom he described as "a young gentm. well qualified for Preferment in his Maj's. service."⁸⁷

After this last word from Utting, the *Loo* sailed to her station in the Florida Straits and began cruising against Spanish shipping.

The morning of Saturday, February 4, 1744, found her cruising in the Straits off Havana. Around 8 o'clock in the morning a sail was sighted, and the *Loo* gave chase. As the stranger was neared, two seamen of the *Loo*, John Manley and Henry Spencer, who had been in the group of prisoners exchanged from Havana, informed Utting that they recognized the ship as the *Billander Betty* on which they had served. They told Captain Utting that while on a voyage in the

⁸³ ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 427.

⁸⁴ Captain Newman of the *Rye* had been directed to convoy merchant ships to England from Charlestown in an order dated September 23, which was sent out by the *Tartar*. (ADM 2, vol. 60, p. 270.)

⁸⁵ ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 429.

⁸⁶ ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 424.

⁸⁷ ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 424.

Betty (Capt. John Eades) from England to the Isle of May⁸⁸ and South Carolina they had been captured by a Spanish vessel off the coast of South Carolina. The Spanish put aboard a prize crew and sent the *Betty* on to Havana, but the Spanish vessel herself was lost in returning to Havana. While prisoners in Havana, Manley and Spencer had heard that the *Betty* had been converted to a "snow" and was to make a voyage to Campeche. About noon, when the *Loo* came alongside her chase, Utting sent an officer to examine the stranger's papers. Upon hearing that the master of the quarry could show only a common receipt, Utting decided to seize the ship for the proprietors of South Carolina and send her to Charleston.

Before sending her off, however, Utting requested that an "Irish gentleman" on the snow be brought aboard the *Loo* for questioning. Before this gentleman left the snow, he was seen to throw a large oil-skin packet overboard. A boat from the *Loo* retrieved the packet and Utting discovered that it contained papers in French and Spanish. At this, he decided to take the prize in, with the *Loo* as escort.

The examination of the prize had taken the entire afternoon, and when the *Loo* set sail with her charge it was 6 p.m. and growing dark. The "Pan of Matanzas" (fig. 1), a flat-topped mountain behind Matanzas Bay on the coast of Cuba, bore south by east at a distance of 18 to 21 miles.⁸⁹ Taking his fix on the mountain, Utting set sail and ordered a course northeast by north, the wind coming from the southeast. This course was kept until midnight, when Utting, believing that he was clear of the Double Headed Shot Key in the western end of the Salt Key Bank, instructed Randell, the first lieutenant and officer of the off-going watch, to alter the course to northeast and went below to his cabin to rest, having been continuously on deck since early morning.⁹⁰

Shortly after, Randell was relieved of the watch by Robert Bishop, the master. Randell relayed these instructions to Bishop, reminding him to have the deep-sea lead line cast every half hour,⁹¹ and went

⁸⁸ "Maio" in the Cape Verde group occupied until the end of the eighteenth century by the English, who claimed a right to the island under the marriage treaty between Charles II and Catherine of Braganza of Portugal. The English occupation is recalled in the name "English Road," which the port of Nossa Senhora de Luz is sometimes called.

⁸⁹ The bearing and the distance to the Pan of Matanzas were given by Lt. James Randell in his deposition to the court martial that tried Captain Utting. (ADM 1, vol. 5283.)

⁹⁰ Utting's letter of February 15, 1744. (ADM 1, vol. 2625. (See Appendix B.))

⁹¹ Bishop's deposition at the court martial. (ADM 1, vol. 5283.)

below. Nothing to arouse the suspicion of Utting or Randell had been seen during the latter's watch. The night was dark and cloudy, with visibility not over a quarter of a mile.⁹²

At 12:30 a.m. and again at 1:00 the deep-sea lead line was cast according to orders, and no bottom was found at 300 feet. At about 1:15 Bishop sent the lead-line crew to the side to clear the line for heaving and followed them to the gunwhale himself to see to this. To his great surprise he found the ship in "white water" and saw breakers ahead. He instantly "ordered the helm alee" and sent a message down to Captain Utting⁹³ to call him on deck. As Utting rushed on deck he found the ship coming about into the wind and away from the reef on which the breakers were rolling. As the ship veered off the wind the head sails were caught across wind and the ship struck the reef



FIG. 1.—The Pan of Matanzas from a vignette appearing on an English chart dated 1794.

aft.⁹⁴ At this the mainsail was set "in order to press her off," and Utting ordered a boat out to sound around the ship.⁹⁵ The officers and men off watch and sleeping below were awakened by the shock of the ship striking the reef. John Vivian, the carpenter, rushed aft, whence the shock had come, and found the tiller broken off. He reported this to Utting just as another swell caught the ship and broke off the rudder, at which she began shipping water in the hold. Utting ordered all pumps manned, and the water in the hold began to fall, but as the crew was getting out the boats "three or four severe seas" crushed the ship against the reef and she began sinking rapidly.⁹⁶

When it became apparent that the ship could not be saved, Captain Utting ordered Mr. Bishop and Gunner Samuel Kirk to save as much

⁹² Deposition of John Randolph, master's mate, at the court martial of Captain Utting. (ADM 1, vol. 5283.)

⁹³ Bishop's deposition. (ADM 1, vol. 5283.)

⁹⁴ Utting's letter of February 15, 1744.

⁹⁵ Bishop's deposition. (ADM 1, vol. 5283.)

⁹⁶ Utting's letter of February 15, 1744.

of the bread and gunpowder as possible before the water rising in the hold ruined it. Bishop was able to save 20 bags of bread before the water forced him from the breadroom, and by the efforts of Gunner Kirk 6 barrels of gunpowder were saved.

The prize, which had struck the reef just after the *Loo*, was rolling and pounding herself to pieces on the coast and, in order to save the men aboard her, Utting ordered her masts cut away and her guns and

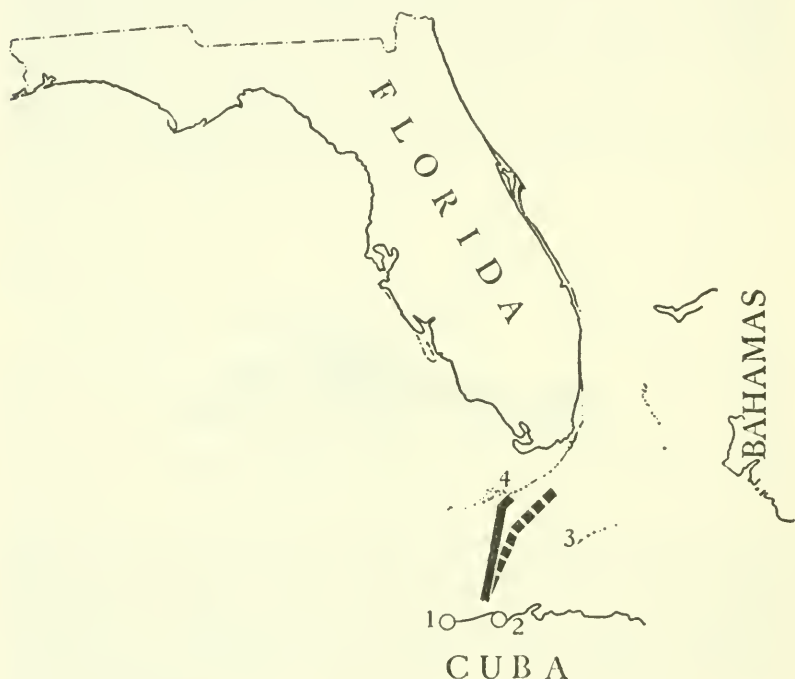


FIG. 2.—Map of the Florida Straits, showing the course of the last cruise of the *Loo*. 1, Havana. 2, Pan of Matanzas. 3, Double Headed Shot Key. Dotted line, Captain Utting's intended course. Solid line, actual course of the *Loo*.

anchors thrown overboard. After this she lay more quietly in the swell and her men were saved.

With the coming of daylight Utting and his officers saw with great surprise that they were ashore on a "small sandy Key about $1\frac{1}{2}$ cables⁹⁷ length long and $\frac{1}{2}$ broad which lay on the edge of the Bank of the Martiers 3 leagues⁹⁸ without them."⁹⁹ (See fig. 2.)

At no time since the ship had struck had the pilots or officers

⁹⁷ A cable was 600 feet.

⁹⁸ A league was 3 nautical miles.

⁹⁹ Utting's letter of February 15, 1744.

doubted that they were aground on Double Head Shot since, under normal circumstances, the course that they had steered could not have carried them to the Florida Keys. Utting sent Lieutenant Randell ashore to see if fresh water was to be had there, but he found none.¹⁰⁰ As full daylight came Utting landed all the men from the *Loo* and the prize with the exception of a few who were employed in cutting holes in the frigate's deck to recover casks of water and such other supplies as could be saved. At about 10 o'clock, to Utting's great joy, a sloop was sighted offshore and a signal was made to her, but the sloop stood out to the northwestward.¹⁰¹ The captain immediately armed all the boats and with Lieutenant Randell and Mr. Bishop in command sent them in pursuit, instructing them to exert every effort to bring the sloop in, since it probably would be their only chance of succor.

The desperate situation of the group was evident to all. Here were some 280 men stranded on a small sandy islet just off a hostile coast swarming with the savage Caloosa Indians who murdered Englishmen on sight.¹⁰²

To add to the insecurity was the evident fact that in a blow of any force the whole islet would be swept by waves.

At night Utting posted watches, each consisting of 25 marines and 25 sailors, around the island at the water's edge as "centenells" to prevent a surprise night attack from the Caloosas "the Indians having numbers of canoes."¹⁰³

The next morning (Monday) as daylight came, Utting and the men ashore were overjoyed to see the boats bringing in the sloop. As they came ashore Randell and Bishop reported that on the approach of the armed boats the Spanish crew had abandoned the sloop and were no doubt now headed for Havana in their boat.

Meanwhile the men, frightened and confused, became "very rebellious and mutinous dividing into parties and growling amongst themselves,"¹⁰⁴ claiming that the officers no longer had authority over them, and clamored to leave the island immediately. Utting took no notice of them but, with the men who would work, continued efforts to recover water and other provisions from the wreck.

All day Tuesday was spent in getting water casks from the *Loo*'s hold and in getting the sloop and boats ready for the escape. The

¹⁰⁰ Randell's deposition.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Spaniards fared a little better, as the Caloosas knew they could be ransomed.

¹⁰³ Utting's letter of February 15, 1744.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

capacity and safety of the longboat were increased by adding planks to the gunwhales, giving her a higher freeboard and decreasing the chances of shipping water in a seaway while heavily loaded. Thus altered, the boat was able to carry 60 men.¹⁰⁵

At about noon the next day, Wednesday, February 8, all the men were embarked—60 in the altered longboat, 10 in the yawl,¹⁰⁶ 184 “in the little Sloop not 30 tuns”¹⁰⁷ and 20 in the captain’s barge. Utting sent the sloop, the longboat, and the yawl 3 or 4 miles offshore while he remained behind with the men detailed to the barge and laid most of the gunpowder which had been saved and some other fuel along the starboard gun deck of the *Loo*, the only deck remaining above water. By 2 o’clock all the preparations were completed and Utting fired the ship. As they rowed away the ship blazed to the top of her masts and blew up “in several places and was in flames fore and aft.”¹⁰⁸ The burning ship was visible until sunset and while her hull was completely destroyed, Utting feared that the Spaniards would return and salvage her guns and anchors, since intelligence of the *Loo*’s end would be communicated to the Spanish in Havana by the escaped crew of the sloop.

Utting’s plight was still grave, since the sloop was very much overloaded and would have capsized in a blow. He placed First Lieutenant Randell and Third Lieutenant Lloyd in charge of the longboat, his Sailing Master Bishop was given command of the barge and “a mate” assigned to the yawl. Utting remained in command of the sloop. The motley fleet set a course for the Bahamas, the boats being ordered “in case of separation to make the best of their way over to the Bahama Bank for Providence.”¹⁰⁹

That night Utting carried a light to guide the boats, but they outsailed the overloaded sloop and at midnight were lost from sight when Utting had to tack and stand to the northward after signaling his change of course with the light. At daybreak the boats were gone, and Utting, feeling that they were bound for Providence and being unable to set sail for an easterly course, set a course for South Carolina. In his report to the Admiralty he summed up the desperate situation in which he found himself with the overloaded sloop: “it blowing fresh and the sloop top heavy with men could not carry sail so obliged to

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ A heavy double-ended rowboat.

¹⁰⁷ Utting’s letter of February 15, 1744.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Providence had been settled in the seventeenth century.

bear away and take my fate through the Gulph of Florida¹¹⁰ for any port of Carolina even for St. Augustine (if I could fetch nowhere else) rather than all be drowned which Doe assure you had very little other prospect."¹¹¹

The fair weather continued and the overloaded sloop arrived in Port Royal harbor (pl. 17) on the night of February 13. Utting and the men were worn out from physical and mental strain, all realizing that their escape from capture or drowning was just short of miraculous.

Upon his arrival at Port Royal Utting began immediate steps to assemble evidence to protect himself in the court martial that he had to face for the loss of the *Loo*. His first step was to send one of his pilots, William Lyford, to the town of Beaufort 6 miles north of Port Royal to give a deposition before Robert Thorpe, justice of the peace. In the deposition Lyford stated that in his opinion the course the *Loo* had steered before she ran aground "was the best through the Gulph (and is generally allowed so to be) and was then of the opinion that such course would carry the said ship nearer the Bahama shore than the Florida; and this deponent further deponeth and makes oath, that he is well acquainted with the Gulph of Florida having used it these thirty years past."¹¹²

Eight days later, on February 21, Utting was in Charleston starting proceedings to prove that the prize which he had taken was a legal one. John Manley and Henry Spencer, the two seamen who had recognized the prize as their former ship, appeared before James Grome, judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty of the Province of South Carolina, and swore under oath that the prize was the former *Billander Betty*, and that while on a voyage from England to the Isle of May and South Carolina, it had been captured off the coast of South Carolina on April 9, 1743—

by a Spanish vessell bound from the Havannah to St. Augustine with about sixty or more soldiers on board, that the said vessell not being able to make St. Augustine return'd to the Havannah and in her passage was cast away, that the *Billander* so taken as aforesaid was carried to the Havannah and was there converted into a *Snow* and intended on a voyage to Campeachee but afterwards these Deponents hear'd that she was bound for the Mississippi.

That these Deponents came to this province with the Flag of France and were press'd on Board his Majestys Ship the *Loo* under the command of Capt. Ashby Utting, that on a cruise in the said ship they met with a *Snow* which these Deponents very well knew to be the *Billander Betty* taken as aforesaid

¹¹⁰ The Gulf Stream would carry him northward.

¹¹¹ Utting's letter of February 15, 1744.

¹¹² Deposition accompanying Captain Utting's letter of February 15, 1744.

by the Spaniards and converted into a Snow that the said Snow was taken by the *Loo* about a fourthnight ago, viz the 5th of this instant February and cast away with the said Man of War about nine leagues to the westward of Cape Florida.¹¹³

On March 6, as the hearing proceeded, this deposition was introduced to the Court of Vice Admiralty as "Exhibit Marked I" and undoubtedly had a great influence in the outcome of the case in Utting's favor.

By March 12 the proceedings in the Vice Admiralty Court seem to have been concluded. Utting had only to wait for the return of his officers from the Bahamas, and then a warship for transportation to England if his court martial could not be held in America.¹¹⁴

The loss of the *Loo* had immediate repercussions in the colony of South Carolina, and on the same day the case in court was concluded, the Governor, James Glen, wrote a lengthy letter to the Lords of Trade in which he indicated the fears of invasion which had swept the southern frontier of the colony:

After writing so lately by Captain Hardy,¹¹⁵ I had not so soon troubled your Lordships with another letter, but the loss of his Majestys Ship the *Loo* makes it my duty; this unlucky accident happened the fifth of February about one in the Morning, by her running on some rocks called the Martyres to the South West of Cape Florida.

. . . my principal concern is to express to your Lordships how sensibly that loss affects this province. The long neglected Town of Beauford, upon the arrival of this Ship, and the assurances given that another would be sent out, began to revive, and many good houses were built, and many grants for Town Lotts were applyed for, so that I am persuaded that Town and the adjacent Country, would soon have been well settled, and consequently our Southern Frontier, where we are most vulnerable, would have been strengthened, but now I receive letters and petitions dayly from the best People in those parts, representing their fears and the dangers to which they are exposed, and everything is at a stand, tho' I have stationed one of our gallys (a very fine small vessel) there, I have likewise desired the Captains of the Man of War on this station, to keep a particular eye upon that Port, in their Cruizes along our coast.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Copies of papers relating to the proceedings of the Court of Vice Admiralty sent by Captain Utting to Thomas Corbett after his return to England (ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 455.)

¹¹⁴ Utting and his wife had been residents of South Carolina several years. The wait for transportation to England was probably not too burdensome to Utting.

¹¹⁵ Of the *Rye*, which had sailed for England a short time before Utting reached Port Royal.

¹¹⁶ Letter of James Glen dated March 12, 1743/44. Colonial Office original correspondence, CO5, vol. 370, pp. 141-142, Public Record Office, London.

He then went on to point out the suitability of Port Royal as a harbor and its strategic location in relation to the Florida Straits and the Spanish trade routes:

And as most of the trade and treasure of France and Spain must come through the Gulf of Florida, where can it be so properly waited for as here, where a few great ships stationed, to cruize betwixt this and Cape Florida, a very easy navigation, must become masters of everything.¹¹⁷

The Governor reported that Captain Dansant, captain of the *Loo's* prize, would be sent off without being permitted to see the fortifications of Charleston, and "The forty-four marines belonging to the *Loo*," he stated, were being "lodged at the expense of this government and shall be well taken care of."¹¹⁸ The sailors were no doubt taken into the other ships present on the station, the Governor not mentioning them.

Governor Glen spoke a good word for Captain Utting with the Lords of Trade, describing him as "a Gentleman who by a long residence in this Province, has established a character amongst all ranks of people here, for strict honors and veracity, as well as for his care, diligence, and knowledge, as an officer."¹¹⁹

Early in April Utting and his officers, who had arrived from the Bahamas, sailed for England and arrived there late on the night of May 24. The next day Utting reported his arrival to the Admiralty and requested an early court martial for the loss of the *Loo*. (See fig. 3.)

Six days later, May 31, the court of 12 captains sat on board the ship-of-the-line *Sandwich* with Vice Admiral James Steuart presiding. After a consideration of the depositions and testimony of Utting and his officers the Court was "unanimously of the opinion that Capⁿ. Utting and his several officers did in no wise contribute to her going ashore, but that it was owing to some unknown accident, it appearing to the Court, that the course the ship steered was a good one, and must have carried her thro the Gulph of Florida, with all safety had not some unusual current rendered the said course ineffectual."¹²⁰

On June 6 the Lords of the Admiralty ordered the Navy Board to procure funds from the Treasury and pay the officers and men of the *Loo* through the day she was lost. On August 10, 1744, the officers and men gathered on Broad Street in London and were paid the 1,510

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Report of Court Martial dated June 1, 1744, Admiralty In-Letters, ADM 1, vol. 5283.

Sir

Please to Acquaint their Lordships
What I arriv'd here late last night, from So
Carolina; wth my two Swords Master, Gunner
Bootsman, Carpenter, Purser, & one of the
Mates, wth Second Lieut. & wth other mates, being
arriv'd about a month since; the Ships
Company, & Petty Officers, are distributed
amongst wth most Ships, w^{ch} are bound for
Eng^l. Except about 20 w^{ch} are gon on board
The men a war their wth Mates wth their
Officers left at Carolina: w^{ch} Officer being of the
Opinion he could not proceed, wth out further
Orders from his Com^{ds}. I should have come
from Carolina sooner, but at my ^{Officers} wth release
at Providence, was not come to Carolina
I thought it my Duty to stay to collect
them together & bring them home wth me.
w^{ch} I hope their Lordships will approve

I do beg you'll please to move their Lord-
ships, for an Order, for a Court martial for
The Loss of his Maj^{ty}: Ship *Loo*. w^{ch} her
Under my Command.

May 24. 1744

Yours
Ours

U

Your most Obed^t Serv^t

The Hon^{ble} The Govern^r of the

Ashby Utting

FIG. 3.—Letter of Capt. Ashby Utting to the Secretary of the Admiralty reporting his arrival in England May 24, 1744, to stand trial by court martial for the loss of the *Loo*. (Photostat from the Public Record Office, London.)

pounds 4 shillings 11 pence due them after deductions of 1,121 pounds 4 shillings 11 pence for tobacco, clothing, hospital fund, pay advances, etc. James Compton, Captain, Royal Navy, a Navy Commissioner, kept an eye on the proceedings while navy clerks Stephen Mercer and Philip Stephens and treasury clerks John Wilson and Thomas Vaughn checked the pay list and disbursed the money.¹²¹

After his acquittal Utting attended the Secretary of the Admiralty frequently while waiting for an answer to his request for another command. On June 12 he discussed with the secretary the possibility of getting command of the *Mary Galley* and the next day advised Corbett that several of the men and petty officers of the *Loo* desired to ship with him on his next cruise. He also reminded Corbett of the desirability of his return to the Carolina station since his wife was there.¹²²

On July 7, 1744, a commission was issued giving Utting command of the *Gosport*.¹²³ While fitting out his new ship, Utting continued to hope that he would be able to get orders to return to the Carolinas. No one knew better than he the danger of invasion to which the colony was exposed through the loss of the *Loo*, and he was anxious for the safety of Mrs. Utting, who was at Port Royal. His fears were multiplied when, on August 10, he received a letter from his wife, dated July 5, in which she reported that the settlements south of Charleston had been evacuated because of fear of an invasion and that she was a refugee in the provincial capital. Utting's patience reached the breaking point as he pleaded for orders to America: "This is a very shocking affair both to her and me and beg for God's sake you'll be so good to use your interest with Lord Winchelsea¹²⁴ to git me to some part of America."¹²⁵

The exigencies of war, however, outweighed the personal problems of Utting, and he was ordered to the Baltic to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to Elsinore, Denmark, and Bergen, Norway.

On October 13 Utting was back in England with the convoy from Bergen. The next month he took a convoy to Ostend, leaving on the 15th and returning to England on the 24th, assuming command of the *Aldborough* sometime between his return and November 29 under a commission dated November 7.¹²⁶ Utting's wish to return to South

¹²¹ *Loo's* pay list dated Aug. 10, 1744, Admiralty Ships Pay Books, Treasurers Series I, ADM 33, No. 352.

¹²² Admiralty In-Letters, ADM 1, vol. 2267.

¹²³ AD 6/16, Commission and Warrant Book, 1743-1745, p. 335.

¹²⁴ First Lord of the Admiralty.

¹²⁵ ADM 1, vol. 2625, No. 477.

¹²⁶ AD 6/16, Commission and Warrant Book, 1743-1745, p. 380.

Carolina was realized shortly after, when he was ordered to escort a convoy to America and assume his former command as senior officer present at Charleston. On March 26, 1745, he arrived at his old station and began the direction of naval operations off the Carolinas. The threat from the Spanish was still real, and naval patrols were necessary to prevent surprise attacks on the coastal settlements.

Sickness plagued the *Alborough* and Utting was unable to keep the sea as he should have. Enemy privateers arrived off the coasts of Carolina and Georgia, and the captain was at his wit's end to protect the coastal settlements from Fredrica, in Georgia, to Charleston with his little squadron. As a result some discontented merchants in Charleston complained to the Carolina proprietors that Utting was not doing his duty. These complaints seem to have been unjustified, for the Governor, Council, and several principal merchants refused to sign them. Thus misfortune harassed Utting during his last cruise until early in January 1746, when he died on board the *Alborough* in Rebellion Road, Charleston, just after returning from a patrol off the coast.

On April 18, 1744, while Utting was on the high seas returning to face a court martial for the loss of the *Loo*, the Lords of the Admiralty had ordered the Navy Board to "cause a new ship of forty-four guns to be built in the room of the Looe lately lost near the Gulph of Florida."¹²⁷ Today the name "Looe" is perpetuated by the submerged reef lying off the central Florida Keys, visited by occasional fishermen who must wonder at the strange name it bears, never dreaming that the quiet little reef was once the scene of as dramatic a story of shipwreck and rescue as can be found in the annals of the English colonies in America.

¹²⁷ Admiralty Out-Letters, ADM 2, vol. 205, p. 344.

APPENDIX A

EXTRACTS FROM THE NAVY LIST RELATING TO THE "LOO"

<i>Period</i>	<i>Duty</i>
April 1, 1707–May 31, 1707	"Longreach taking in Guns"
June 1, 1707–June 30, 1707	"Going to Archangell"
July 1, 1707–September 30, 1707	"Gon to Archangell"
October 1, 1707–October 31, 1707	"Arch-Angell"
November 1, 1707–November 30, 1707	"Returned with the Russia ships to Grimsby"
December 1, 1707–January 31, 1708	"Sheerness (fitting for Newfoundland)"
February 1, 1708–March 31, 1708	"Downes for Newfoundland"
April 1, 1708–April 30, 1708	"for Newfoundland"
May 1, 1708–July 31, 1708	"Gon to Newfoundland"
August 1, 1708–February 28, 1709	"at Newfoundland"
March 1, 1709–July 31, 1709	"coming convoy from Newfoundland"
August 1, 1709–September 30, 1709	"Coming convoy from Lisbon but last from Newfoundland"
October 1, 1709–October 31, 1709	"Sheerness—refitting"
November 1, 1709–November 30, 1709	"Sailed to Join the Tilbury Etc. at Goree and when she returns to join the Gosport and Strombolo between Dover and Beachy"
December 1, 1709–December 31, 1709	"Downes ordered to cruize between Dover and Beachy head" ¹
January 1, 1710–January 31, 1710	". . . Dover and Beachy head"
February 1, 1710–February 30, 1710	"Cruizing between Dover and Beachy head"
March 1, 1710–March 31, 1710	"Holland—ordered to cruize between Dover and Beachy Head"
April 1, 1710–April 30, 1710	"Holland, to come to the Downs"
May 1, 1710–May 31, 1710	"Dunkirke Squadron" "Sailed to Cruize on ye French Coast between Cape Barfleur and Harve de Grace"
June 1, 1710–June 30, 1710	"Dunkirke Squadron" "Margate Roads ord. to Holland with the yachts and bring the Queen's wine to the Nore"
July 1, 1710–July 31, 1710	"Dunkirke Squadron" "Holland ord. to bring the Queen's wine to the Nore"
August 1, 1710–September 30, 1710	"Gone Convoy to the East Country"
October 1, 1712–October 31, 1712	"At the Nore"
November 1, 1710–December 31, 1710	"Sheerness Refitting"
January 1, 1711–January 31, 1711	"Downes ordered to Scarboro to bring a ship to the Nore"

¹ Navy List, January 1, 1707–December 31, 1709, ADM 8/10.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Duty</i>
February 1, 1711–February 28, 1711	"Spithead, ordered to the Downes"
March 1, 1711–March 31, 1711	"In Holland to return to the Downes"
April 1, 1711–April 30, 1711	"In Holland to bring the Queen's wine to the Nore"
May 1, 1711–May 31, 1711	"Sheerness, ordered to the Downes"
June 1, 1711–June 30, 1711	"Ously Bay, for Russia"
July 1, 1711–September 30, 1711	"Gone Convoy to Russia"
October 1, 1711–October 31, 1711	"Coming from Russia, the 1st Convoy"
November 1, 1711–November 30, 1711	"at the Nore"
December 1, 1711–December 31, 1711	"Sheerness refitting" ²
January 1, 1712–March 4, 1712	(No record found)
March 5, 1712–June 30, 1712	"Convoy between Folmouth and Spithead"
July 1, 1712–July 31, 1712	"Cruizing for the homeward bound Virginia ships"
August 1, 1712–September 30, 1712	"Cruising off the Orcades for the homeward bound Virginia ships"
October 1, 1712–October 31, 1712	"Nore, ordered to the Downes"
November 1, 1712–November 30, 1712	"Downs, ordered to Bayonne with the Transports"
December 1, 1712–December 31, 1712	"Gone to Bayonne with transports for soldiers"
January 1, 1713–January 31, 1713	"Gone to Bayonne for some prisoners of war"
February 1, 1713–February 28, 1713	"Coming from Kinsale to Plyo. to fit and repair to Spithead"
March 1, 1713–March 31, 1713	"Kinsale, ordered to Plymo. to fit and repair to Spithead"
April 1, 1713–May 31, 1713	"Plymouth refitting and ordered to Spithead"
June 1, 1713–June 30, 1713	"Spithead, ord. ^d to Guernsey and Jersey for some disbanded men of Mordaunts Regiment."
July 1, 1713–July 31, 1713	"Gone to Gurnsey and Jersey for some disbanded soldiers"
August 1, 1713–September 30, 1713	"Spithead cruizing between Start and the Isle of Wight"
October 1, 1713–October 31, 1713	"At Portsmouth to fit and cruiz between ye Start and the Isle of Wight"
November 1, 1713–December 31, 1713	"To intercept the traders cruizing between Start and the Isle of Wight" ³

² Ibid., January 1, 1710–December 31, 1711, ADM 8/11.

³ Ibid., March 5, 1712–December 31, 1713, ADM 8/12. Constant patrol of these waters was maintained in an effort to prevent the smuggling of wool from Britain to the Continent, the export of raw wool being absolutely forbidden at this time.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Duty</i>
January 1, 1714–March 31, 1714	"To intercept the traders cruising between the Start and the Isle of Wight"
April 1, 1714–April 30, 1714	"At Portsmouth fitting and then returns to her station"
May 1, 1714–June 30, 1714	"In the Downes going to Port Mahon with a storeship."
July 1, 1714–September 30, 1714	"Gone to Port Mahon with a storeship"
October 1, 1714–October 31, 1714	"Coming from Port Mahon"
November 1, 1714–December 31, 1714	"At Shearness refitting" ⁴
January 1, 1715–January 31, 1715	"ordered to be laid up and paid off"
February 1, 1715–March 14, 1717	(Not in service)
April 1, 1717–October 31, 1717	"Baltick Squadron"
	"Hosp. Ship Looe"
November 1, 1717–December 31, 1717	"To be paid off and laid up . . . Depford"
January 1, 1718–March 25, 1718	(Laid up)
March 26, 1718–March 31, 1719	"Hosp. Ship Looe"
	"Mediterranean Squadron"
April 1, 1719–April 30, 1719	"Looe . . . 125 men 30 guns" (refitted as warship?) "Mediterranean Squadron"
May 1, 1719–December 31, 1720	"Mediterranean Squadron"
January 1, 1721–April 30, 1721	"Port Mahon" ⁵
May 1, 1721–January 31, 1722	"In the Mediterranean"
February 1, 1722–May 31, 1722	"Ordered home from Mediterranean"
June 1, 1722–August 31, 1722	(Lists missing)
September 1, 1722–December 31, 1725	(Not in lists, laid up) ⁶
January 1, 1726–January 10, 1728	(Laid up)
January 11, 1728–March 31, 1728	"At Woolwich"
April 1, 1728–April 30, 1728	"At Longreach"
May 1, 1728–July 31, 1728	"Nore"
August 1, 1728–December 31, 1728	"Downes to examine ships" ⁷
January 1, 1729–January 31, 1729	"Woolwich, not sheathed"
February 1, 1729–April 1, 1729	(Laid up)
April 2, 1729–May 31, 1729	"Woolwich fitting for Channel Service"
June 1, 1729–July 31, 1729	"Downes"
August 1, 1729–August 31, 1729	"Downes—Channel"
September 1, 1729–September 30, 1729	"At Diep ordered to Spithead"
October 1, 1729–December 31, 1729	"At Spithead"
January 1, 1730–March 31, 1730	"Portsmouth Harbour"
April 1, 1730–April 30, 1730	"Portsmouth Harbour, refitting for Channel service"

⁴ Ibid., January 1, 1714–December 1, 1714, ADM 8/13.

⁵ Ibid., January 1, 1715–April 30, 1721, ADM 8/14.

⁶ Ibid., May 1, 1721–December 31, 1725, ADM 8/15.

⁷ Ibid., January 1, 1726–December 31, 1728, ADM 8/16.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Duty</i>
May 1, 1730–May 31, 1730	"Spithead—Channel"
June 1, 1730–June 30, 1730	"Gone with the money and clerks to Plymouth"
July 1, 1730–July 31, 1730	"Ordered to fitt for Gibraltar, Spithead"
August 1, 1730–October 31, 1730	"Gone to Gibraltar as convoy to the transports"
November 1, 1730–January 31, 1731	"To remain in the Mediterranean"
February 1, 1731–May 31, 1731	"Cruizing on the Coast of Barbary"
June 1, 1731–July 31, 1731	"Cruizing on the Coast of Sallee"
August 1, 1731–August 31, 1731	"Ordered Home" "From the Coast of Sallee"
September 1, 1731–November 30, 1731	"Portsmouth refitting for Channel Service"
December 1, 1731–December 31, 1731	"Stationed between the Start and the Isle of Wight"
January 1, 1732–January 31, 1732	"Stationed between the Start and the Isle of Wight"
February 1, 1732–February 28, 1732	"Ordered to the Downes" ⁸
March 1, 1732–March 31, 1732	"Start and Isle of Wight"
April 1, 1732–April 30, 1732	"Portsmouth, ordered to Plymouth"
May 1, 1732–May 31, 1732	"At Spithead, Channel Service"
June 1, 1732–December 31, 1734	"Gone to Plymouth with money and clerks"
January 1, 1735–May 4, 1735	"Nore"
May 5, 1735–June 30, 1735	(Not listed, laid up) ⁹
July 1, 1735–July 31, 1735	(Not listed, laid up)
August 1, 1735–August 31, 1735	"Sheerness, fitting for the Channel"
September 1, 1735–October 31, 1735	(Again as a hospital ship)
November 1, 1735–April 30, 1737	"At the Nore"
May 1, 1737–May 31, 1737	"At Spithead"
June 1, 1737–December 31, 1739	"Gone to Lisbon with Sir John Norris"
January 1, 1740–December 31, 1741	"At Lisbon"
January 1, 1742–January 3, 1742	"To be paid off"
January 4, 1742–April 30, 1742	(Not listed, laid up) ¹⁰
May 1, 1742–May 31, 1742	(Not listed, laid up) ¹¹
June 1, 1742–June 30, 1742	(Laid up)
July 1, 1742–July 31, 1742	"Loo, 44 guns . . . Earl of Northesk Commander, Depford fitting for Channel Service"
August 1, 1742–August 31, 1742	"At the Nore to convoy transports from the Downes to Spithead"
September 1, 1742–September 30, 1742	"At Portsmouth refitting for channel service"

⁸ Ibid., January 1, 1729–December 31, 1731, ADM 8/17.

⁹ Ibid., January 1, 1732–December 31, 1734, ADM 8/18.

¹⁰ Ibid., January 1, 1735–December 31, 1739, ADM 8/19 and 8/20.

¹¹ Ibid., January 1, 1740–December 31, 1741, ADM 8/21.

July 1, 1742–August 31, 1742	"Cruizing 50 leagues off Capte Finis-terre"
September 1, 1742–September 30, 1742	"Plymouth refitting for Channel Service"
October 1, 1742–October 31, 1742	"In St. George's Channel for 3 weeks"
November 1, 1742–November 30, 1742	"Plymouth"
December 1, 1742–December 31, 1742	"Spithead to clean at Portsmouth"
January 1, 1743–March 31, 1743	"Portsmouth to cruize from 30 to 50 lgs. W.S.W. of Cape Clear for 6 weeks"
April 1, 1743–April 30, 1743	"Plymouth, refitting for channel service"
May 1, 1743–May 31, 1743	"To cruize between Bibao and St. Jean de Luz, to intercept some Caracca ships expected at St. Sebastian . . . to cruize 6 weeks on the Station"
June 1, 1743–June 30, 1743	"Cruizing between Bilbao and St. Jean de Luz to intercept some Caracca ships expected at St. Sebastian . . ."
July 1, 1743–July 31, 1743	"Portsmouth refitting for North America"
August 1, 1743–August 31, 1743	"To attend on So. Carolina"
September 1, 1743–April 30, 1744	"South Carolina"
May 1, 1744–	(No entry. ¹² The <i>Loo</i> had been lost February 5, 1744. Word apparently did not reach the Admiralty clerk keeping the navy lists until sometime in April. Entries of the location of ships were made on the first day of the month.)

¹² Ibid., January 1, 1742–May 1, 1744, ADM 8/22, 8/23, and 8/24.

APPENDIX B

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN ASHBY UTTING TO THE ADMIRALTY REPORTING THE LOSS OF THE "LOO"

Port Royall

15th February, 1744.

I am extremely sorry this should be the messenger of such disagreeable news as the loss of H.M.S. Loo.

Will you please acquaint their Lordships that on the 4th day of February I was cruising on the station 8 leagues from the Cape of Florida when about 8 in the morning I saw a sail which I gave chase to and about noon spoke with her, she being an English "Snow"¹ from Havannah and Missippy, but sailed by Frenchmen and two Spaniards, one that had been lately taken from the English and carried into Havannah. I having two men on board which was taken in her and the master having no copy of the condemnation and nothing to show for the sale but a common receipt. I seized her for the proprietors and was designed to send her into Charlestown but at the same time an Irish gentleman, a merchant that I had sent for on board, heaved a large packet overboard, which my boat took up and when opened found it full of French and Spanish papers, I then determined to see her in myself and also took her in tow. By the time I made sail it was 6 in the evening at which time the Pan of Mattances² bore S b E, the wind being SE. I steered NE b N till 12 at night by which time I was well assured I was got to the northward of the double Head Shott,³ then hauled up NE. Till this time I was on deck myself and when thought I was passed all danger went and sat down in the cabin (as Doe assure you I did not go to bed one night in six of the time I was cruising here).

At a $\frac{1}{4}$ past one in the morning, the officer of the watch sent down to let me know he was in the middle of brakers and must Doe him the justice to say he behaved like an exceedingly good officer for before I was got upon deck which could not be ten moments, he had put the helm a Lee and the ship was at stays,⁴ just as we hauled the main top sail the ship struck abaft but she pay'd off so far as to haul the head sails,⁵ when the Captain⁶ came and told me the tiller

¹ A brig having a small trysail mast set astern of the mainmast. The trysail was a fore and aft sail with a gaff and, in some cases, a boom.

² A high, flat-topped hill lying inland from Matansas Bay on the northern coast of Cuba, a point on which mariners take bearings in setting a course up the Florida Straits (see fig. 1).

³ A group of keys lying in the eastern end of the Salt Key Bank which extends to the center of the southern end of the Florida Channel (New Bahama Channel).

⁴ A vessel is said to be "at stays" when heading into the wind in tacking.

⁵ Swung off from the wind so far that the head sails were caught across the wind pushing the bow of the ship around toward the reef.

⁶ The sailing master.

was broke short off the ship, continued striking, I ordered all the boats out as far as possible. Immediately after he came and told me the rudder was gone and that she made some water in the hold but not much, we set all the pumps to work as you must believe on this occasion, and rather gained on her. By this time we was getting the long boat out when there came three or four severe seas and bulged⁷ her immediately and had 5 foot water in the hold; I ordered the master and gunner to come and save what bread and powder they could before the water was over all, which they did and saved 20 bags of bread and 6 barrels of powder⁸ which was all we could save.

By this time the "Snow" which shared the same fate, was on her broad side, the ship striking much and taring all to pieces, and having no prospect of getting her off, ordered the masts to be cut away and all the upper deck guns and anchors to be thrown overboard, that she might lay quiet and by that means save the men which by good fortune she did, though all this time thought I was got on the double head Shott Bank when at daylight to my great surprise we was getting on a small sandy key about $1.1/2$ cables⁹ length long and $.1/2$ broad which lay on the edge of the Bank of the Martiers 3 leagues¹⁰ without them and lies from Cape Florida WSW 7 or 8 leagues is quite steep too, we having no ground at 50 fathom right up and down not 10 minutes before the ship was ashore and is the only dangerous place on the Florida shore and Doe assure you that from the day I got on that station, I always had the Drapsy¹¹ Line going every $1/2$ hour from 6 at night till daylight in the morn, the only reason I can give for finding myself on the Florida shore when I expected I was on the double Shott Bank which lies from each other SE b E and NN b N at least 16 leagues, must be occasioned by a very extraordinary and very uncommon new current; as soon as was daylight I landed all the men (but those that was employed to scuttle the decks¹² and get what water and what provisions we could, but could get but 2 butts out the whole day); at 10 o'clock this morning being Sunday we saw a small sloop when I immediately man'd and armed all the boats and sent them with orders to board her at all events and bring her here as she would be the means of carrying us off this dismal place, which I plainly saw that any common sea beat all over it and would certainly wash us all off, it being so low and dare not venture upon the main for the Indians which on this part of Florida are savages and innumerable, the next morning being Monday the boats to our great joy brought the sloop to us, the Spaniards having all deserted her, she being about 25 or 30 tuns (at most) this day was employed in getting what provisions and water we could out of the ship with what men I could get to work which was but a few, though it was for all their good but all frightened and wanted to be gone for fear of the Indians and was very rebellious and mutinous dividing into parties and growling amongst themselves

⁷ "Bilged"—stove in her planks at or below the waterline of the ship.

⁸ A ship of 44 guns on foreign service normally carried 163 barrels of gunpowder in 1781 (Montaine, Will, *The Practical Sea Gunners Companion*, p. 73, London, 1781).

⁹ The cable was 200 yards or one-tenth of a nautical mile.

¹⁰ The English and American marine league is equal to 3 nautical miles.

¹¹ Utting was speaking of the dipsey line, which is the deep-sea lead line.

¹² To cut openings in the decks.

that they was all on a footing then; and they was as good as anybody and that everything was free. I thought it was best not to take any notice but prepared for our going as soon as possible. Here I found the service of the Marines whereof which was under command and did their duty extremely well and Centenells being obliged to mount 25 Marines and 25 seamen every night, though the place so small the Indians having numbers of canoes.

Tuesday was employed getting what water we could out of the ship and putting the boats and sloop in order. Raised the long boat a strack¹³ which enabled her to carry 60 men. On Wednesday being the 8th about noon I embarked all the men (which with the "Snow" included, was 274) viz 60 in the long boat, 20 in the barge,¹⁴ 10 in the yaul¹⁵ and 184 in the little sloop not 30 tons; sent the sloop, long boat and yaul to 3 or 4 miles from the shore. After they were gone I went on board the wreck with what barrels of powder we had saved (except a little we took in each boat) and laid in proper places on the Starboard side the gun deck, that side being out the water by her heelding off to Port and proper Fewell¹⁶ in every place we could when all being laid, about 2 in the afternoon, I set her on fire and rowed off to the boats we kept in sight of her till sunset and she having blown up in several places and was in flames fore and aft but am much afraid the guns and anchors will fall into the hands of the Spaniards as they have frequent correspondence and trade with the Indians, and it is my opinion the people which left the sloop we took, were over to Cuba in a launch directly to give them intelligence. This is the fatal end of H.M.S. Loo exactly as it happened. I sent in the long boat Mr. Randall and Mr. Lloyd, my first and third Lieuts., the Master in the barge and a mate in the yaul, myself and 2 Sevts. being in the sloop which when the hold was as full of men as could possibly be stowed, the deck was the same and much in danger of oversetting if any wind. I ordered them to follow me and in case of separation to make the best of their way over to the Bahama Bank for Providence.

I carried a light for them all night but as they all outsailed me they kept so far ahead that I lost sight of them by 12 at night when I was obliged to tack and stand to the northward, which did after making the proper signal but at daylight could see nothing of them, and it blowing fresh and the sloop top heavy with men could not carry sail, so obliged to bear away and take my fate through the Gulph of Florida for any part of Carolina even for St. Augustine (if I could fetch nowhere else) rather than all be drowned which Doe assure you had very little other prospect but thank God met with exceeding good weather and arrived at Port Royall on the 13th February at night and don't in the least doubt but the boats are got safe to Providence long before this.

I had two of the best pilots on board for the Gulph of Florida in all America who insist on it there could not be a better course steered and I have been numbers of times through the Gulph and am better acquainted with that and the coast of Carolina than any part of the world and had I had the honour to have command 20 sail and steering through for all our lives, should have steered the same course or rather more northerly, which as I observed before I cannot

¹³ The addition of planks to the gunwhales of the boat increasing her capacity.

¹⁴ The commanding officers boat.

¹⁵ A heavy double-ended row boat.

¹⁶ Fuel, combustibles.

account for but by some uncommon and very extraordinary current; as fast as I can get my officers together shall send home their depositions. Some of them seem inclinable to go to the West Indies and some to the Merchant Service and some home.

I have sent home the Mate of the Watch with the Log Book and my Second Lieut. was on board the Snow when cast away but I should have been very happy to have found Captain Hardy¹⁷ not sailed that I might have come home directly but as I can't be now and there being a great many chances against my coming home in a merchant ship, without being carried to Spain,¹⁸ has determined me to stay here till some opportunity offers to come home in a Man-of-War or if I could possibly be indulged with a court martial in America, I shall think it the greatest favour and if found by the Court, which I hope I shall, that I have done my duty as an officer on this unforeseen unhappy affair, to me as well as to his Majesty's Service, beg their Lordships will be pleased to give me leave to rely on their goodness for my being employed again on His Majesty's service. I have enclosed the deposition of Mr. Wm. Lyford, one of my pilots who has sailed the Gulph of Florida for many years and beg their Lordships will be pleased to let somebody enquire of General Oglethorpe for his corretor.¹⁹

I am your most humble servant,
Ashby Utting.

Port Royal
15th February 1743/4.

¹⁷ Of the *Rye*, which ship had been ordered to England as convoy to merchant ships going from the Carolina colonies.

¹⁸ The risk of capture of unprotected merchant ships was very great.

¹⁹ Recommendation of Lyford.

APPENDIX C

MEMBERS OF THE CREW OF THE "LOO" ON HER LAST CRUISE

The following is a list of names of all the men and officers appearing on the paybook of the *Loo* on her last cruise. Only those marked with an asterisk were on the ship when she was wrecked.

In those days ships' crews and officers were paid only at the end of a commission period, or at the end of a cruise. Men or officers who were transferred during a cruise were given a ticket by the purser showing the pay that was due them. These tickets were supposed to be held until the payday of the ship was announced in the newspapers, when they were presented at the designated pay office and the men received their pay. In actual practice, the interval of time between the issuance of the ticket and the actual payday was so great that many sailors suffered actual want, and to obtain funds, sold their tickets at enormous discounts to speculators.

*Adam, Ervin	Quartermaster	
*Adeane, W.	Able Bodied Seaman	
Aiken, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
Allen, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
Allman, John	Landsman	Deserted September 2, 1742
Anderson, James	Quarters Servant	
Angelo, Rogero	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Arthur, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Atkinson, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
Bagster, John	Master	
*Baker, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Balderson, William	Able Bodied Seaman and Quartermaster's Mate	Deserted October 14, 1743, in South Carolina
Ball, William	Surgeon's Mate	
Balls, Benjamin	Able Bodied Seaman	
Banke, John	Quarter Gunner	
Baptista, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted November 10, 1743, at Port Royal, S. C.
Barnes, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Barsey, Richard	Landsman	Deserted March 30, 1743, at Plymouth, England
Barsey, Thomas	2d Master's Mate	
*Bartlett, Joseph	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Basham, Charles	Gunner's Mate and Quartermaster	
Bates, John	Able Bodied Seaman	

Bates, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Beckworth, Francis	Able Bodied Seaman	
Belitha, Warren	1st Lieutenant	
Bennet, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted November 27, 1743, at Port Royal, S. C.
Bennett, Thomas	Landsman	Deserted September 2, 1742
Benson, Moses	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Bent, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Berry, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 19, 1742, at Portsmouth, England (Returned)
*Berry, Rowland	Able Bodied Seaman	
Best, W.	Master's Mate	Deserted April 13, 1743
*Biggs, Thomas	Boatswain's Servant	
*Billonge, Jacob	Able Bodied Seaman	
Birch, Robert	Carpenter	
*Bird, Richard	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Bishop, Robert	Master	
*Black, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Blackburn, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Blancher, Noah	Able Bodied Seaman	
Bogue, Henry	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Bond, Henry	Able Bodied Seaman and Coxswain	
Boswell, David	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 6, 1743, at Plymouth, England
*Bould, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Bousher, Walter		
Bradshaw, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted September 16, 1742, at Plymouth, England
Breamer, James	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 15, 1743, in South Carolina
*Briggs, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Briskingham, William	Servant	
*Bristol, George	Able Bodied Seaman	
Broughton, F.	Master's Mate	
*Brown, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Brown, Joseph	Able Bodied Seaman and Quarter Gunner	
*Brown, Nathaniel	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Brown, Talbert	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Brown, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Buckley, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Bugless, Ralph	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Bugless, Stephen	Captain's Servant	
Bull, John	Sailing Master's Serv- ant	
Bullman, William	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
Burdock, John	Captain's Servant	
Burns, Patrick	Able Bodied Seaman	

Burrough, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Burroughs, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 5, 1743 at New York
Burt, William	Midshipman	
Burthen, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Burton, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Bushnell, William	Carpenter's Mate	
Butchard, Samuel	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Butcher, Richard	Able Bodied Seaman	
Campbell, Allen	Captain's Servant	
Campbell, Edward	Corporal	
*Campbell, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Canton, William	Ordinary Seaman	
Carrol, Michael	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 4, 1743, New York
*Carroll, John	Ordinary Seaman	
Carter, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
Carter, Samuel	Able Bodied Seaman	
Cartwright, Benjamin	Captain's Servant	
Carty, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 13, 1743, in South Carolina
*Caunter, Henry	Steward and Ordinary Seaman	
*Chandler, Edward	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Charming, Edward	Boatswain's Mate	
Charter, William	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted September 16, 1742, at Plymouth, England
Chippendall, Jona	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
*Christopher, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Churton, James	Landsman and Able Bodied Seaman	
Collins, John	Quarter Gunner	
Compton, John	Captain's Servant	
*Conday, Richard	Able Bodied Seaman and Midshipman	
Condray, Charles	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted November 17, 1743, at Port Royal, S. C.
Conner, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Cook, John	Gunner's Servant	
Cook, John	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted December 14, 1742
Cook, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Cook, Thomas	Midshipman	
*Cormick, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Cormick, John	Surgeon's Servant	
Cormick, Michael	Able Bodied Seaman	
Cormick, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Couch, James	Able Bodied Seaman and Ordinary Sea- man	
Courtney, F.	Clerk	

Coverley, William	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted September 2, 1742
Cowe, Peter	1st Lieutenant	
*Cowen, Philip	Able Bodied Seaman	
Cowen, William	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 13, 1743, in South Carolina
*Cowey, Robert	Midshipman	
Cox, Anthony	Able Bodied Seaman	
Creese, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted August 11, 1743, at Plymouth, England
*Crilly, Thomas	Ordinary Seaman	
Cross, Samuel	Captain's Servant	
*Crow, Philip	Ordinary Seaman	
*Crowley, Bryan	Able Bodied Seaman	
Cunnam, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Curry, John	Captain's Servant	
Davidson, Alexander	Able Bodied Seaman	
Davies, Griffith	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted October 28, 1742, at Plymouth, England
Davies, Matthew	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Davies, Thomas	Captain's Servant	
Davies, William	Cook	
Dawson, William	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 4, 1743, at New York
Day, Joseph	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 12, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
Deacon, J.	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted March 30, 1743, Plymouth, England
*Dean, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
Delancy, Lawrence	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Demount, J.	Ordinary Seaman	
Dent, Digby	Captain	
*Dickson, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Dixon, David	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
Donnally, Sam	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Donnovan, John	Carpenter's Servant	
Douglas, David	Corporal	
Douglass, Robert	Captain's Servant	
Dove, Benjamin	Captain's Servant	
Dover, Saunders	Trumpeter	
Dowes, William	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 12, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
Downing, Robert	Able Bodied Seaman	
Downing, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman and Master's Mate	
*Dowsing, Samuel	Able Bodied Seaman	
Driscoll, John	Ordinary Seaman	
*Driscoll, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Drisdall, Alexander	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 6, 1743, at Plymouth, England
Duncan, John	Carpenter's Mate	Deserted September 10, 1742

*Duncan, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Dunn, George	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Dunn, Matthew	Surgeon's Mate	
Dunstar, James	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 5, 1743, at New York
Dyar, Anthony	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Dyer, Darby	Able Bodied Seaman	
Eades, Thomas	Landsman	Deserted September 2, 1742, at Plymouth, England
*Easton, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Edgecombe, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Ellis, Benjamin	Master's Servant	
*Ellory, Robert	Landsman	
Ervin, Adam		
Evans, George	Able Bodied Seaman	
Fanson, Andrew	Captain's Servant	
*Farmer, William	3d Lieutenant and 2d Lieutenant	
Farrel, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
Ferguson, Robert	Midshipman and Mas- ter's Mate	
Field, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Fisher, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Fitzgerald, Morris	Able Bodied Seaman	
Fitzpatrick, Henry	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 12, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
Fletcher, John	Ordinary Seaman	
*Fling, Timothy	Able Bodied Seaman	
Forrest, Richard	Able Bodied Seaman	
Forsith, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Forster, Randal	Able Bodied Seaman	
Fortiene, Joseph	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted November 17, 1743, at Port Royal, S. C.
Fraser, Daniel	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted November 27, 1743, at Port Royal, S. C.
Frost, George	Sailmaker and Mid- shipman	
*Fullmore, Henry	Boatswain	
Gally, Thomas	Master's Servant	
Gibson, George	Able Bodied Seaman	
Gilbert, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 16, 1743, at Plymouth, England
*Gilmore, Arthur	Quarter Gunner	
Gilmore, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Gold, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Goldsmith, John	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
*Good, John	Surgeon's 2d Mate	
Goodsides, Abraham		
Gordon, James	Midshipman	Deserted October 8, 1742
Gordon, Robert	Midshipman	

Gorman, David	Able Bodied Seaman	
Graham, Matthew	Coxswain	
*Graham, Samuel	Able Bodied Seaman	
Grant, Henry	3d Lieutenant's Serv- ant	
*Green, Henry	Ordinary Seaman	
Gregory, Jo.	Master's Servant	
Gresham, Charles	Landsman	
Grossier, John	Landsman	Deserted September 2, 1742
Grun, Nicholas	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted September 10, 1742
*Hallet, John	Second Gunner	
Hamilton, James	Midshipman	
Hampshire, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Hancock, George	Able Bodied Seaman	
Hancock, John	3d Lieutenant's Serv- ant	
*Harman, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Harris, John	Boatswain's Servant	
Harris, Richard	Pilot	
Harris, Thomas	Master's Servant	
Harrison, Theodore	Able Bodied Seaman	
Hartie, John	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted June 30, 1743, at Portsmouth England
*Hartman, Christian	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Harwood, Lewis		
*Hatch, John	2d Gunner and Master at arms	
*Hatfield, Willey	Able Bodied Seaman	
Hawkins, John	Captain's Servant	
Hawkins, John	Ordinary Seaman	
Hay, David	Master's Mate	
Hayes, Samuel	Able Bodied Seaman	
Hays, James	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 13, 1743
Headley, Christian	Trumpeter (?)	
Heaver, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
Hemins, John	Midshipman	
*Henderson, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
Henry, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Henton, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 26, 1742
*Hickey, Thomas	Ordinary Seaman	
*Higgenson, James	Boatswain's Servant	
*Higginson, John	Quartermaster's Mate	
*Highmas, Thomas	Master's Servant	
*Hinds, Michael	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Hogg, Peter	Able Bodied Seaman	
Holliday, Richard	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
Holmes, John	Midshipman	
*Hope, John	Quartermaster	
Horlock, Joseph	Surgeon's 2d Mate	

Horseman, Arthur	Able Bodied Seaman	Died March 24, 1742, at Plymouth, England
Hughes, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 12, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
*Hull, Lancaster	Able Bodied Seaman and Midshipman	
Hulsal, Arthur	Able Bodied Seaman	
Hunt, John	Sailing Master	
Hunt, John	Captain's Servant	
Hussey, I.		
*Hyslop, Thomas	Armorer	
Ingerton, Dennis	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted August 11, 1743, at Plymouth, England
Jackman, William	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
Johnson, Luke	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 6, 1743, at Plymouth, England
Jolly, George	Ordinary Seaman	
*Jolly, Thomas	3d Lieutenant's Serv- ant	
Jones, Anthony	Able Bodied Seaman	
Jones, David	Able Bodied Seaman	
Joynes, James	Quarter Gunner	
*Juba, Luke	Purser's Servant	
Julian, Charles	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 19, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
Keeler, Robert	Master at Arms	
*Keighley, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Kelley, Morgan	Able Bodied Seaman	
Kelsey, William	Surgeon's Servant and Able Bodied Sea- man	
*Kennedy, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Kent, Ambrose		Deserted November 17, 1743, at Port Royal, S. C.
Keys, Robert	Quartermaster	
Killrick, Isham	Able Bodied Seaman and Midshipman	
*Kilsey, William	Captain's Servant	
King, Daniel	Landsman	Deserted September 2, 1742, at Plymouth, England
*King, Nathaniel	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Kingsbury, William	Captain's Servant	
*Kirk, James	Gunner's Servant	
*Kirk, Samuel	Gunner	
*Kivey, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Knowles, Edward	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Knowling, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
Lake, Mark	1st Lieutenant's Serv- ant	
Lamb, William	Quarter Gunner	

*Lander, Robert	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Langston, Richard	Quartermaster	
*Lather, Samuel	Able Bodied Seaman	
Lavermore, Joseph	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 16, 1743
Lawler, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Ledgerwood, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Lemarr, Stephen	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Leslie, George	Purser	
Lewis, Christopher	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
*Lewis, Edward	Ordinary Seaman	
Lewis, Theodore	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Lewiswentz, David	Captain's Servant	
*Limb, Giles	Able Bodied Seaman	
Linch, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Liston, William	Ordinary Seaman	
*Lloyd, William	Midshipman	
Lobb, Thomas	Surgeon's Servant	
Lodge, John	Boatswain's Servant	
Logan, Charles	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted November 5, 1742, at Plymouth England
Long, Samuel	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted March 30, 1743, at Plymouth, England
Long, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Lookert, Patrick	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 2, 1742
Luch, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Lyford, William	Able Bodied Seaman and Midshipman	
*Maby, John	Ordinary Seaman	
Malt, Issac	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 3, 1743, at New York
Manley, George	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
Mannon, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Marriot, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Martin, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Maxwell, James	Quartermaster	
May, William	Ist Lieutenant's Serv- ant and Able Bodied Seaman	
*McCann, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
McCarty, Daniel	Able Bodied Seaman	
McChownley, Lott	Able Bodied Seaman	
McClelland, Robert	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 4, 1743, at New York
*McClockland, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
McCowley, Charles	Ordinary Seaman	
McDugal, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
McKensie, Samuel	Quarter Gunner	
McKnight, James	Ordinary Seaman	
*McNeal, William	Quartermaster	
Meachem, James	Able Bodied Seaman	

Mellan, John	Boatswain's Mate	
Meridith, John	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
Mignam, George	Surgeon	
*Miller, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Miller, Nicholas	Able Bodied Seaman	
Miller, Stephen	Boatswain's Servant	
Mills, Nathan		
*Millsom, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
Mitchell, R.	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted September 2, 1742
*Molineaux, John	Ordinary Seaman and Able Bodied Sea- man	
Moore, Samuel	Yeoman	Deserted September 10, 1742, at Plymouth, England
More, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
Morran, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Morrison, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Morrow, Hugh	Captain's Servant	
*Mortimer, Robert	Able Bodied Seaman	
Murphy, Francis	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted August 11, 1743, at Plymouth, England
*Murphy, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Murphy, John		
Murphy, Patrick	Able Bodied Seaman	
Murphy, Samuel	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Nagan, James	Ordinary Seaman	
*Nelson, Robert	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Newgent, Patrick	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Newson, Richard	Able Bodied Seaman	
Nobbs, Stephen	Landsman	
Norman, Edward	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted December 29, 1743, at Port Royal, S. C.
*Norman, William	Gunner's Servant	
Northesk, Earl of	Captain	
*Nott, Ebenezer	Ordinary Seaman and Able Bodied Sea- man	
*Nuikle, Robert	Able Bodied Seaman	
Ogburne, John	Captain's Servant	
Oliver, Richard	Landsman	Deserted September 2, 1742
*Orr, Archibald	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Osbourne, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Parker, Peter	Able Bodied Seaman	
Parr, William	Quartermaster	Deserted December 12, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
*Parrott, Samuel	Captain's Servant	
Patrick, Richard	Cook's Servant	
Patten, Hugh	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted March 30, 1743, at Plymouth, England
Pearse, Samuel	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 16, 1743

*Pearson, Thomas	Ordinary Seaman and Able Bodied Sea- man	
Pegan, Roger	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted November 27, 1743, at Port Royal, S. C.
Pegan, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
Pelican, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted March 17, 1742, at Plymouth, England
Pemell, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Peters, William	Able Bodied Seaman and Midshipman	
Phallem, Edmund	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Phillips, Thomas	Cook	
*Phonix, Philip	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Pickering, Michael	Clerk	
*Plantain, Charles	Able Bodied Seaman	
Poole, Thomas	Pilot	
Potterfield, George	Able Bodied Seaman	
Powell, Philip	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted March 30, 1743, at Plymouth, England
Pownswell, Edward	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 12, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
*Pretty, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Price, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Priest, Lewis	Able Bodied Seaman	
Puttick, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Quaco, John	Captain's Servant and Ordinary Seaman	
*Quin, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Ramsey, Patrick	2d Gunner	
*Randall, James	2d Lieutenant and 1st Lieutenant	
*Randall, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Randall, John	Able Bodied Seaman and Midshipman	
Randell, James	1st Lieutenant	
*Randolph, J.	Able Bodied Seaman and Master's Mate	
*Ratsey, George	Cooper and Able Bod- ied Seaman	
Reed, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 6, 1743, at New York
*Rhode, John	Able Bodied Seaman and Ordinary Sea- man	
*Richards, Nicholas	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Richardson, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Richey, David	Quartermaster's Mate	
*Richmond, Andrew	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Rider, Charles	Able Bodied Seaman	

Risden, Joseph	Able Bodied Seaman	
Roach, Henry	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 12, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
Roberts, David	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted October 28, 1742, at Plymouth, England
Roberts, Edward		Deserted December 19, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
Roberts, John	Sailmaker's Mate	
Roberts, John	Captain's Servant	
Roberts, Joseph	Captain's Servant	
*Roberts, William	Captain's Servant	
Robinson, Alexander		
Robinson, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Rogers, Robert	Landsman	Deserted September 2, 1742
Rowe, Edward	Able Bodied Seaman	
Rowe, George	Quarter Gunner	Deserted December 12, 1742, at Plymouth, England
Rowe, Peter	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 4, 1743, at New York
Royall, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Russell, Richard	Boatswain's Servant	
Ryan, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted September 10, 1742, at Plymouth, England
St. Lawrence, Samuel	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
Salisbury, Edward	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Salmon, Joseph	1st Captain's Servant	
*Salter, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Saunders, Joseph	Able Bodied Seaman	
Scannel, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Scott, George	Gunner	
Scott, Richard	Landsman	
*Shaw, Patrick	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Shearing (John or Joseph)	1st Lieutenant's Serv- ant and 3d Lieuten- ant's Servant	
*Shearing, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
Sherwood, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Shirley, Washington	3d Lieutenant	
*Shoart, Oliver	Able Bodied Seaman	
Simmonds, Richard	Quarter Gunner	Deserted April 6, 1743, at Plymouth, England
*Simms, James	Ordinary Seaman	
Singleton, William	Ordinary Seaman	Deserted September 2, 1742
*Skinner, Philip	Ordinary Seaman	
Sluman, John	Gunner	
Smith, Benjamin	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Smith, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
Smith, Paul	Servant	
Smith, Theodore	Boatswain's Servant and Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 4, 1743, at New York

Softley, Robert	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted March 30, 1743, at Plymouth, England
Somerwel, Joseph	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted April 13, 1743
Southard, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted September 10, 1742, at Plymouth, England
Spare, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
Sparks, Joseph	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Spinks, Stephen		
Spry, Nicholas	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted March 17, 1742, at Plymouth, England
Stanford, Richard		
Stapleton, A.	Quartermaster's Mate	
Stephenson, James	Landsman	Deserted September 2, 1742, at Plymouth, England
*Steuart, Neil	Surgeon	
Stevenson, Henry	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 15, 1743, in South Carolina
Stewart, Alexander	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Stiveash, Stiven	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Stoneham, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Stradder, Forbel	Landsman	Deserted April 13, 1743
Stroud, John	Boatswain	
*Sullivan, Thomas	Ordinary Seaman	
Swain, William	3d Lieutenant's Serv- ant and Captain's Servant	
*Sweeny, Daniel	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Swickman, Thomas	Landsman	
Swift, Theodore	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted August 5, 1743, at Portsmouth, England
*Tabler, Thomas	Captain's Servant and Able Bodied Sea- man	
*Taylor, John	Carpenter's Servant and Able Bodied Seaman	
*Taylor, Jonathan	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Taylor, William	Captain's Servant and Ordinary Seaman	
Thatcher, John	Quartermaster	
*Thompson, Richard	Pilot	
Thoyer, Peter	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Tipper, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Tobyn, George	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 6, 1743, at New York
Todd, Alexander	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted March 30, 1743, at Plymouth, England
*Torginton, Joseph	Carpenter's Servant	
Treacey, William	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 26, 1742, at Portsmouth, England

*Triming, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Trist, Nathaniel	Able Bodied Seaman	
Trott, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
Trotter, Benjamin	Able Bodied Seaman	
Trouve, Paul	3d Lieutenant's Serv- ant	
*Trunker, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Tunis, Michael	Able Bodied Seaman	
Turford, Thomas	Carpenter	Deserted September 10, 1742, at Plymouth, England
*Utting, Ashby	Captain	
Vincent, Aaron	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Vivian, John	Carpenter	
*Wadlin, Richard		
*Walker, James	Ordinary Seaman	
Walker, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted October 2, 1742, at Cork, Ireland
Walker, Peter		Deserted December 12, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
Wallis, Benjamin	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted September 16, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
Warceys, Thomas		
*Ward, Samuel	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Weatherill, John	Able Bodied Seaman	
Wedlock, John	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted December 12, 1742, at Portsmouth, England
Welch, Michael	Able Bodied Seaman	
Welsh, Peter	Ordinary Seaman	
*Wemuss, Robert	Cook's Servant	
Wemy, James	Able Bodied Seaman	
Wheeler, Robert	Able Bodied Seaman	
*White, Richard	Able Bodied Seaman	
*White, Robert	Able Bodied Seaman	
Whitver, Thomas	Able Bodied Seaman	
Wilkinson, Edward	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Williams, Richard	Able Bodied Seaman	
*Willmot, Theodore	Able Bodied Seaman	
Wills, J.		
Wilson, George	1st Lieutenant's Serv- ant	
Wilson, Lawrence	Able Bodied Seaman	
Wise, John	Able Bodied Seaman and Midshipman	
Woodgate, William		
*Wotton, William	Able Bodied Seaman	
Wright, William	Able Bodied Seaman	Deserted September 23, 1742, at Plymouth, England
*Yeates, James	Captain's Servant	
*Young, John	Ordinary Seaman	
Younger, John	Captain's Servant	

MARINE LIST

Colonel Cotterel's Regiment:

- *Allen, Robert
 Baker, John
 Deserted December 26, 1742,
 at Portsmouth, England
- *Ball, William
 *Bond, George
 *Brooke, Joshua
 *Brooks, George
 Brooks, John
 Brown, George
 Brown, John
 Cant, Thomas
 Clint, Richard
 *Cole, Joseph
 *Cook, Samuel
 Corbett, Thomas
 Diamond, Robert
 *Dight, Edward
 *Douglass, Edmund, Sergeant
 Drake, Richard
 *Farries, William, Sergeant
 Finch, Samuel
 *Fitzsimmons, Thomas
 *Gaddish, Lazarus
 *Gleddon, Richard
 *Gould, William
 Grovenor, Francis
 Deserted June 30, 1743, at
 Portsmouth, England
- Hall, William
 *Hardeman, William
 *Harding, Matthew
 *Haydon, Timothy
 Hodge, Hugh
 Deserted December 12, 1742,
 at Portsmouth, England
- *Hold, Thomas
 Hughes, Edward
 *Hyatt, Samuel
 Isaac, Titus
 Johnson, Adam
 *Jones, Philip
 *King, Joshua
 Lee, John
 Martin, Thomas
 *Matthews, Joseph
 *McCraw, Daniel
 Miller, Richard
 Deserted December 2, 1742,
 at Portsmouth, England
- Mitchell, John

- *Morgan, John
- *Morgan, William
- *Mould, Thomas
- *Murray, Peter
- *Overshott, John
- Pearce, George
- Phillips, Edward
- Phillips, William
- Prest, Timothy
- *Ridgheboth, Thomas
- *Risen, Samuel
- Roberts, John
- Rowls, John
- Searle, John
- Short, George
- Spraeg, Nicholas
- *Stevens, Samuel
- *Stone, John
- Thrasher, John
- *Toll, John
- Trovana, William
- *Turner, Jonas
- *Turpin, John
- *Vaughan, Hector, Lieutenant
- *Walker, William
- Whiteker, Thomas
- *Williams, Thomas
- Wills, Samuel
- *Woodeson, John
- Woodley, Nicholas
- Colonel Wynyard's Regiment
- Aldridge, William
- Chappel, Samuel
- Clayton, Joseph
- Hancock, Justinian
- Hope, Richard
- *Kent, Benjamin
- *Korgett, John
- Parker, Daniel
- *Stokes, William
- *Trowes, Richard
- *Wright, Samuel

APPENDIX D

ROSTER OF THE FAMILY AND SERVANTS OF GEORGE CLINTON, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK FROM SEPTEMBER 1743 TO OCTOBER 1753, PASSENGERS ON THE "LOO" DURING HER LAST VOYAGE TO AMERICA, AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1743¹

Clinton, Ann (Governor's wife)	Cunningham, Archibald
Clinton, Ann	Davies, Ann
Clinton, George (Governor)	Ellis, Thomas
Clinton, Henry	Fenton, Sarah
Clinton, Lucy	Harvey, Phillip
Clinton, Mary	Ryves, James
Ascough, John	Vanham, John
Aurneo, Ann	White, Margaret
Blundell, Christopher	Williams, William
Catherwood, John	Willson, Ann

¹ Based on the Muster Roll of the *Loo*, ADM 36, vol. 1823.

APPENDIX E

COMMANDING OFFICERS OF THE "LOO"

1. Harland, Robert	April 4, 1707	October 1, 1709
2. Herbert, Jona	October 1, 1709	?
3. Walrund, Beau	1709	1715
4. Splain, Tim	April 1717 (?)	December 1717
5. Protherie, George	April 1718	1720
6. Scott,—(Captain)	October 1720	1722
7. Waterhouse, Tho. (Commodore)	February 1727/28	October 1728
8. Lee, FitzHenry	October 22, 1728	April 2, 1729
9. Berkeley, William	April 2, 1729	?
10. Best, John	May 5, 1735	May 1737
11. Northesk, Earl of	January 4, 1741/42	September 1742
12. Dent, Digby	September 17, 1742	April 11, 1743
13. Utting, Ashby	April 11, 1743	February 5, 1743/44

¹ Based on the Navy List, 1707-1744.



1. Copper coins recovered from the wreck site of the *Loo* in the summer of 1950. Left to right: Spanish 8 maravedi circa 1600, Spanish 8 maravedi circa 1640, and Swedish $\frac{1}{2}$ ore dated 1720. This last coin was important evidence in dating the wreck. Lent to the U. S. National Museum by Dr. and Mrs. George Crile, Jr.



2. Small Queen Anne pewter teapot from the wreck of the *Loo*. Gift to the National Museum from E. A. Link. The pot was damaged by fire when the *Loo* was burned by her captain after being wrecked.



The salvage boats of the expedition at anchor over the wreck site. The remains of the ship lay between two coral reefs in 35 feet of water. (Photograph by Dr. George Crile, Jr.)



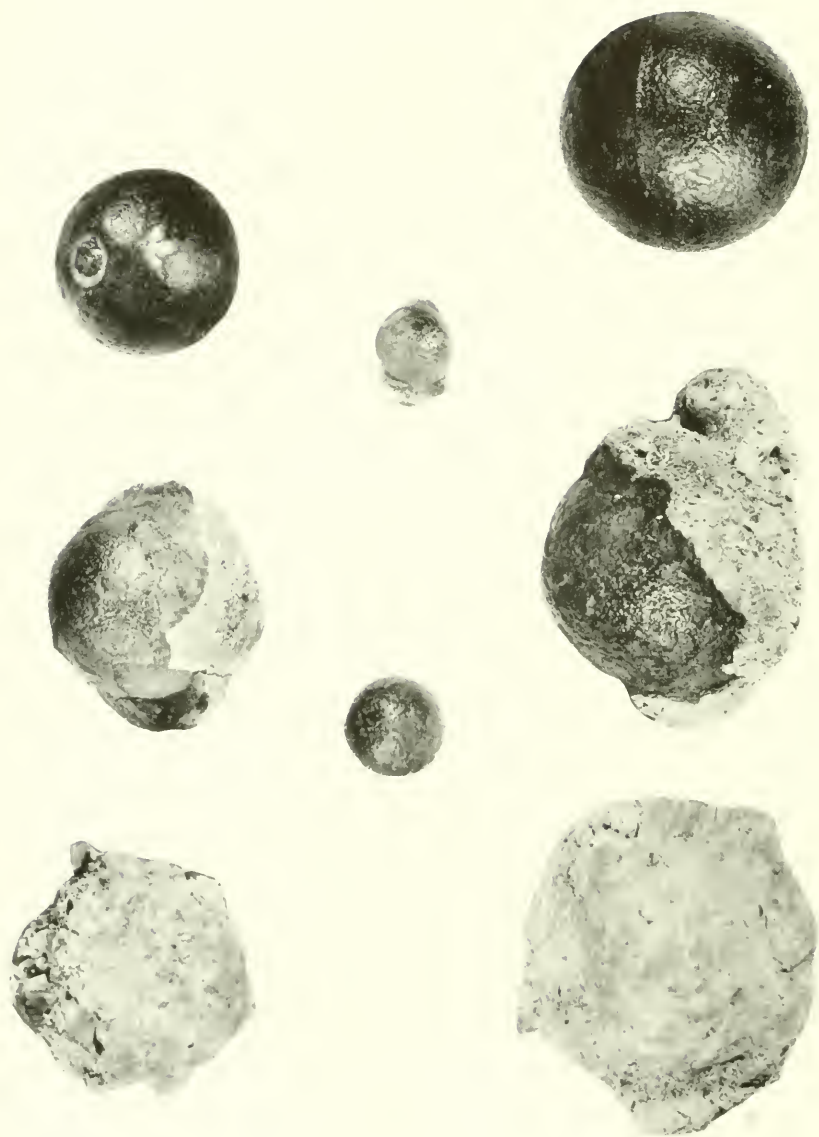
The ring of one of the *Loo's* bower anchors protruding from the coral. Note the coral-sand encrustation that covers the ring and the end of the anchor shatt. (Photograph by Dr. George Crile, Jr.)



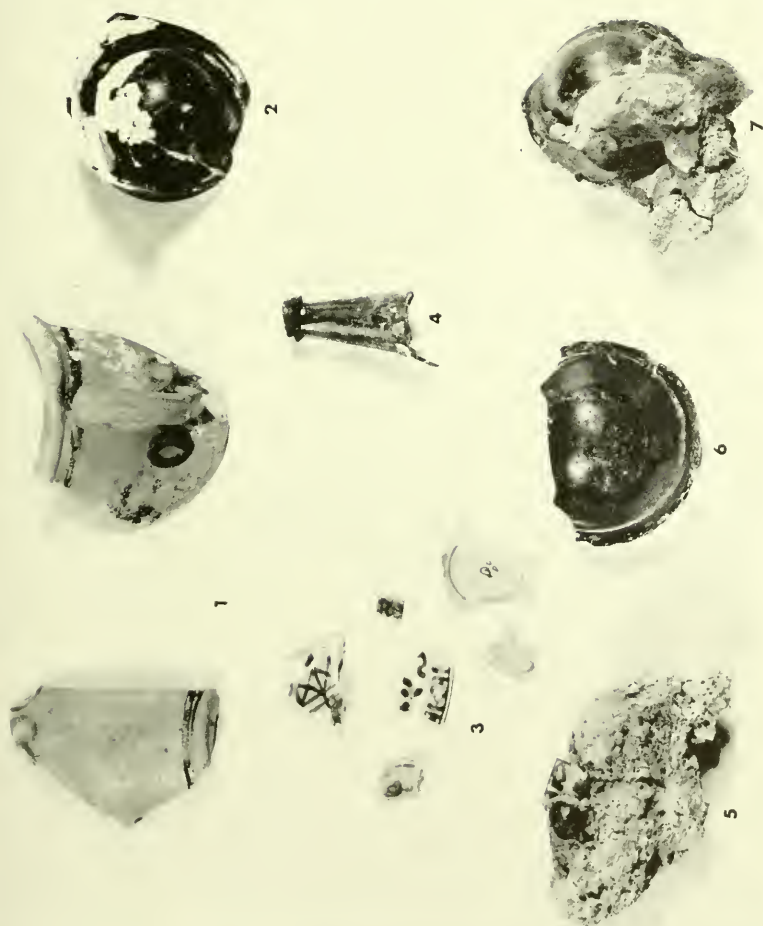
Divers working on the wreck site. The diver in the center is washing the sand bottom with a jet of water to uncover small objects. Dr. George Crile, Jr., at the left, is taking underwater motion pictures. (Photograph by Mrs. George Crile, Jr.)



A basket of coral-sand-encrusted shot coming up from the bottom.
(Photograph by Dr. George Crile, Jr.)



Cast-iron shot recovered from the wreck of the *Laoc*. Top: 6-pound shot, coral-sand-encrusted and cleaned; note the broad arrow. Center: Left, 1-pound shot, a single grape for a 12-pounder or shot for a 1-pounder swivel gun; right, $\frac{1}{2}$ -pound shot, a single grape for a 6-pounder or shot for a $\frac{1}{2}$ -pounder swivel gun. Bottom: 12-pound shot, coral-sand-encrusted and cleaned, marked with the broad arrow.



Ceramic materials recovered from the wreck site : 1, Two fragments of English salt-glaze stoneware, blue decoration. 2, Bottom portion of a dark-green glass spirit bottle. 3, Fragments of Chinese porcelain, blue decoration. 4, Neck of a dark-green glass spirit bottle. 5, Fragment of Chinese porcelain embedded in a lump of coral. 6, Bottom portion of a dark-green glass spirit bottle. 7, Another, attached to a lump of coral.



Objects recovered from the wreck site: 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6, Cow bones from the salt-meat stores of the ship. 3, Pig bone. 7, Sharpening stone; note marks left by a blade on the left end of the stone. 8, Brass pot handle.



James Rand holding a portion of a pig's jaw from the remains of the salt-meat stores of the ship.
(Photograph by Mrs. George Crile, Jr.)



Objects recovered from the wreck site: 1, Wrought-iron brace, exact use unknown. 2, Eye-bolt from the ship's standing rigging. 3, Wrought-iron hull bolt. 4, Lead pipe, probably a scupper or hawse pipe. 5, Iron door lock. 6, Lump of coal. 7, Wrought-iron hook from the rigging.



Objects recovered from the wreck site: Top, left, coral-sand-encrusted broadax; right, sheet lead from a hull repair.
Bottom, brass hoop from a cask or tub, marked with the broad arrow.



E. A. Link rigging the main boom of the *Blue Heron* to raise a 1-ton iron barrel from the wreck site. (Photograph by Mrs. George Crile, Jr.)



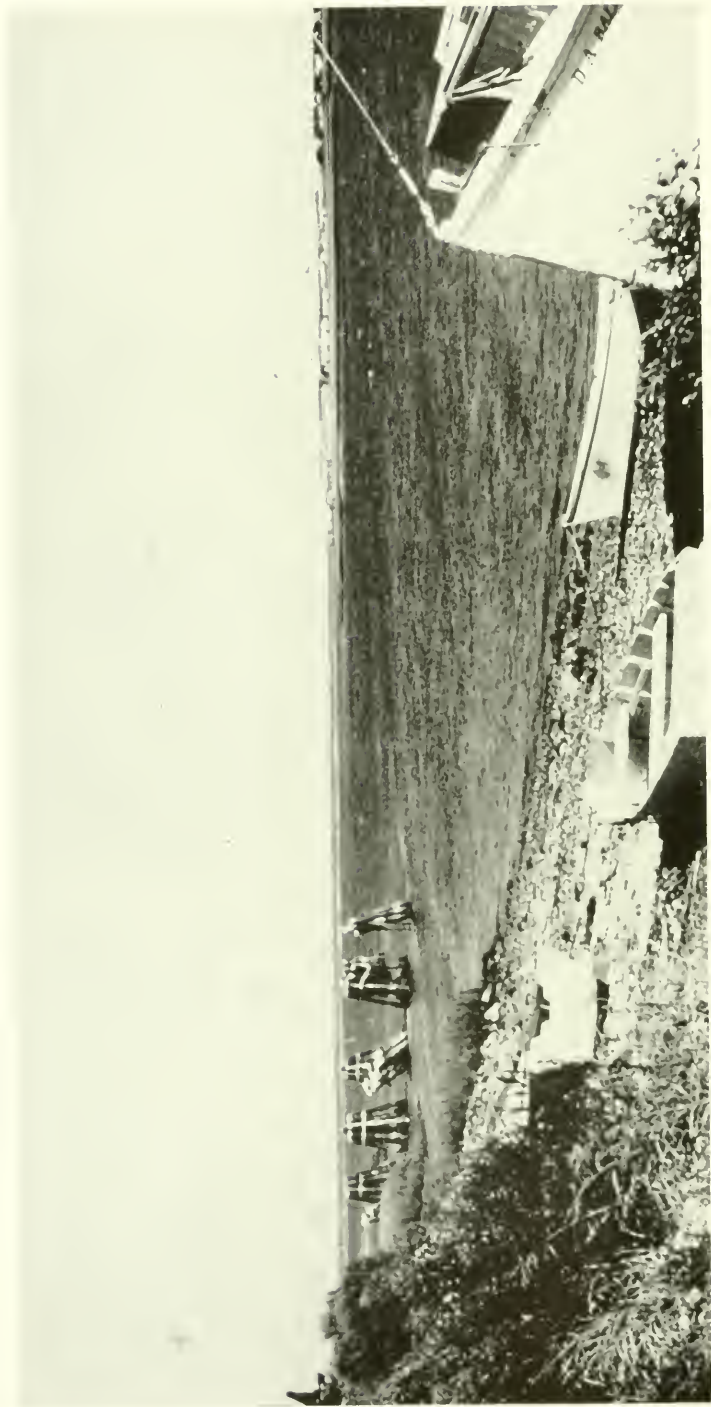
A coral-sand-encrusted iron 6-pounder from the *Loo* being unloaded from the *Blue Heron* at Marathon, Fla.
(Photograph by Dr. George Crile, Jr.)



Coral-sand crust falling away from an iron 6-pounder. (Photograph by Mrs. George Crile, Jr.)



Long 6-pounder from the *Loa*, after coral-sand coating was removed. (Photograph by Mrs. George Crile, Jr.)



Port Royal harbor as it appears today. Capt. Utting and 160 survivors of the wreck of the *Loo* arrived here February 13, 1744, aboard a captured Spanish sloop.