

**Captain James Frewin of Frederica,
St. Simons Island, Georgia**

By

Charles E. Pearson

Appomattox, Virginia

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James Frewin, or "Grandpa Frewin" as he was fondly known to his family, is buried in the churchyard at Christ Church Frederica on St. Simons Island, Georgia, only a few yards from the church building where he worshipped for almost 45 years. James Frewin died on St. Simons on January 31, 1863. He was 84 years old and separated from his family, who were then refugees on the mainland having been forced from the island by the occupying Union army. Frewin had come to Georgia in about 1818 and made his home at the old colonial town of Frederica. Frederica then was almost abandoned, although St. Simons was the site of several large and prosperous sea island cotton plantations. James Frewin acquired land at Frederica town, eventually gaining title to the site of the remains of Fort Frederica itself. Relatively little is known of the details of Frewin's life on St. Simons, but he seems to have lived a modest and quiet existence. A few family papers and official documents do exist, which, when combined with family stories, shed some light on Frewin's life.¹ This information reveals that James Frewin had not always lived the serene life he led on St. Simons Island. Frewin is known to have served in the Royal Navy from 1797 until 1802 and he may have remained in the navy until 1813 or 1815, almost the entire period of the Napoleonic Wars when England battled France and its allies on the continent and on the high seas around the world. This was also during England's war with the young American nation, the War of 1812. These were the years of "Nelson's Navy," of "wooden ships and iron men" when Great Britain's naval might was at its peak. While many details of James Frewin's life at sea in the Royal Navy and, later, on St. Simons have yet to be uncovered, the broad outline that is available provides a picture of one of the unique early settlers of the island.

Early Years in the Royal Navy

James Frewin's grave marker at Christ Church notes that he was born in London, England, in 1780. This information on his place and date of birth comes from his family and is presumed to be correct. However, nothing is known about Frewin's life prior to 1797, the year he joined the Royal Navy. Naval records in the British Public Record Office in London provide some information on his many years as a seaman, although details on his life at sea are lacking. The earliest mention of Frewin in British navy records is found in the muster

¹. Much of the information on James Frewin's life on St. Simons Island is derived from a collection of family papers consisting of deeds, bills of sale, wills, etc., of the Frewin, Stevens and Taylor families of St. Simons Island. This collection is archived at the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah. Information on Frewin's activities in the Royal Navy is found in the Admiralty Records in the Public Records Office in London, England. These documents were examined by Mr. Tim Hughes of Surrey, England.

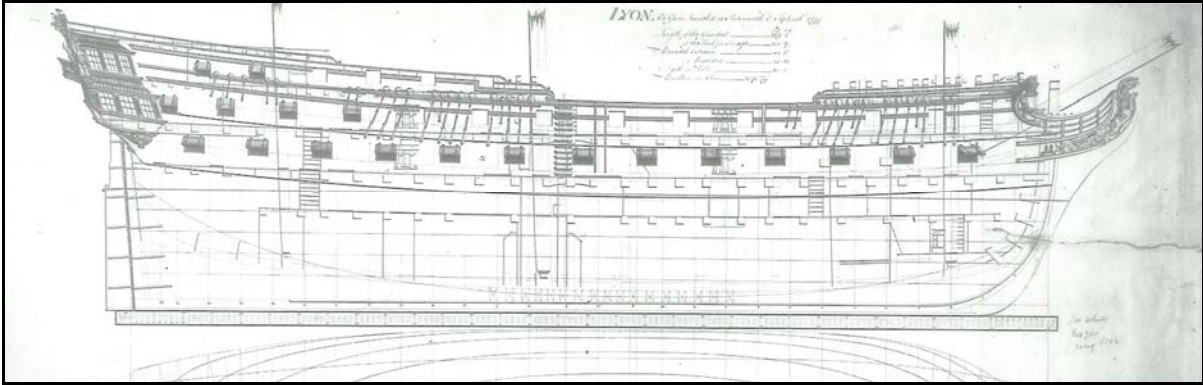
books of the HMS *America*. These reveal that "James Fruin" joined the ship as a "Boy Volunteer 3rd Class" in November 1797 at the age of 16 (Admiralty Records [hereafter cited ADM] 36/12329-30).² The *America* was a 64-gun ship-of-the-line built on the Thames River at the Deptford Royal Dockyard in 1777.

James Frewin was certainly not unique in joining the navy at an early age. Young boys were commonly accepted into the service, some reportedly as young as 8 or 9. Boys essentially came aboard as servants or apprentices, to be brought up to the sea life (Rodger 1986:27). At the time, every sea officer was allowed one boy as a servant and some of the petty officers, such as the boatswain, gunner, and carpenter had two each, while a captain was assigned 4 for every hundred men in a ship's compliment. Some young boys came into the navy specifically to serve under an officer, commonly the captain, with the ultimate aim of receiving training to become an officer. Others had no such grandiose intentions and saw their future in the "ratings," as seamen. In the late eighteenth century the number of boys on board a naval vessel could be large, often representing 10 percent or more of the ship's company (Rodger 1986:28). In fact, Rodger (1986:68) notes that one of the seemingly odd characteristics of the eighteenth century British man-of-war was the large number of children aboard. These boys were schooled in the complex operations involved in sailing a large ship, one of the reasons training was started so young. Also, many of the activities on a man-of-war required the dexterity, energy and strength of youth.

When James Frewin went aboard the *America*, Great Britain was at war with Napoleon and his allies, a war which had begun four years earlier, in 1793, and would continue almost unabated until 1815. Much of the war was fought at sea and Royal Navy ships ranged most of the oceans of the world attacking enemy vessels, protecting British merchant shipping, and blockading foreign ports. As a result of the war, the size of the navy expanded greatly in the 1790s. When the conflict started, most of the Royal Navy's ships were laid up and out of commission or in dockyards. Pope (1983:14) notes that only 26 of the Royal Navy's 113 ships of the line were ready for action; 5 of the 21 three-deckers and 21 of the 92 two-deckers. Forty nine of the smaller, fifth-rate frigates were under repair or laid up, only 32 were ready to sail. Warships were quickly repaired and overhauled and put into action and new construction was started. The number of ships in the navy increased dramatically; by the time James Frewin joined in 1797 his ship, the *America*, was one of 130 third-rates (64 to 80 guns) in commission (Pope 1983:37).

The number of men in the naval service also increased dramatically. When young Frewin joined there were about 100,000 seamen serving Britain (Pope 1983:93). The core of the Royal Navy was composed of volunteers, like James Frewin, but with the rising requirements caused by the war, volunteers were insufficient to maintain the necessary manpower. The difficulties of providing sufficient men in the navy lead to the dreaded "press gangs" operated by the Impress Service charged with forcing men into the service.

². The spelling of "Frewin" varied considerably at the time. In James Frewin's case various documents show it spelled as "Frewin," "Fruin," and "Fruen"



Original drawings of the 64-gun HMS *Lion*, a ship-of-the-line of the same class and identical to James Frewin's first ship, the HMS *America* (from Lyon 1993:75).

Why James Frewin joined the navy is unknown. Nothing is known about the social or economic standing of his family, but many boys from poor families went to sea because they had few other options. Although the life of a seaman in the navy could be dangerous, the pay was better than found in most laboring occupations on land. Other boys joined to follow the example of their father or other relatives. Boys often entered the navy through the auspices of a quazi-public organization, most commonly the Marine Society (Marcus 1975:100), whose objective was to aid the poor as well as help man the Navy. In peacetime, many of these boys would go into the merchant service, but in wartime they went into the Navy. Also, recent successes by the Royal Navy may have influenced James' family in placing him into the sea service. After several years of minimal success against the French and their allies, the Royal Navy had two major victories in 1797. In February, Admiral Sir John Jervis led his 15 ships of the line in victory against a much larger Spanish fleet at the Battle of Cape St. Vincent, and in October, Admiral Lord Adam Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet at the Battle of Camperdown (Tute 1983:95, 107). These two victories occurred in the same year that the Royal Navy experienced one of its darkest hours, the mutinies at Spithead and Nore, when sailors took over many of the ships of the channel fleet and refused to put to sea. The mutineers did have some reasonable grievances, particular concerning their low and irregular pay and the unfair distribution of prize monies. The mutiny was ended when some of these grievances were addressed, although about 30 of the leaders of the mutiny were ultimately hanged (Dugan 1965). James Frewin came into the Navy just after the mutiny, when conditions for common sailors had been somewhat improved.

When he came aboard the *America*, James Frewin gave his birthplace as London, but two years later the muster book of the *America* records that he was born in Teddington. Teddington was a village located near the Thames just southwest of London and Frewin may simply have been more specific when indicating his birthplace this second time. In fact, the Frewin name seems to have been fairly uncommon in London at the time; the name is most common even farther west than Teddington, in southern Oxfordshire and southeastern Berkshire counties (Lawrence Frewin, personal communication 2001). The Thames was the most important shipping route in England, lined with docks and shipyards and bustling with traffic. If James was from Teddington, as it appears, then it is possible that his family was in some way associated with ships and the sea. Teddington is also given as the birthplace of a

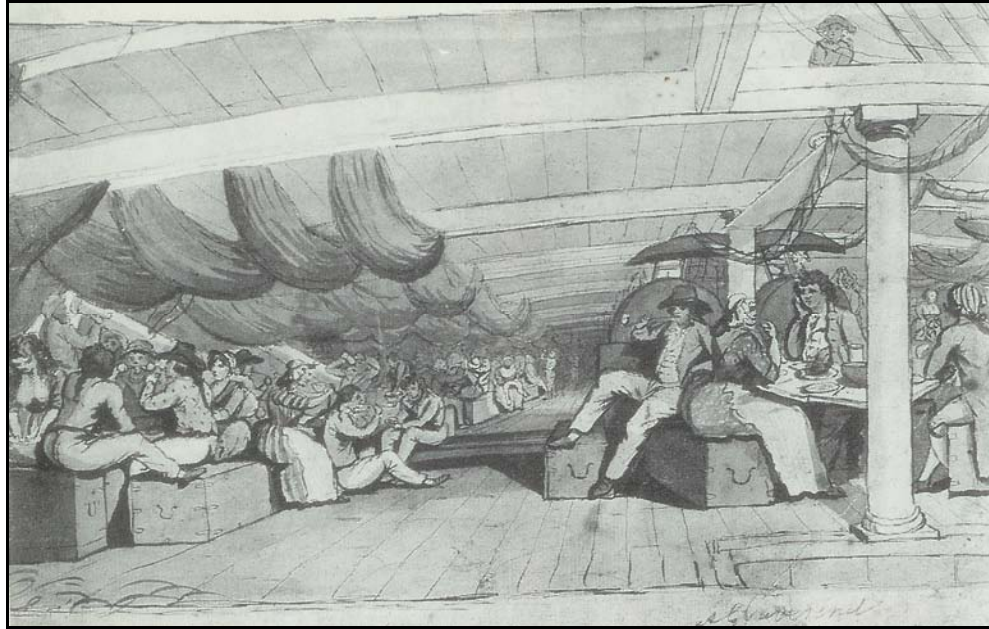
Thomas "Fruin" who was serving on the *America* at this same time (ADM36/12329-30). Thomas was two years older than James and almost certainly they were related, possibly brothers.

Young James Frewin remained aboard the *America* for two years. During this period he would have received training in the activities required of seamen on a large sailing ship. Additionally, he may have received formal schooling too, since many of the larger Royal Navy vessels had schoolmasters aboard to teach the young boys (Rodger 1986:68). James seems to have progressed satisfactorily in his sea training. He was promoted to Boy 2nd Class in January 1798 and, in August 1798 at the age of 17, he became a full crew member (ADM36/12329-30). As a full member of the crew, Frewin was one of what were known as the "ratings," the general body of men on board who today we would consider enlisted men (Rodger 1986:25). The crews on a Royal warship were large; a 64-gun ship, like the *America*, carried an authorized compliment of about 500 men and officers.

Normally, all of a ship's company, ratings, warrant officers, and officers alike, were divided into two categories, those referred to generally as "seamen" who stood watches and were essentially responsible for handling the ship, and "idlers," or those who worked by day and slept at night. Idlers included carpenters, surgeons, cooks, clerks, sailmakers, gunner's mates, etc. As soon as a ship put to sea, the captain generally drew up a general quarter, watch and station bill which was a list showing the duties and station of every seaman involved in the day-to-day operation of the ship and during military action. The seamen were divided into several groups: 1) forecastlemen ("focslemen"), who were stationed on the forecastle or "focsle" and were responsible for working at the anchor and handling the forward sails during sailing and the forward guns during battle. Forecastlemen were often the older, less agile sailors. 2) topmen, who worked aloft to man the upper sails on each mast. These were chiefly the younger men and during action they served the guns and were commonly armed with pistols or boarding pikes to repel boarders (Pope 1983:187). 3) waisters, who served in the waist of the ship and handled the fore and main sheets. Generally, waisters were composed of the more inexperienced or less capable men. 4) afterguard, who worked the aftermost part of the ship and handled the braces which were the ropes leading to the yards of the sails. All four of these groups were divided into two watches, known as the starboard and larboard (port) watches and each man was assigned a number; even for the larboard watch and odd for the starboard.

By the time of the Napoleonic Wars, British seamen were divided into three official ranks based on experience; landman, ordinary seaman and able seaman. Normally, during a sailor's first year at sea he was rated as a landman, at one year he became an ordinary seaman, and after two years of experience he was considered an able seaman. In James Frewin's case, having entered service essentially as a boy apprentice, he served nine months before achieving the rating of a landman in August of 1798.

The *America* was a fighting ship and her entire being was to serve as a platform for carrying a large number of powerful guns. The large crew on board a naval vessel like the *America* was necessary because of the number of men needed to man the guns and the ship in



Crew members below deck in a British man-of-war in about 1800. Note the hammocks slung from overhead (from Rodger 1986).

battle. Each of the guns on the *America* required a crew of from 6 to 8 men. A full complement on a 64-gun ship included the captain, 4 lieutenants, about 15 warrant officers and 60 petty officers, 264 to 304 seamen, about 35 "servants" (young boys), 16 idlers, and as many as 75 to 80 marines (Rodger 1986:348-351). Warrant officers included positions such as the ship's master, boatswain, gunner, surgeon, armorer, and carpenter, while petty officers included the quartermaster, boatswain's mate, captain's clerk, coxswain, and gunner's mate. Ships, particularly during wartime, rarely carried their full complement, so that the *America* could have been occupied by fewer than the 500 or so men she was supposed to carry. Despite this, conditions were always crowded onboard, particularly for the seamen. Most of the seamen were provided a space only for slinging their hammock from the overhead beams on the gun or lower deck, where the guns already took up a great deal of room. Each hammock was 14 inches wide, but because hammocks were slung by alternating watches and one watch was always on deck, some additional space was gained. The men spent much of their time on the gun deck when not actually working. In addition to sleeping, they ate their meals there, with each mess of six men using a table hinged from the side or slung from the overhead beams (Rodger 1986:61). The gun deck on a two-decker ship-of-the-line was only about five and a half feet high and when occupied by the men in their hammocks it was packed and airless and, generally, damp (Pope 1983:59; Rodger 1986:61). When at sea, the gun ports, which were only 6 or 7 feet above the waterline, normally had to be kept closed such that the main hatch provided the only air and light into the lower deck.

Because the gun deck had to be quickly cleared in case of action, the men were able to keep few personal possessions with them. Any extra clothes were bundled up daily with their hammocks which were rolled up when not in use and stowed in netting which lined each side of the quarter deck and forecabin (Rodger 1986:61). Here they provided some

protection from small arms fire and flying debris during action. Some seamen had other possessions, but these had to be kept in chests stored in the ship's hold.

The ship on which James Frewin first served, the *America*, was a "ship-of-the-line" known as a "Third Rate." A "ship-of-the-line" or "line of battle ship" was a naval vessel considered large enough and powerful enough to operate in the line of battle against the largest ships an enemy could produce (Lyon 1993:xiii). Royal Navy vessels were rated on the basis of the number of guns they carried. Ships of the line were the capital ships of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and generally were those that carried more than 60 guns. The *America*, like most ships of the line, was a "two-decker," meaning she carried guns on two decks, but a number of larger three-deckers were constructed. In two- and three-deckers the gun deck proper, where the heaviest cannons were carried, was the lowest of the gun-carrying decks, located just above the water line (Dodds and Moore 1984:7). The largest naval ships, the First Rates, were three-deckers carrying more than 100 guns. By the late eighteenth century some First Rates carried as many as 120 guns (Lyon 1993:xii). Probably the most famous First Rate was Admiral Horatio Nelson's flagship *Victory*, a contemporary of the *America*. Second Rates, which carried from 84 to 98 guns, were the next largest ships of the line. These were mostly two-deckers, but there were a few Second Rate three-deckers. Third Rates, like the *America*, carried from 60 to 80 guns and most were two-deckers. The 74-gun Third Rate became the Royal Navy's standard ship-of-the-line during the later half of the eighteenth century and large numbers were constructed. The smaller ships in the Royal Navy included the Fourth Rates, carrying from 50 to as many as 60 guns, the Fifth Rates, which by the establishments of 1792 were to carry 32 guns but carried as many as 48; and the Sixth Rates, the smallest of the true warships that carried from 20 to 32 guns (Dodds and Moore 1984:7; Lyon 1993:xii).

The *America* was one of 15 ships of what is known as the *Intrepid/Magnanime* class of 1765 (Lyon 1993:74). All of these vessels were constructed at Royal dockyards between 1770 and 1782. These 64-gun ships were built as smaller and cheaper replacements for the older 70s. A number of 64s were constructed beginning in the 1760s, but they proved to be too small and weak compared to the larger 74s and were discontinued in the 1780s. Many, however, remained in service through the Napoleonic Wars. The *America*, like the others in her class, measured 159 feet, 6 inches long on her gun deck, 44 feet, 4 inches wide at her maximum breadth, and 19 feet in "depth of hold," or from her main deck to her keel. Her tonnage, which was a measure of burden or carrying capacity, was 1369 50/94 tons (Lyon 1993:74). The building of the *America* was ordered by the Navy on June 18, 1771; her keel was laid at the Royal Dockyard at Deptford the following October; and six years later, on August 5, 1777, she was launched. Why it took so long to build the *America* is unknown, but most of the other ships of the *Intrepid* class were built in from 2 to 4 years.

The large sailing warships of the eighteenth century, like the *America*, were constructed entirely of wood, and they, in fact, represented among the most complex wooden structures ever built. The few non-wood elements in these ships were chiefly the iron fasteners and fittings used in construction and the copper used to sheath the bottoms. The primary woods used in a ship were oak, elm and fir. Oak was used for most of the main structural pieces, such as the frames (e.g., the "ribs"), the pieces in the stem and stern posts, the knees, deck beams, hull planking, etc. Elm was primarily used for parts of the ship that were constantly wet, such as the keel. The amount of wood required to build a ship like the

America was tremendous. English shipyards of the period used about 2.3 "loads" of timber for each ton of burden of a military vessel, with a load equivalent to about 50 cubic feet of timber, approximately the amount that could be recovered from an average oak tree (Dodds and Moore 1984:13-14). Thus, the *America*, with a burden of 1369 tons would have called for about 3150 large trees, mostly oaks, in her construction. The ironwork for a Third Rate like the *America*, consisting primarily of spikes, drift pins, nails, and miscellaneous fittings, comprised a weight of about 100 tons. In addition, approximately 30,000 wooden pins or dowels of oak, known as treenails (or "trunnels"), were needed to attach the hull planking. British navy vessels began using copper hull sheathing in 1761 because of its superior protection from shipworms and because it needed less frequent cleaning. By 1790 almost all of Britain's naval vessels had been sheathed with copper (Marcus 1975:8). Approximately 30 tons of copper were required to sheath a Third Rate (Pope 1983:38).

Because of the large number of warships constructed during the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815), plus an expanding merchant fleet, it is not surprising that Great Britain began to experience a serious timber shortage in the eighteenth century (Marcus 1975). Consequently, Great Britain, as well as other countries, was forced to turn to other areas for ship timber. The region around the Baltic Sea became the main source of overseas timber for Britain, and large quantities of oak and fir were acquired there. North America also supplied timber, particularly for masts and spars, but not in the quantities of northern Europe (Dodds and Moore 1984:18-19). The Royal Navy preferred British oak for construction, because it was considered stronger and more durable than other types, particularly for the naturally curved, or "compass" timbers used for many ship's elements. With the best oak from British forests largely reserved for the crown, much of the oak and other timber brought from the Baltic and North America was used in the construction of merchantmen.

Like all of the large warships, the *America* was "ship rigged," meaning that she was fitted with three masts and carried square sails on each of them. Her 64 guns were ranged mainly along two decks. The gun deck, which was the lower of these decks, carried 26 24-pounder guns, 13 along each side of the ship. The upper deck, actually the main deck on the ship, carried 26 18-pounder cannons, while 10 9-pounders were carried on the quarter deck, the elevated deck at the stern of the ship. Additionally, the *America* carried 2 9-pounders at her bow atop the forecastle (Lyon 1993:74). Guns were sized on the basis of the weight of solid shot they fired. They were mounted on wheeled carriages or "trucks" fitted with pulleys and ropes for handling and for absorbing the recoil of firing. The 24-pounders on the *America* weighed about 2 tons each and fired a 5 1/2-inch-diameter iron shot a distance of 3,000 yards (Pope 1983:205). These heavy guns were quite powerful and could impart considerable damage at close range, which was the desired fighting style of ships of the line. At 30 yards the solid shot from a large gun could penetrate over 30 inches of oak timber (Pope 1983:205). The weight of guns, powder and shot carried by a large ship of war was tremendous. Just the guns on the *America* constituted about 115 tons of weight, while the shot and powder may have comprised another 100 tons.

The *America* saw varied service during her career. She saw action against the French in July 1778 and in April 1782, losing 12 men killed and 22 wounded in the later engagement. In 1794, the *America* under Commodore John Rodney, was one of a fleet of six warships escorting a convoy from Cadiz that was struck by a tremendous hurricane. In 1795

and 1796, just before James Frewin joined her, the *America* had been at the Cape of Good Hope as a member of a fleet originally commanded by Admiral Peter Rainier (Parkinson 1954:84). In late 1795, Rainier departed for Madras with a portion of the fleet, while the *America* and other ships returned to England (Parkinson 1954:86). In August 1799, while James Frewin was aboard, the *America*, under Captain J. Smith, took part in Admiral Mitchell's expedition to Holland, eventually forcing the capitulation of most of the Dutch naval force. While pursuing the Dutch fleet, the *America* ran aground, losing her rudder (Phillips 2001).

James Frewin served aboard the *America* only two years, leaving her in October 1799 to join the HMS *Boreas*, a 28-gun frigate. The *America* was apparently laid up in England until the summer of 1800, when she sailed to Halifax as flagship of a small fleet of transports. From Halifax she sailed to the West Indies where, on December 13, 1800, she struck the Formigas rocks and was badly damaged. The damage was so severe that the *America* was "hulked" and converted into a prison ship (Lyon 1993:74; Phillips 2001). A "hulked" ship was an older vessel past active service that was demasted and used as a floating supply store, a receiving ship, or, as possibly in the case of the *America*, as a prison ship. Ten of the *Intrepid* class ships, including the *America*, ending up being hulked and used as depot ships, prison ships, convalescent ships or, as in the case of the *Eagle*, as a "lazaretto," or quarantine ship at Chatham (Lyon 1993:74). The ultimate fate of the *America* is obscure, but she may have been turned over to the Transport Board before finally being broken up in 1807, after 30 long years of service to the crown.

When he joined the frigate *Boreas* on October 28, 1799, James Frewin was classified as a landman on her muster (ADM36/13546). It is possible that he and many, if not most, other crewmen aboard the *America* were transferred in late 1799 to the *Boreas* or other ships when the *America* returned to England from Holland. The *Boreas* was not actively sailing when Frewin went aboard as she had been hulked in 1797 and was used as a "slop" ship at Sheerness until 1802, when she was sold by the Navy (Lyon 1993:86). "Slops" referred to clothing that the Navy provided to sailors at a cost which was charged against their pay. Aboard ship the purser was in charge of selling slops to the men, for which he received a commission for amount sold. Because the purser kept his own books and records of sales, this activity lent itself to a considerable amount of fraud, and eventually regulations were instituted that limited the purser to selling each seaman no more than 5 shillings of slops a month (Pope 1983:162).

The Royal Navy had no regulation uniform for seamen when James Frewin served, though some captains had their men wear a semblance of one. However, sailors did tend to wear clothing that was quite distinctive from those worn by the average citizen. These consisted of loose legged canvas trousers, a checked or striped shirt, a waistcoat, commonly red, and a short jacket, often blue. Scarves were often worn loosely knotted around the neck (Rodger 1986:64). The loose trousers ("trowsers") could easily be rolled up when working on a wet deck, and the short jacket would not get in the way when working aloft. It also was popular for the younger sailors to wear their hair tied up into a pigtail.

Aboard the HMS *Belliquex* and HMS *Malta*, 1800-1802

James Frewin was aboard the *Boreas* only four months, until February 1800. It is very likely that this was simply a temporary assignment until his next ship, the 64-gun HMS *Belliqueux*, was available or ready for boarding. Although the *Boreas* was hulked when Frewin was assigned to her, she had had a long career in the Royal Navy. The *Boreas* was a 28-gun Sixth Rate frigate, one of the smaller naval warships. She was one of the *Mermaid* class of frigates designed by Thomas Slade, Senior Surveyor of the Navy from 1745 to 1785 and one of the great naval architects of the day. Slade modeled the *Mermaid* class after a captured French ship, the *Aurora* (Lyon 1993:86). Copying French vessels was not uncommon as it was generally considered that the French, as well as the Spanish, often built ships much superior in design to those of British builders (Marcus 1975:5). The *Boreas* measured 124 feet along the gun deck, had a breadth of 33 feet, 6 inches, a depth of hold of 11 feet and a burden of 612 72/94 tons. She carried a crew of 200 men and her main armament consisted of 24 9-pounders on the main deck and four 3-pounders on the quarter deck. She was also armed with 13 swivel guns (Lyon 1993:86). The *Boreas*, built under contract by the Hodgson shipyard at Hull on the Humber River on the northeast coast, was launched on August 23, 1774. From 1784 to 1787 the *Boreas* frigate was commanded by a young Horatio Nelson. Although Lyon (1993:86) reports that the *Boreas* was sold in 1802, von Pivka (1980:231) indicates that she was still a royal naval vessel on December 5, 1807, the day she went down near Guernsey with the loss of many lives

On February 2, 1800, James Frewin, was taken aboard the HMS *Belliqueux*, a 64-gun Third Rate of the *Ardent* Class of 1761, also, designed by Thomas Slade. The *Belliqueux* was launched from the Perry shipyard in Blackwall on May 6, 1780, and in most respects closely resembled Frewin's first ship, the *America* (Lyon 1993:73-74). Blackwall was one of the numerous Thames River ports near London and was the site of the East India Company's docks. The *Belliqueux* had a long and distinguished career, remaining in active service for 34 years until 1814 when she was hulked and turned into a prison ship at Chatham. Two years later she was broken up (Lyon 1993:74).

When he reported aboard the *Belliqueux*, Frewin was classified as a landman and he was one of a number of men coming from the *America* by way of the *Boreas* (ADM 36/14044). It was not uncommon for large numbers of men to be transferred together from one ship to another; often they did this in following a well-liked captain. However, it is not known if the men from the *America* were following their captain to the *Belliqueux* or were simply being transferred because the *America* was to be taken out of service. The muster roll of the *Belliqueux* notes that Frewin was 20 years old and that his birthplace was Wallingford, Berkshire. Why this differs from the place of birth given earlier is unknown. Wallingford was a small community located along the Thames west of Teddington and it is thought that James is always referring to the same general area in the various places of births he provided.

594	
Brentford 25 Middlesex	John Williams Lm
Lancaster 13	James Vickey Lm
Dublin 20	Rich: D. Hagun Lm
Wallingford 20 Berks	James Fruin Lm
London 20	Josh Walker Lm to 15 th May 1801. OTD
Teddington 19 Middlesex	Rich: Brown Lm

James Frewin's ("Fruin") entry in the muster roll of the HMS *Belliqueux* for the period January to February 1802. The entry notes that he was 20 years old and was rated as a Landman ("Lm"). The "D 14 Feb" notation to the right of his name records the date he was "Discharged" to the HMS *Zealand* (from ADM36/14044).

The *Belliqueux* had been a member of the Channel Fleet and her crew was prominently involved in the 1797 Nore mutiny. In fact, the *Belliqueux* had been a "parliament" ship, where the leaders of the mutiny convened their temporary government. Ultimately, three "Bellycues" were arraigned for mutiny, but none were executed (Dugan 1965:389). Just a few months later, the *Belliqueux* was one of Admiral Duncan's line of battle ships at the Battle of Camperdown where the British defeated the Dutch. James Frewin served aboard the *Belliqueux* for two years, and much of this time was spent in the East Indies and the Indian Ocean. On May 15, 1800, three months after Frewin joined the *Belliqueux*, she sailed from Portsmouth under the command of Captain Rowley Bulteel escorting a large convoy of East India ships bound for Canton (Parkinson 1954:180-181; Phillips 2001). These Indiamen were the *Bombay Castle*, *Lady Jane Dundas*, *Bengal*, *Phoenix*, *Castle Eden*, *Neptune*, *Coutts*, *Dorsetshire*, *Exeter*, *Cealia* and *Bellona*. Also in the convoy were the *Abundance* bound for the Cape of Good Hope and the *Royal Admiral* for Botany Bay (Phillips 2001). On August 4, while off Brazil, four French ships were sighted and Captain Bulteel bore down on them with his Indiamen, hoping their number would frighten the enemy. The *Belliqueux* went after the largest vessel and after a few shots forced it to surrender. The captured vessel proved to be the 44-gun French frigate *Concorde* commanded by Captain Landolphe and having 444 men aboard (Phillips 2001; von Pivka 1980:231). Other vessels in the convoy were able to capture one of the other French ships, the 36-gun *Medee*, but the other two escaped.

The British naval presence in the Indian Ocean and the East Indies was important to protect her numerous interests in the region. Particularly noteworthy were Britain's economic and trading interests derived largely from the East India Company's activities in India, the East Indies and China. At this time Britain maintained economic and military

presences at several locations on the Indian continent, such as at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta; and at the island of Panang in the Malay Peninsula. Also, the East India Company had annual fleets sailing to China. The French, Dutch and Spanish also had interests and possessions in the East Indies, and with the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars in the 1790s, the region saw a considerable amount of naval activity between Britain and the continental powers. The main French possession in the region was Mauritius, consisting of a few small islands in the Indian Ocean about 700 miles east of Madagascar. The two major islands were Mauritius proper, also known as Ile de France, and La Réunion. These islands provided France with a useful naval base from which to operate, although in terms of trade Mauritius was not very important. The major French settlement and port in India was at Pondicherry, but they, also, had several small trading stations elsewhere on the subcontinent (Parkinson 1954:13).

The Dutch had a long history of activity in the East Indies and their principal possessions were Java, the Spice Islands and the Cape of Good Hope. The island of Java was the center of their activities in the region and they had established their most important settlement at Batavia, near the western end of the island. From there they extended a trading sphere over much of the entire East Indies. The Dutch East Indies Company controlled the Dutch trade in the region and they had their dockyard on the island of Onroost, just off the capital of Batavia. The Dutch East India Company also had trade with China and Japan. Another Dutch possession in the region was Ceylon, but it fell to Britain very early in the war (Parkinson 1954:23-35). The Philippine Islands were the only significant Spanish possession in the Far East. However, during the Napoleonic Wars the Philippines were not of great economic importance to Spain.

During the Napoleonic Wars there was some considerable amount of naval activity in the Far East, although it was a largely a neglected theater of the war. The British ultimately gained the upper hand, eventually taking the major French possession of Mauritius and the Dutch island of Java. During this period a number of British naval vessels were assigned to the East Indies Station, headquartered at Madras on the east coast of India. When the *Belliquex* sailed to the Far East in 1800, the Commander in Chief of the East Indies Station was Admiral Peter Rainier. In 1804, Rainier was replaced in command by Sir Edward Pellew, Rear Admiral of the White, one of the most noted frigate captains of his day (Parkinson 1954:252). Throughout the war, an important activity of the ships of the East India Station was guarding the trading convoys of the East India Company, as the *Belliquex* was doing in 1801. In addition, the East India Company maintained some fighting ships of its own. These were commonly called the "Bombay Marine" and were used to protect the Company's shipping activities.

The *Belliquex* returned to England by early 1802, and her muster rolls note that Frewin was discharged from the ship on February 14, 1802, and further, that moneys had been withheld for "slop cloaths supplied by Navy" (ADM 36/14044). Additionally, the rolls note that James and a number of his old shipmates from the *America* were discharged to "Zealand," presumably meaning the HMS *Zealand*, a 64-gun ship captured from the Dutch in 1796 (Lyon 1993:239). However, the day following his discharge from the *Belliquex*, Frewin, along with other crewmen from the *America*, was received aboard the HMS *Malta*.

When he came aboard the *Malta* on February 15, 1802, James Frewin was listed as an ordinary seaman and was carried on the rolls as a "supernumerary" (ADM 36/3809). Supernumeraries were men stationed aboard a ship who were not part of the authorized compliment. They could be pilots, newly raised men waiting to be placed aboard other ships, boat's crews, or men who had somehow become separated from their ships (Rodger 1986:29). In light of the information provided in the rolls of the *Belliqueux*, it is presumed that Frewin and the others who reported with him were temporarily assigned to the *Malta* awaiting reassignment. Frewin's duties on the *Malta* are unknown, but he was aboard her only until April of 1802. During this period the *Malta* was at Hamoaze, the harbor for the naval station and dockyards at Plymouth on the southwest coast of England. As a result of the 1802 Peace of Amiens, which brought a short-lived halt to the fighting between England and France, many Royal Navy ships were laid up and placed in "ordinary," including the *Malta*.

On April 4, 1802, the *Malta* made preparations to be stripped and paid off at Plymouth. In an unusual move, Captain Thomas Bertie of the *Malta* presented a printed certificate of good conduct to each seaman aboard his ship (Phillips 2001). James Frewin received one of these certificates and the document is still found among a collection of papers held by his descendents. This certificate, portions of which are missing, commends "Jas. Frowen" for his service on "His Majesty's Ship Malta" between 16 February and 12 April 1802 while at Hamoaze and represents his discharge from the naval service (Frewin Family Papers [hereinafter cited FFP] 1802). The document notes that Frewin acted in an "orderly manner" and could be recommended for service on any of "His majesty's Ships." The recommendation is signed by Captain Bertie, although the portion containing the signature is partially missing. Written on the back of this document are the dates of Frewin's service on the *Malta* and the notation that he served as an ordinary seaman and was "pd off" on April 12, 1802. James Frewin apparently kept this paper with him for many years, because also written on the back is a notation dated at the Navy Pay Office on November 9, 1803, stating: "Clerk of the Cheque, Greenwich Hospital for any prize money that may not already have been received." Greenwich Hospital was operated by the navy for sailors and it was supported by small deductions made from every seaman's pay. The reason for this notation is not understood, unless Frewin at some time had been in the hospital or attached to it. There are reliable family stories that James Frewin had one wooden leg when he resided on St. Simons Island, suggesting that he may have lost a leg in the service. If Frewin did lose a leg and was in Greenwich Hospital in 1803 then he could have become a hospital "pensioner" and continued to serve in the navy as a cook, as other injured seamen did. However, as noted below, the Admiralty Records strongly suggest that James Frewin continued in naval service until 1815 with no indications that he served in any capacity other than an active seaman.

As an ordinary seaman, Frewin would have been paid 25 shillings and 6 pence per month (Pope 1983:190). Landmen were paid somewhat less and able seamen somewhat more, about 1 pound, 4 shillings per month in the late eighteenth century. From this pay every seaman had 1 shilling 6 pence deducted for the Greenwich Hospital. When Frewin was in naval service, his pay was probably roughly equivalent to or somewhat less than what merchant seamen were making, but in peacetime the pay of merchant seamen was usually less than that of those in the Navy. The manner in which the Royal Navy paid its men was a

is to Certify, that the Bearer, *Jas. Frowen*
along to His Majesty's Ship Malta, under my O
day of February 1802 to the Time of her
1802, in Hamoaz; during which Time he
d orderly Manner, and that I can recommend him a
served on board of any of His Majesty's Ships or
Service. His Station in board the Malta will
on the other Side.

Witness my Hand, *JTB*

Remains of the April 12, 1802, certificate issued by Captain Thomas Bertie to James Frewin ("Jas. Frowen") for his service on "His Majesty's Ship Malta" between 16 February and 12 April 1802 (from Frewin Family Papers, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah).

complicated affair. Commonly, when a man volunteered into the Service he received a bounty, which was £5 for an able seaman in the early nineteenth century. Seamen were then usually given a two months advance in their pay so they could buy "slops" and other necessary supplies. Subsequently, the men were not paid for long intervals. Generally, ships' companies were not paid at all when abroad, but would receive their accumulated salary upon their return to England. This was to be paid out within two months, but the last six months salary was always withheld until a sailor mustered out of the service. This was to help prevent desertions, but it meant that sailors could go for long periods without receiving any pay and, often, they were forced to borrow money and, ultimately, many would go into debt. This led to abuse of the system by unscrupulous moneylenders onboard ships and at ports throughout the world. The system was somewhat tempered by the fact that seamen could have a portion of his pay received by his wife or parents while he was abroad. This amount, however, was limited to £7 total for an able seaman (Pope 1983:95).

While the pay of naval seamen may have been somewhat lower than those in the merchant service, they did receive their victuals free of charge. The cost for food was commonly deducted from the pay of merchant sailors. In addition, those in the naval service

were eligible for prize money for any vessels or goods captured by their ship. Although it appears that prize money did attract seamen into the service, it was certainly more lucrative for officers and commanders than it was for the average rating. Rodger (1986:129) notes that the value of a prize was distributed in the following proportions: one-eighth to the commander-in-chief of the squadron, one-quarter to the capturing ship's commander; one-eighth to the master and the lieutenants, one-eighth to the warrant sea officers, one-eighth to the petty officers and the remaining one-quarter to the "ratings" and marines. Thus, in a 28-gun frigate, the average seaman received 0.18 percent of the value of the prize. In 1808, the shares going to the ship's captain and the squadron commander were reduced, thus increasing the shares distributed among the lower ranks (Pope 1983:234). The value of a captured ship was assessed by naval officials and the shares were paid out, although it could be years before the money was distributed. Prize money made a number of naval officers quite wealthy, particularly several admirals commanding squadrons. However, for most naval personnel, officers and ratings alike, the prize money, while welcome, did not make them rich.

The Admiralty also paid what was known as "gun" or "head" money when an enemy warship was captured. Originally, this payment was £10 per gun carried by the enemy ship to be distributed among the captors. Pope (1983:232) notes that this would be only about £1 per man when one 74-gun ship captured another. Later, this payment was changed to "5 pounds a head," counting every man on the muster of the captured enemy ship, which would mean about £4 for every crewman with the same two 74-gun ships. How much prize, gun or head money James Frewin may have received is unknown, but the *Malta* document noted above suggests that he was in line to receive some.

The *Malta* was an 84-gun, Third Rate that had been captured from the French in the Mediterranean on March 30, 1800 (Lyon 1993:237). Originally known as *Le Guillaume Tell*, she had been launched at Toulon, France, in 1795. *Le Guillaume Tell* was one of a large number of French ships captured by the Royal Navy which, ultimately, led to the almost complete devastation of the French navy over the period of the Napoleonic Wars. The newly named *Malta* was 194 feet, 4 inches long on the gun deck, had a beam of 51 feet, 7 inches and a depth of hold of 23 feet, 4 inches, and carried a compliment of 780 men. She was the second largest two-decker in the British navy and was heavily armed, carrying 30 32-pounders on her gun deck, 30 24-pounders on the main deck, 18 24-pounders on the quarter deck and two 12-pounders forward at the bow. In addition to these long guns, the *Malta* carried several shorter cannons known as carronades, a type of cannon which became popular in the later years of the eighteenth century. These consisted of 4 very large 68-pounder carronades, 2 on the gun deck and 2 on the poop or "round house;" and 8 24-pounder carronades, 6 on the quarter deck and 2 on the poop.(Lyon 1993:237). The *Malta* had a long career. She remained in regular service until 1831 when she was hulked to become a depot ship at Plymouth. There she remained until 1840 when she was finally broken up (Lyon 1993:237).

The HMS *Cornwallis* and the East Indies Squadron, 1805-1812

What happened to James Frewin after his discharge from the *Malta* in April 1802 is difficult to follow, but there are suggestions that he returned to sea and, eventually, to the

Royal Navy. The notation on the back of the *Malta* commendation that he was "paid off" on April 12, indicates the date that he left naval service, having been in for four and a half years. In fact, large numbers of British sailors were released from service in 1801 and 1802 as a result of peace agreements reached at Amiens with most of the belligerents on the continent in those years. However, this peace did not hold long and on May 16, 1803, England again declared war on France (von Pivka 1980:88-89). Ships were sent to blockade French ports and Nelson sailed on the *Victory* to the Mediterranean to take command of the fleet there. It wasn't long before the British navy again needed additional sailors to man its ships. James Frewin may have been one of the many who returned to the Royal Navy. Admiralty records indicate that on March 27, 1805, a "James Frewin" was received aboard the frigate HMS *Cornwallis* as an ordinary seaman (ADM 37/930). The *Cornwallis'* muster roll notes that this James Frewin was 25 years old and "Derbyshire" is given as his place of birth. Under the column headed "Whence and whether prest [pressed] or not" on the muster, Frewin is listed as a volunteer and the roll also notes that he was paid a 50 shilling bounty (ADM 37/930).

The real question is whether this individual is the correct James Frewin. His age is correct and his rating as an "ordinary seaman" is what it was when aboard the *Malta*. Also, the name "Frewin" is not too common, providing some support for the contention that these are the same person. Further, the notations on the back of the commendation received by James Frewin when he left the *Malta* in April 1802 suggest that he was in the navy to, at least, November 1803. However, the place of birth given for the James Frewin on the muster of the *Cornwallis*, "Derbyshire," seems totally out of place for the James Frewin born in or near London. The county of Derbyshire is located in central England, well north of London and far from the area where the Frewin name was common. Until more concrete evidence is found, it can only be speculated that the James Frewin who joined the *Cornwallis* in 1805 is the same James Frewin who had joined the Royal Navy in 1797. The following discussions presume that these are the same individual, but this remains to be proven positively.

The HMS *Cornwallis* had been a Bombay Marine frigate belonging to the Honorable East India Company prior to her purchase by the Royal Navy. Phillips (2001) implies that the navy acquired the ship in 1801, although Lyon (1993:270), who seems more reliable, suggests it was in 1805. Built at Bombay in 1801, she had been known as the *Marquis of Cornwallis* while a Company ship and had served in India, the East Indies and Asia. Lyon (1993:270) specifically states that the *Cornwallis* was purchased "from the East India Co. in India," and Parkinson (1954:261) notes that in the spring of 1805 Admiral Pellew purchased several East India Company ships at Bombay to strengthen his squadron. Some of these vessels were considered "China ships" and had just returned from Canton. Among these were the *Cornwallis*, the *Bombay*, the *Mornington*, the *Sir Edward Hughes*, the *Duncan* (formerly the *Carron*) and the *Howe* (formerly the *Shah Kaikuseroo*). James Frewin must have been aboard the *Cornwallis* in Bombay when Pellew purchased her. In fact, it is known that the *Cornwallis* and the *Hughes* brought their crews with them from the Company's service, although Pellew noted that they were much under strength (Parkinson 1954:261). Frewin and his fellow sailors are unlikely to have had any choice in joining the Royal Navy when their ship was purchased. Any seaman could legally be impressed, plus the only real choices for a British sailor in India were service in the Royal Navy or with the East India Company. By volunteering into naval service, seamen, at least, received their bounty.

This information may answer the question as to the whereabouts of James Frewin between his discharge from the navy in April 1802 or November 1803 and March 1805. At least for part of this time he seems to have been serving aboard an East Indiaman. Frewin would have become acquainted with India and the Far East from his service aboard the *Belliqueux* and, after his discharge from the navy, he probably took a position on an East India Company ship. It is not known if the *Marquis of Cornwallis* was the only Indiamen he served on, but considering the often very long period of time these ships were at sea it is conceivable that he was aboard just this one vessel during the two or three years he was out of the Royal Navy.

Rodger (1986:78, 361) notes that during the 1760s approximately 85 percent of the landmen and ordinary seamen in the navy were under 25. Able seamen averaged about 25 years old and petty officers about 30. James Frewin, at 25, may have been slightly older than the average ordinary seaman when he rejoined the navy, but it is possible that by 1805, because of the large number of men taken into the navy, the average age had increased slightly. Because seamen generally started their careers so young, by the time they were 25 or 30 they had often spent 15 to 20 years at sea. Rodger (1986:360-361) presents figures for the period 1764 to 1782 showing that less than 10 percent of able seaman from a sample of 31 naval ships were over 40 years of age. The active life on deck and aloft in all types of weather, plus the damp and crowded living conditions below deck, generally took their toll and seamen in their thirties were very often so slowed by rheumatism and other aches and pains that they left the service or were placed in less demanding positions on board.

Still extant is the family bible owned by James Frewin. This bible contains numerous entries recording several generations of marriages, births, and deaths. One of these entries reads: "James and Elizabeth Frewin married 8th. September 1805 at St. Mary's Church, Lambeth Parish, England." The bible also notes that the Frewins had three children: twin sons, James and William, born September 1, 1806, and a daughter named Sarah, born August 6, 1811. The birth date of the Frewin sons seems to confirm the marriage date of the previous year. The muster rolls of the *Cornwallis* contain an entry for James Frewin reading "16 June 1805 Penang, Hospt." seeming to indicate that in June 1805 James Frewin was discharged to a hospital in Panang, a major East Indies port located on Panang Island off the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Frewin was not reentered on the ship's rolls until April 1806 (ADM37/930). There seems no reason to question the veracity of either the church or naval records, meaning that James Frewin had to return to England sometime prior to September 1805, the month he was married. It is possible that he was shipped home because of his illness and may have rejoined the *Cornwallis* if she returned to England, or he may have sailed out to meet her in the East. The records examined are not clear as to where the ship was when Frewin rejoined her. As noted above, however, it is always possible that the James Frewin serving aboard the *Cornwallis* was not the James Frewin who married in September 1805.

Why James Frewin was placed in the hospital in Panang is unknown, but the greatest dangers faced by seamen at the time were disease and weather, not war. During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, which lasted with only a short hiatus for 22 years, the Royal Navy lost 1,875 killed in various engagements fought by its ships, compared with more than 72,000 who died from disease and accident and another 13,600 who died in ships lost at sea (Pope 1983:131). The East Indies Station was one of the most hazardous faced by

British sailors. The sailing voyage from England to India commonly took three to four months during which time seaman faced the diseases and dangers brought on by an extremely long sea voyage. Once in the Far East they were confronted by innumerable tropical diseases in addition to the possibility of battle with enemy vessels. Parkinson (1954:354) notes that the East Indies squadron lost approximately 2,000 men during just the three years from 1806 through 1809. Most died or were invalided from disease, some were killed in battle or from shipboard accidents, while others died as prisoners on the Ile de France. Over the approximately 20-year course of the war, this could mean as many as 12,000 to 15,000 naval casualties, although precise figures are not available. In September 1806, of 92 men invalided at the hospital in Madras "19 had ulcers, 13 suffered from hepatitis, 12 from debility and 6 from dysentery; 5 had lost a leg by amputation, 11 were lame, and others were epileptic, ruptured or insane" (Parkinson 1954:355). The principal naval hospital was at the squadron headquarters in Madras. Other hospitals were at Bombay and Panang.

Scurvy, typhus and yellow fever were among the worst diseases that ravaged the fleets, and service in the East and West Indies was particularly unpopular because of the heavy losses to diseases in those areas. Various other fevers and fluxes were common as were "consumption, phthisis, diseased viscera, gravel, asthma, rheumatism, vertigo, paralysis and venereal disease" (Parkinson 1954:355). Scurvy was probably the most common disease and the one which resulted in the greatest loss of life. By the late-eighteenth century it was generally recognized that scurvy was a dietary disease, and efforts were made to provide men with fresh meat and vegetables whenever possible. But, even in James Frewin's time, ships that spent long periods of time at sea often encountered scurvy. To combat it, ships were sent to sea or resupplied with quantities of cabbages, onions, turnips, carrots and lemons; live animals were carried aboard to provide fresh meat; and fish were caught when possible. As an example, between February and September 1804, 21,300 oranges and 81,685 pounds of onions were purchased for Mediterranean ships and, in January 1805, 20,000 gallons of lemon juice were ordered for the same fleet (Pope 1983:142). In the East Indies the nopal cactus came into popular and successful use as an antiscorbutic (Parkinson 1954:362). Some captains took great care to insure their men were supplied with healthful food on long voyages. In 1811, James Frewin's old ship, the *Belliqueux*, having spent 5 years in the East, returned to England. For the voyage, her captain, George Byng, purchased in China "12 dozen capons, 2,000 pounds of potatoes, 200 pounds of carrots, 800 pounds of pumpkins, 500 pounds of dry onion" and a quantity of pickled nopal. In addition, the *Belliqueux* took aboard livestock and fresh vegetables, particularly watercress, at St. Helena on the return voyage. This long voyage ended without the loss of a single man (Parkinson 1954:363)

Typhus, another common disease, generally resulted from the unclean conditions found on many ships. Efforts were made to combat typhus and other diseases by cleaning and disinfecting ships. Decks and holds were washed out and scrubbed, often with vinegar, and, sometimes, a ship would be battened down and sulphur fires would be lit in the hold to purify the air. Additionally, when at sea a variety of mechanisms were used to force air into the lower decks to improve ventilation. Efforts were also made to force seamen to keep themselves and their clothing clean. Most captains periodically inspected their men and forced them to regularly wash a change of clothing.

Everyday life for seamen in the Far East command differed in a number of ways from that of other sailors. For one, they were rarely paid. As noted, ships were paid off only when they returned to England and, in theory, this could occur only at a "Kings Port," of which there were just two, Portsmouth and Plymouth. Trincomalee on Ceylon was named a Kings Port for a period of time, but it appears that no ships were ever paid there (Parkinson 1954:345-346). Ships and man often remained in the East for up to 10 years before returning to England. This lack of pay certainly created considerable hardships for the average seaman, but it could be offset to some extent by the receipt of prize money. In 1804 a Vice Admiralty Court was established at Colombo on Ceylon which made for speedy adjudication of prizes and, thus, early payment of prize money (Parkinson 1954:346). If a captured merchantmen was accepted by the Vice Admiralty Court as a lawful prize, she was turned over to her captors who, in turn, would have her and her cargo sold by an agent at a major port. After costs, the money derived from the sale was distributed to the captors according to the established divisions.

When a ship of war was taken, she was offered by the captor for purchase into the Navy, bypassing the prize court. The Admiral made the decision to buy the prize in the government's name and Parkinson (1954:347) notes that Admiral Pellew commonly paid high prices for these prizes. Of course, the money paid for these war vessels would be distributed to Pellew's officers and man, and a percentage would come back to him as the squadron commander. Prizes were fairly numerous while Pellew was in command in the East Indies. During the 5 years he was commander-in-chief (1804 to 1809) he reported the capture of 223 prize ships. Forty one of these were armed ships of war, for which head and gun money was paid in addition to the standard prize money (Parkinson 1954:346). Needless to say, Sir Edward Pellew returned to England a wealthy man.

The food aboard East Indies ships also differed from that found on other Royal Navy vessels. The most common items in the British seaman's diet were beef and bread. Beef could normally be obtained locally, but bread was difficult to find in the East Indies and it was generally replaced by rice. The seamen normally ate rice simply boiled dry, or as "congee" with some milk added, while officers tended to eat it in the form of curry. The importance of rice in the diet of the East Indies squadron is seen in Pellew's 1805 demand for sets of copper boilers for all of his ships because "the constant boiling of Rice, which must be well dried to be eatable, wears the Cast Iron very fast" (Parkinson 1954:350). Vinegar and peas were found in the East, but the only beer available was what was brought out on a ship, and it was soon used up. Also cocoa was commonly drunk in place of tea, and arrack in place of rum. In 1808, Admiral Pellew ordered that "vegetables of the port" were to be provided daily for a month to any arriving ship provided she had been at sea for more than 28 days (Parkinson 1954:350). The purpose of the fresh vegetables was to eliminate any scurvy aboard and improve the general health of the ship.

The *Cornwallis* was apparently one of the best of the vessels that Admiral Pellew acquired in 1805. He noted that she was "a prodigious fine ship" and he proceeded to alter her to suit naval service. He opened her spar-deck amidship and increased her spread of canvas by putting up larger spars (Parkinson 1954:261). The *Cornwallis* had been constructed as a 50-gun ship, but apparently carried fewer guns during at least part of her naval career. Built of teak, she measured 166 feet, 4 1/2 inches on her main deck; had a beam of 43 feet, 4 1/2 inches; a depth of hold of 15 feet, 3 inches and a burden of 1388 tons.

The *Cornwallis*, apparently, had no lower internal deck serving as a true gun deck because all of her guns were mounted on the upper, or main deck, and the quarter deck. She carried 30 24-pounders on her upper deck and 26 42-pounder carronades on her quarterdeck, and a single 18-pounder forward at the forecastle (Lyon 1993:270). Lyon (1993:270) notes that the *Cornwallis* served part of her naval career as a troopship, during which she carried only 38 guns; 22 32-pounder carronades on the upper deck, 6 32-pounder carronades on the quarter deck and 2 9-pounders forward. The *Cornwallis* carried a compliment of 430 men.

In 1812, the *Cornwallis* was renamed HMS *Akbar*, after the sixteenth century Mogul emperor of India. The name change was apparently made because of the start of construction of a new *Cornwallis* in Bombay, a teak built, 74-gun, two-decker (Lyon 1993:115). The *Akbar* remained in active service until 1824 when she was converted to a hulk and assigned to the Pembroke Royal dockyards in Wales and stationed nearby at Milford as a lazaretto (Lyon 1993:343). In 1827 the *Akbar* was shifted to Liverpool where she remained as a "hulk" until 1864 when she apparently was sold (Lyon 1993:344). By this time, the ship had been in service for almost 65 years.

After her acquisition by the British Navy, James Frewin served aboard the *Cornwallis* for seven and a half years, until August 1812, about the time the ship was renamed. How long he had been aboard her as an Indiaman is unknown, but it could have been for 3 years. The ship was engaged in the Far East during most of the period that Frewin was aboard. On April 30, 1805, just after he acquired her for the Royal Navy, Admiral Pellew took the *Cornwallis*, *Concorde* (36) and *Howe* south to the port of Trincomalee in Ceylon and then up the east coast of India to the squadron headquarters at Madras. There he found other members of his squadron; the *Albion* (74 guns), *Duncan*, *Rattlesnake* (18), *Harrier* and *Albatross* (18) (Parkinson 1954:263). Pellew then deployed his ships to best provide protection to the British ports in India and to the ships of the East India Company. The *Cornwallis* and *Harrier* were sent with the 38-gun frigate *Phaeton* under the command of Captain Wood to provide "immediate protection of the Trade on the Coast of China, to reconnoiter the Port of Manilla in their way to China, and to prevent predatory views of the Enemy Cruizers in that quarter" (Parkinson 1954:263). The *Dedaigneuse* (36) and *Albatross* (18) were sent to patrol in the Straits of Malacca and the *Lancaster* (64) and *Sir Edward Hughes* were to convoy the annual fleet of Indiamen which departed India for England in July or August.

The *Cornwallis* under the command of Captain Charles James Johnston, remained in the Indian Ocean and China Seas for a considerable period of time. In 1806 she was stationed off the French island of Mauritius and in November, with the HMS *Bingham*, took part in a raid against French shipping in St. Paul's Bay at Reunion Island (Phillips 2001). The raid was unsuccessful and the crews of the *Cornwallis* and *Bingham* were suffering so much from scurvy that they had to sail to Madagascar to obtain fresh provisions. Parkinson (1954:291, 300) reports the *Cornwallis* was operating between India and the China Sea in December 1806 with the *Phaeton* and *Harrier* and, also, in February 1807 with the frigates *Caroline*, *Hughes* and *Phaeton*. James Frewin was apparently not aboard his ship during this entire period, assuming that the muster roll of the *Cornwallis* is correct in stating that he was discharged to the hospital in Panang in June 1805 and did not return to the ship until April 1806 (ADM37/930). Panang was situated in the Straits of Malacca and it is presumed that

he was dropped off here when the *Cornwallis* and her consorts passed through on their way to the China Sea in 1805.

James Frewin and his shipmates spent some considerable amount of time at sea while aboard the *Cornwallis*, because the smaller vessels in the Royal Navy tended to be at sea more than the larger ones. Rodger (1986:352) notes that in the 1760s and 1770s the Fifth and Sixth rate frigates spent about one-half their time at sea and one-half in port while the First Rates were at sea only about 23 percent of the time. Forth Rates, like the *Cornwallis*, generally spent about 40 percent of their time at sea, but because the *Cornwallis* was serving in the East Indies and the China Sea where distances between ports were considerable, her sea time may have been greater than was the norm.

In February 1807, Captain Johnston and the *Cornwallis* departed Madras for an extended voyage in the Pacific Ocean intent on finding enemy cruisers and disrupting enemy shipping. She first sailed to Port Jackson (present-day Sydney), Australia, being the first man-of-war to sail through the Bass Strait between Australia and Tasmania. Leaving Australia, the *Cornwallis* sailed around the south of New Zealand and on May 16 was off Chatham Island and then crossed the Pacific, arriving a month later at the island of Juan Fernandez off the coast of Chile. Two days after leaving Juan Fernandez, a quantity of blank musket cartridges exploded in the gunner's store killing several crewmen and burning others. The explosion set the ship on fire but this was eventually extinguished (Phillips 2001). Subsequently, the *Cornwallis* ranged along the South American coast. She made land near Valparaiso on June 20, she captured a small vessel and two brigs near Port Iquique in Peru in early July, and later in the month destroyed the 375-ton *Rosalia* and an unnamed brig. In July, she captured several merchant ships and a small, armed Spanish gunbrig. On August 4, men from the *Cornwallis* entered Port Paita where they destroyed four vessels and three days later off Puna Island two brigs and two gun vessels were captured. Aboard the captured vessels were five bullocks, a very welcome addition to the diet since most of the crew had gone 107 days without fresh meat.

The *Cornwallis* continued north where she was involved in a fight with a small Spanish force on the island of Tobago off Panama. The ship departed the Panamanian coast in October intent on recrossing the Pacific, reaching Hawaii on November 10 where she laid up to take on fresh supplies and water. On December 9, the *Cornwallis* departed Hawaii, sighting one of the "Ladron Islands" (present-day Marianas Islands) on the 29th. On this leg of the voyage, the ship discovered two groups of unreported reefs and small islands, both of which were named Cornwallis Islands and one of which has been subsequently named Johnston Islands, in honor of the ship's captain. On January 9, 1808, the *Cornwallis* anchored off Macao where she met nine East Indian Company ships to escort to Malacca where they arrived on January 23rd. At Malacca, the *Cornwallis* encountered a squadron under command of Admiral Pellew returning to Madras. In October of 1807, Admiral Pellew had gathered together a force of nine ships at Madras and sailed for Java, intending to take the island from the Dutch. He was able to destroy a number of Dutch warships at Grisse near the eastern end of Java, but did not make an attempt on the main Dutch settlement at Batavia (Parkinson 1954:307). Captain Johnston and the *Cornwallis* departed Malacca and sailed to Madras, reaching there in February, having spent an entire year at sea. During this long voyage only one man is reported to have died of scurvy, a tribute to the concern of the captain and ship's surgeon and the quality of provisions carried (Phillips 2001).

The *Cornwallis* appears to have remained in the Far East for the next several years. On her arrival at Madras from her Pacific voyage, Captain Johnston was replaced by Captain Fleetweed B.R. Pellew, son of Admiral Pellew. Two years later, in February 1810, the *Cornwallis*, now commanded by Captain William Augustus Montague, joined with the *Dover* (38), and the *Samarang* (18) and recaptured Amboyna, the Dutch capitol of the Moluccas. The island had been previously taken by the British in 1796, but subsequently restored to the Dutch. Later in the same year, Pellew's replacement as commander of the Far East Squadron, Vice-Admiral O'Brien Drury, organized an expedition to take Mauritius from the French. On September 22 the *Cornwallis*, now under command of Captain William Fisher, and *Psyche* departed Madras for the Ile de France in escort to a division of troop transports (Parkinson 1954:380). Vice Admiral Bertie, in command at the Cape of Good Hope, met Drury's fleet off of Mauritius and ordered him to return to Madras and attend to his duties there. The *Cornwallis* remained with Bertie's fleet of nearly seventy sail and almost 7,000 troops off Mauritius. Almost 60 small boats and landing craft manned by sailors and loaded with almost 2,000 troops and arms rowed shore at Mapou Bay on the Ile de France on November 29, 1810. The *Cornwallis* supplied a pinnace, two cutters and several flats to the landing force, but it does not appear that James Frewin or any of his crewmates were involved in the landing itself (Parkinson 1954:400). The troops marched overland to the capital, Port Louis, and with support from the naval vessels, the the army forced the French to quickly surrender.

In August 1811 a large naval force, consisting of 33 of the ships of the East Indies squadron, plus almost 12,000 soldiers, joined in an attack on Batavia, the Dutch capitol of Java. The Dutch were easily defeated, and with the capture of Java the naval war in the East was essentially over. From 1812 to 1815, the East Indies squadron was involved in no major engagements, but essentially stood guard against French and American vessels, the latter becoming an enemy with the start of the War of 1812 (Parkinson 1954:418). With the Americans entering the war, the Admiralty began to order home ships from the East to guard against American cruisers in the Atlantic. Also, the Admiralty began to realize that ships and men were left far too long in the East where vessels became worn out and men became "much debilitated from effects of Java Fever and Dysentery" (Parkinson 1954:419). By 1812 most of the ships had returned home, many having been in the East Indies for ten, twelve, or fifteen years.

During his time aboard the *Cornwallis*, James Frewin did receive promotions. Initially carried on the rolls as an ordinary seaman, in March 1807, during the year-long Pacific voyage, he was listed as an able seaman (ADM 29/029). Three years later, on September 11, 1810, Frewin is listed as a "quarter gunner." The quarter gunner was a seaman who assisted the gunner's mates in looking after the guns. There was one quarter gunner for every four guns. This position was an officially established one appointed by the ship's captain. The quarter gunner was considered a seaman petty officer and was paid a small amount more than an able seaman (Rodger 1986:26). In 1807, the *Cornwallis* is reported to have carried 44 guns (Parkinson 1954:303), meaning she would have had a compliment of 11 quarter gunners.

How often James Frewin may have returned to England to visit his family while in the East Indies squadron is unknown, but typically men were separated from their families

for long periods of time. His twin sons, James and William, were born in September 1806, suggesting he was at home in December 1805 or early 1806. This is the time during which Admiralty records indicate he was away from his ship ill. On February 28, 1807, while Frewin was serving aboard the *Cornwallis*, both of his sons died at the age of only 7 months (Frewin Family Bible). The Frewin's daughter Sarah was born in August 1811, suggesting that James had been in England sometime around December 1810. It is possible that Frewin returned to England after the capture of Mauritius in November 1810 although records seem to suggest that the *Cornwallis* remained in the Far East. James Frewin's wife, Elizabeth, died on October 14, 1812, shortly after James joined his next ship, the frigate *Seahorse*. Elizabeth was buried at Lambeth Church (Frewin Family Bible); it is not known if her sons were also laid to rest there. The Frewins' surviving child, Sarah, was just a year old when her mother died, and, with her father still in the navy, some arrangements had to have been made to care for her. It is believed that she was taken in by members of her mother's family.

Less than a year after the death of his first wife, James Frewin remarried. On May 2, 1813, he married 25-year-old Sarah Dorothy Rountree at St. Mary's Church in Lambeth, the same church where his first marriage had been celebrated. Sarah Dorothy was the daughter of Robert Rountree and Dorothy Pounder of Hartlepool, a port town at the mouth of the River Tees on the northeast coast of England. The maiden name of James' first wife, Elizabeth, is unknown, but there is a possibility that she and Sarah Dorothy Rountree were sisters. It is known that Sarah Dorothy had a sister named Elizabeth (Parish Records, St. Hildas Church n.d.), and it is possible that Sarah Frewin had been named after her aunt, Sarah Dorothy Rountree. However, more information is needed to verify this assumption.

The HMS *Seahorse* and the War of 1812, 1812-1815

On August 23, 1812, James Frewin was mustered aboard the HMS *Seahorse*, a 38-gun frigate of the *Artois/Apollo* class (Lyon 1993:118). Built at the Stalkartt shipyard in Rotherhithe, the *Seahorse* was launched in 1794. Rotherhithe is located on the Thames just down river of London and has always been an important port and shipbuilding town. A Fifth Rate, the *Seahorse* measured 146 feet on the main deck; had a beam of 39 feet; a depth of hold of 13 feet, 9 inches and a burden of 983 70/94 tons (Lyon 1993:118). She carried 28 18-pounders on her main deck, 8 9-pounders and 6 32-pounder carronades on her quarter deck, and 2 9-pounders and 2 32-pounder carronades at her forecastle. The *Seahorse* was manned by a crew of 270. This ship was in service for 25 years until 1819, when she was broken up.

James Frewin sailed on the *Seahorse* for 3 years, until 1815. Admiralty records indicate that he came aboard as a quarter gunner, the rating he had achieved on the *Cornwallis*, but on March 23, 1813, was listed as an ordinary seaman, the position he held until leaving the ship on September 12, 1815 (ADM 29/029). Why Frewin was reduced to an ordinary seaman is unknown. It is possible that he simply was not physically able to perform many of the more strenuous duties required of sailors. He was 33 years old by this time and certainly not as agile as the younger sailors on the ship. Also, he had spent over 15 years at sea, years which no doubt had taken their toll on his physical condition.

When James Frewin joined the *Seahorse*, the frigate had just been overhauled and refitted and placed under the command of Captain James Alexander Gordon. During most of James Frewin's time aboard the *Seahorse*, the ship saw action in the American theatre. In the summer of 1814, the *Seahorse* crossed the Atlantic to join Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane's forces in America. The *Seahorse* arrived in Chesapeake Bay on August 14 along with Admiral Cochrane's flagship, the 80-gun, ship-of-the-line *Tonnant*, and two transports (Pack 1987:178). Welcoming Admiral Cochrane was the commander of British naval forces in the Chesapeake, Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn. On the night of August 16 a large squadron of over 50 ships under the command of Rear Admiral Pulteney Malcolm arrived carrying a large number of troops to be used in the invasion of Virginia and an attack on the American capitol, Washington (Pack 1987:180-181). On August 17, the *Seahorse*, under the command of Captain Gordon, left her anchorage in Chesapeake Bay and proceeded up the Potomac River at the head of a small squadron of ships. Their objective was to support the British army's attack on Washington.

Joseph Allen, in his "Battles of the British Navy" (Allen 1852) provides a detailed account of the *Seahorse's* activities during the Washington campaign. He notes that the *Seahorse* led six ships up the Potomac on August 17. These were the 36-gun frigate *Euryalus*, under Captain Charles Napier, the bomb ships *Devastation* (Commander Thomas Alexander), *Aetna* (Commander Richard Kenah), and *Meteor* (Commander Samuel Roberts), the rocket ship *Erebus* (Commander David Bartholomew), and the tender *Anna Maria*, commanded by Master's mate Matthew Gray. The squadron had no local pilots and found the going difficult up the river. On the 18th, the *Seahorse* grounded and her guns had to be placed aboard the tender to be refloated. On the 25th the *Seahorse* and *Euryalus* were damaged by a heavy squall, but repairs were made quickly.

The small fleet finally reached Fort Washington outside of Alexandria on the 27th, after having run aground more than 20 times and having spent the last five days warping the ships up the river. The ships began to bombard the fort and the garrison was soon seen leaving the town. On the following day, Captain Gordon landed and took control of the fortifications around Alexandria and destroyed the many guns they held. One of the conditions that Captain Gordon placed on the citizens of Alexandria at their surrender was that the Americans raise the numerous ships and boats they had scuttled and load them with goods and merchandise which the British planned to take away as prize of war.

On August 31, the British 18-gun brig *Fairy*, which had fought her way up the Potomac, arrived in Alexandria with orders that Captain Gordon and his squadron return to the Chesapeake. That same day, Gordon prepared his 21 prize ships and their cargoes and began the voyage down river. By this time, the Americans had begun to set up batteries and station troops along the banks of the Potomac and Allen (1852:21-23) describes the hazardous trip made by the British vessels:

Contrary winds made it necessary for the ships to warp down the river; in attempting which the *Devastation* grounded. The Americans, on the watch to take advantage of any accident, immediately assembled their gun-boats and fire-vessels, and under the orders of Commodore Rogers, advanced to the attack of the bomb-vessels. Captain Alexander, however, taking command of

the boats of his own vessel, proceeded to the attack of the gun-boats, which, upon his approach, retreated.

. . . the Americans determined, if possible, to prevent the return of the squadron down the Potomac; and the banks were lined with seamen from the different ships at Philadelphia and Norfolk; and riflemen, artillerymen, and militia were lying in ambush on every point, ready to avail themselves of the slightest advantage resulting from accident or other cause. Batteries were thrown up in the best positions for attacking the ships. The Meteor and Fairy, in advance of the squadron, continued to move down the river, and assisted by the tender and a boat belonging to the Euryalus, greatly impeded the progress of the enemy in their works; notwithstanding which, however, the Americans succeeded in increasing their batteries from five to eleven guns, and in building a furnace for heating shot. On the 3rd of September the Aetna and Erebus got down to the assistance of the Meteor and Fairy, and on the following day the frigates and prizes arrived there also; but the Devastation was still five miles astern. The grand attempt was now made. The Erebus sustained much damage from three field-pieces before they could be silenced.

. . . .

On the 5th, at noon, the wind being fair and every suitable arrangement made, the two frigates anchored within musket shot of the batteries, to cover the prizes, as they passed between them and the shoal. The Meteor, Aetna, and Devastation, and the Fairy and Erebus, firing as they passed, took up a position to facilitate the further removal of the frigates. At 3h. p.m. the batteries having been silenced, the Seahorse and Euryalus cut their cables; and the whole squadron proceeded onwards towards the next point to be contested by the Americans. Two batteries, mounting together from fourteen to eighteen heavy guns, were here constructed on a range of cliffs of about a mile in extent, close under which the squadron had to pass. It was not intended to make the attack that evening; but the Erebus having grounded within range of the batteries the whole squadron was necessarily called into action. The guns of the Fairy and Erebus were most admirably directed, and had great effect, while the bomb-ships threw shells with equal precision. By 8h p.m. the American batteries were silenced and on the following morning the squadron passed without molestation. On the 9th the Seahorse and squadron reanchored at the entrance of the Potomac, the spot which they had quitted twenty-three days previously.

During the trip down the river, the squadron lost 7 killed and 35 wounded.

While the *Seahorse* had been engaged on the Potomac, the British had taken a large body of troops up the Patuxent River to within about 50 miles of Washington for an attack on that city. The 4,000 troops, under the command of General Ross, were disembarked on August 19 and 20 and marched overland to Washington. They met little opposition and just outside of Washington were joined by a large force of seamen and marines under Rear-Admiral Cockburn. On August 24, a British force of about 1,000 men entered Washington,

and burned several buildings, including the Capitol, the White House and extensive ropewalks and buildings in the navy yard (Allen 1852:477-479).

Captain Gordon's squadron joined with the remaining British ships that came down the Patuxent River after the capture of Washington and on September 9, the combined fleet was proceeding up Chesapeake Bay. Having been successful against Washington, Admiral Cockburn's intent was to take Baltimore, one of the principal ports in America (Shomette 1981:194). The British did initiate their attack on Baltimore, and some of the vessels which had been part of the Potomac River squadron, apparently including the *Seahorse*, were involved in the bombardment of the fortifications around the city, including Fort McHenry. The British were unsuccessful in their assault on Baltimore and on September 17, in humiliation, the fleet stood down the bay. In the lower Chesapeake the fleet was divided; one squadron under Admiral Malcolm was to remain at the mouth of the Potomac and the other, under Admiral Cochran was to make sail for Halifax. Two days later, Admiral Cochran aboard his flagship *Tonnant* departed Chesapeake Bay with his squadron. It is assumed that the *Seahorse* sailed with Cochran's squadron for the coast of Canada, but details of the ship's service at this time are unknown. Cochran did not remain at Halifax long, within two months his squadron of ships was off the Gulf coast of the United States involved in the British effort to take the city of New Orleans. The *Seahorse* was a member of this squadron.

In early November 1814, the *Seahorse* was at Pensacola with other ships, there to aid their Spanish allies who controlled West Florida. However, American troops under General Andrew Jackson successfully occupied and took control of the fortifications at Pensacola before the *Seahorse* and her consorts could effect a landing (Latour 1964:48). By early December Admiral Cochrane, with his flagship *Tonnant*, was anchored off the Chandeleur Islands on the southeastern Louisiana coast near the entrance to Lake Borgne. On December 8, 1814, the *Seahorse* was fired on by two American gunboats while sailing along Mississippi Sound between the town of Mobile and Lake Borgne. When attacked, the *Seahorse* was accompanied by the 38-gun frigate *Armide* and the 18-gun brig *Sophie* (Allen 1852:488). Several other American gunboats were observed cruising the lake. Vice-Admiral Cochrane had selected Lake Borgne as the point of entry for his troops in the attack on New Orleans, thus it had to be cleared of the gunboats. He determined to do this by attacking with small boats and launches from the British ships. Allen (1852:488-490) describes what became known as the Battle of Lake Borgne:

Accordingly, on the night of 12th December, forty-two launches, armed with their usual carronades, and three gigs, containing in all 980 seamen and marines, quitted the *Armide* in three divisions, under the orders of Commander Nicholas Lockyer, assisted by Commanders Henry Montresor and Samuel Roberts, each in command of a division. The enemy was of no mean description, and was in possession of all the advantages resulting from local knowledge and position. The gun-boats measured from seventy-five to 129 tons each, and some of them had twice crossed the Atlantic.

The American flotilla, under the command of Thomas ApCatsby Jones, consisted of five gunboats armed with a variety of guns ranging from 32-pounders to swivel guns. The gunboats were accompanied by an armed schooner and sloop. On the 13th, the British

launches were near Bay St. Louis and the Americans, fearing a landing, destroyed material stored there. The Americans also destroyed their schooner, fearing she would be captured by the British. On the morning of December 14, the British launches finally engaged the American flotilla. Allen (1852:489-490) provides the following description of the events:

On the 14th Lieutenant Jones moored his flotilla, with springs on their cables and with boarding nettings triced up, across the narrow channel known as Malheureux Island Passage, and in so commanding a situation that the approach was most difficult, and could not but be destructive to any assailant. At 9h. 30m A.M. having arrived within long gun-shot of the enemy, Captain Lockyer [the British commander] ordered the boats to anchor, to give the men their breakfasts, they having rowed thirty-six miles nearly all the way against a strong current. At 10h. 30m. the boats weighed and again took to their oars; and in the teeth of their enemy, and of a tide running at the rate of three miles an hour, moved forward exposed to a heavy and destructive fire of round and grape. It was near noon when the headmost British boat—the second barge of the *Seahorse*, in which were Captain Lockyer and Lieutenant George Pratt—was enabled to grapple with the enemy. The barge laid the gun-boat bearing the commodore's pennant, alongside, and a desperate contest ensued. Nearly all of the assailants were either killed or wounded, including among the latter Captain Lockyer, severely, and Lieutenant Pratt, mortally; but the remnant gained the enemy's deck, and being well supported by the *Seahorse's* first barge, under George R. White, midshipman, and the the boats of the *Tonnant*, commanded by Lieutenant James B. Tattnall, the vessel was soon in possession of the British. . . . Other boats arriving up in quick succession, the whole American force was in about five minutes in possession of the British. The execution of this daring service was attended with a heavy loss, occasioned principally by the galling fire to which the boats were exposed when advancing to the attack.

In this engagement, the British lost 20 killed and seventy four wounded, many from the *Seahorse*. Because of their gallantry at the Battle of Lake Borgne, several British officers were promoted, and the British advance itself was considered "one of the most daring feats on record" and the engagement was classified as a "naval medal boat action" (Allen 1852:490) meaning that all those involved were eligible to receive the Naval General Service Medal. The British navy's gallantry and sacrifices on Lake Borgne were in vain, because a few weeks later, the British army was soundly defeated by Andrew Jackson's forces at the Battle of New Orleans. The remnants of the British forces returned to England.

On September 12, 1815, "James Fruen" was "paid off" from the frigate *Seahorse* (ADM 29/029); he was now out of the navy. Frewin had been at sea for 18 years, fifteen of those in the British navy. During much of this time he had served in the Far East and the East Indies, a region where ordinary seamen, such as James Frewin, were commonly exposed to difficult and harsh conditions. His years aboard ship had undoubtedly taken a physical toll and, at 35 years of age, he certainly looked forward to a release from the navy life. In addition, it is possible that Frewin was among those from the *Seahorse* who had been wounded at the Battle of Lake Brogne, because it is known that he had a "wooden leg" when he resided on St. Simons Island after 1818. Also, Britain's war in Europe had been won in

1814, and their defeat at New Orleans brought to an end their activities against their remaining foe, the Americans. As a result, the British Navy was downsized considerably, and many seamen sought other endeavors.

James Frewin is reported to have arrived in Baltimore, Maryland, from London on October 2, 1815. This date of arrival is given in an Aliens Declaration that James Frewin made in Savannah, Georgia, on May 7, 1819 (Chatham County Superior Court Records [hereinafter cited CCSCR] 1819). It would be virtually impossible for Frewin to get out of the Navy on September 12, catch a ship and get across the Atlantic in 2 weeks time. So it is believed that the date of his arrival in Baltimore was more likely to have been in 1816, not 1815.

James and Sarah Dorothy had a child, a daughter named Eliza, born March 1, 1816, and it appears that James left for the United States shortly after her birth. He probably was seeking work on a ship, but where he was between 1816 and 1819 is unknown. The Alien's Declaration that James signed in Savannah in May of 1819 noted that he was 41 years old and had arrived in Savannah in 1818 (CCSCR 1819).

James Frewin at Frederica, St. Simons Island, Georgia, 1819-1865

By 1820, James Frewin was living at the old colonial town of Frederica on St. Simons Island, about 80 miles south of Savannah, with his wife Sarah Dorothy, and his daughter by his first marriage, Sarah (Parker and Langley 1984:4; U.S. Census of Population 1820). The Frewin's daughter Eliza died at the age of two on March 18, 1818, and was buried in Lambeth Churchyard, England. This suggests that Mrs. Frewin did not accompany her husband to the United States in 1816. She and her stepdaughter Sarah probably left England in 1818 after Eliza's death to join James in Georgia.

The Federal census for 1820 notes that James Frewin was engaged in "Commerce" (U.S. Census of Population 1820). This certainly refers to seafaring activities, as evidenced in a trusteeship which Frewin established for his wife in 1825. Naming his neighbor William Whig Hazzard as trustee, the document states in part "that I, James Frewin, Mariner. . . reflecting on the uncertainty of a seafaring life that may suddenly deprive her of my support. . ." (Glynn County Superior Court Records [hereafter cited GCSCR] 1825). William Hazzard was owner of West Point Plantation, located just north of Frederica, and over a long period of time he served as legal advisor and counsel to the Frewins. It is probable that James Frewin became engaged in the coasting trade upon his arrival in the United States in 1816 and this work ultimately brought him to Savannah.

In the 1825 trusteeship, Frewin notes that "my loving wife Dorothy Frewin is reduced by the misfortune of losing one of her legs" indicating that this circumstance is another of the reasons he is turning over care of his property to William Hazzard (GCSCR 1825). The Frewin Family Bible also records Dorothy Frewin's crippled state, noting that "Mrs. S. D. Frewin Lost her leg by Accident the Beginning of April. In the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty five." The nature of the accident is unknown, however, family tradition attributes it to a fall from a horse (Mrs. Banford Taylor, personal communication 1989).

James Frewin was not fully engaged in the coasting trade after he moved to Frederica and he seems to have only infrequently served as master of a vessel. His name has been found only a few times in Georgia newspaper listings of ship arrivals and departures. For example, the *Darien Gazette* reported the arrival of the schooner *Maria* into that town from Savannah on October 27, 1821, carrying an "assorted cargo" with "Frewin" as master. The previous August, the Darien paper had reported another arrival of the *Maria*, this time from St. Simons Island with an individual named "Thewer" as her master, possibly a garbled and misspelled version of Frewin. The *Savannah Georgian* of May 25, 1822, records the arrival of the schooner *Maria*, with Frewin as master, from the Satilla River and St. Simons Island carrying 70 bales of Sea Island cotton to the Savannah firm of Simons & Fort. On May 15, 1823, James Frewin appeared before the customs officials in Brunswick to obtain a new enrollment for the schooner *Maria*. The extant document for this transaction notes that Frewin was the master of the schooner and that he was also the "Husband or Managing Owner" (Master Abstracts 1823). This could mean that James Frewin was an owner of the *Maria*, or was simple acting on the owner's behalf. No records have been found that give specific information on the *Maria's* owners, so it remains unknown if Frewin was among them. It is likely that Frewin was still sailing aboard the *Maria* in June 1825 when it was reported that the vessel was "lost," presumably referring to her sinking (Master Abstracts 1823). The loss of the *Maria* may have ended Frewin's coasting career.

1823 Feb 8	1	Robert Enterprises	Walter Adams	Same	(Change of papers)
" March 17	2	" Malvina	Thomas Wilson	James W. Armstrong	Prof. Chong
" April 19	3	Maop Pinnel	Wm. Bowman	Same	
" May 15	4	Schooner Maria	James Frewin	"	"
" "	5	" Boston Packet	James Perkins		(Change of papers)
" June 21	6	" Mary	Wm. Adams		Samuel Searcy
" Sept 14	7	" Sally's paper	Wm. Ray	Richd. Myers	Prof. Chong
" Oct 11	8	" Experiment	McGregor Baisden	Same	(Change of papers)
" "	9	" Sally's paper	Richd. Myers		Prof. Chong

1823 entry in the Master Abstracts of enrollments for the port of Brunswick listing James Frewin ("Fruin") as the master of the schooner *Maria*. This same document lists another coasting captain from Frederica, McGregor Baisden, as the master of the schooner *Experiment* (from Master Abstracts of Enrollments, Port of Brunswick, 1823, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).

It is possible that James Frewin was sailing into coastal ports other than Darien and Savannah, such as Charleston, but these records have not been examined. It is known that Frewin supplemented his coasting income with planting, and, in 1824, according to the *Darien Gazette*, "Captain Frewin kept a little battery tavern and store near the river" at Frederica (Vanstory 1979:113). Frewin's fortunes received an added boost when he was twice a "fortunate drawer" in the Georgia land lottery of 1827. This lottery was for lands in

western Georgia ceded by the Creek Indians in the Indian Springs Treaty of 1825 (Georgia Surveyor General Department n.d.). One of Frewin's lots of land, won in the drawing of April 19, was lot Number 8 in the 9th District of Muscogee County, and the other, selected in the drawing of May 4th, was lot Number 227 in the 20th District of Lee, now Stewart, County (Georgia Surveyor General Department 1831a, 1831b). Frewin accepted both pieces of property, each consisting of 202.5 acres, on November 10, 1831. Frewin's later actions relative to this land are unknown, but it is likely that he sold them.

Ultimately, James Frewin accumulated a sizable property holding at Frederica. The trusteeship established for his wife in 1825 listed the following possessions:

My dwelling house, store, kitchen and all my other bldgs, in Frederica together with all my right and title to the lots of land on which the same are built, also all the furniture I own in said houses, kitchen and store, more particularly one sideboard, one chest of drawers, three mahogany bedsteads & all my table kitchen furniture which is now in the house or premises, also one riding chair, one wagon, six head of cattle, with their increase, my poultry, hogs, etc. . . [GCSCR 1825].

On April 25, 1826, Sarah Frewin purchased from John Cole, one of their neighbors at Frederica, "one old house and two lots, Nos 6 and 7, in the Town of Frederica. Also Nos 1 & 2 lots and improvements in South Division for One Hundred and Twenty Five Dollars." The deed for this sale is among the collection of documents found in the Frewin Family Papers at the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah.

In 1828, at a sheriff's sale, William W. Hazzard, as trustee for Sarah Frewin, acquired:

. . . all that lot or parcel of land situate lying and being at Frederica on the Island of St. Simons and County aforesaid and known by the name of the Old Fort together with the improvements thereon consisting of a large and commodious dwelling house and at present occupied by James Frewin and the aforesaid Sarah D. Frewin [GCSCR 1828].

The cost for this property was \$300.00. Who had originally owned or built this house is unknown, but family tradition holds that the house was built on top of the magazine of Fort Frederica, using that structure as a basement (Mrs. Banford Taylor, personal communication, 1989). In fact, the preservation of the eighteenth-century structures of Fort Frederica originally built by James Oglethorpe has been due, in large part, to the care and concern of the Frewins and their descendents during their almost 150 years of occupation of Frederica.

Other land acquired by the Frewins over the next several years included Lot Number 34, North Division at Frederica from James A.D. Lawrence in 1831 (FFP 1831); two lots in Frederica from William Moore in 1834 (Parker n.d.); and, for \$15.00, 3 acres of land at Frederica from James Gowen in 1842 (FFP 1842). Ultimately he came to own a considerable portion of the old colonial town and fort.

Georgia Glynn }
 County }
 I, James Frewin one Old House and 2 lots
 Nos 6 & 7 in the Town of Frederica also 1st Lots and
 Improvements in South Division for One Hundred and
 Twenty Five Dollars and that I do Give the said Mrs
 Sarah D Frewin Title for the Above Lots Nos 6 & 7 on
 the 29th of April 1826 and the Titles of 1st Lots and
 Improvements on the first Day of January 1827 and
 that the said Mrs Sarah D Frewin do pay the said
 Sum of One Hundred and Twenty Five Dollars on
 the first Day of January one Thousand Eight Hundred
 and twenty Eight, Signed Sealed and Delivered this
 Day of Our Lord the 25th Day of April 1826
 Luke Blount }
 M^r Gregor Baisden }
 John Davis } Witnesses
 Georgia }
 Glynn County } Personally came before
 me McGregor Baisden
 who being duly Sworn Saith that he saw
 John Cole sign the above piece of
 writing and saw Luke Blunt & John
 Davis sign the same as witnesses. I Gregor
 Baisden do Sworn to before me this 19th
 day 1826 Philip Graybill J.P.

April 25, 1826, deed from John Cole to James Frewin's wife, Sarah Dorothy Frewin, for "one old house and two lots, Nos 6 and 7, in the Town of Frederica. Also Nos 1 & 2 lots and improvements in South Division for One Hundred and Twenty Five Dollars." Note one of the witnesses was McGregor Baisden, a Frederica resident and coasting captain like James Frewin (from Frewin Family Papers, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah).

Georgia This is to certify that I do hereby agree
to make good to James Frewin all claim
which he has either by title or by possession on the
town of Frederica or other lands adjoining said
town generally known as Academy land provided
I can trace the same by my survey and books
right this day signed
signed in presence of
Gowen
21st April 1838

Handwritten certification signed by James Gowen verifying James Frewin's title to property "generally known as Academy land" located in the town of Frederica, dated April 21, 1838 (from Frewin Family Papers, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah).

The Frewins purchased other types of property in addition to real estate. In 1828, William Hazzard, in his capacity as trustee for Sarah Frewin, purchased for \$15.00 from Mary Abbott of Frederica "1 female cow, full grown, of a Brown color, marked and branded in the mark and brand of George Abbott" (FFP 1828). In February 1829, Hazzard purchased for Sarah Frewin a mare and her colt from James Bruce Wright at a cost of \$80.00 (FFP 1829a), and later in that year at another sheriff's sale he purchased "1 mahogany dining table and one large mahogany side board" for \$6.00 from the estate of Charles Porquet, who, like James Frewin was a coasting captain trading along the Georgia coast (FFP 1829b).

The 1840 Federal census of population indicates that James Frewin owned 5 slaves; two males, two females and a child under 10. One of these individuals was the "negro man slave named Jack," purchased from Joseph Demere in 1835 for \$200.00 (FFP 1835). The *Savannah Daily Republican* of April 2, 1841, records a sheriff's sale for "one negro woman named Rinah and her child Rosean" resulting from a suit in favor of Henry Dubignon versus James Frewin. The circumstances behind the suit are unknown, however, Rinah's name appears in the Frewin Family Bible in the following entry: "The increase of Rhina since in the possession of James Frewin: James, Born April 15, 1835; Mary Ann, Born April 3, 1836; Mary Ann, Died May 26 1836." In the 1840 census, Frewin's occupation is given as mariner, involved in the "Navigation of canals, lakes and rivers;" the only individual on St. Simons Island so employed (U.S. Census of Population 1840). His slaves are listed as engaged in "agriculture," suggesting he was involved in some modest farming.

State of Georgia, } MR. Wm W Hazzard trustee for Sarah D Frewin
Glynn COUNTY. } BOUGHT at Sheriff's Sale, Tuesday 1st 1829
One Large Mahogany Dining Table }
One Do Do Side board } \$ 6.00

For whereas, by virtue of an execution, in which Edmund Richardson is plaintiff, and Charles Porquet is defendant, I, Nathaniel Dart sheriff of Glynn county, did seize and take one Large Mahogany Dining Table, and one Large Mahogany Side board, as the property of the said Charles Porquet, the same having been levied out by the aforesaid Defendant's Execution

and after giving due legal and public notice of sale; on Tuesday, the first day of December 1829 did set up at public outcry, at the court-house in said county, the aforementioned property, at which sale, the said Wm W Hazzard trustee of Sarah D Frewin became the highest bidder and purchaser, and the same was knocked off to him, for the Sum of Six dollars, it being the highest and best bid that could be obtained for the said property. Now know ye, that I, Nathaniel Dart sheriff as aforesaid, for and in consideration of the sum of Six dollars, to me in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged at and before the Sealing & Delivery of the same hath bargained and sold, and by these presents, by virtue of said execution and the laws, doth grant, bargain and sell unto the said Wm W Hazzard, as trustee aforesaid all the right, title, claim and interest, of the said Charles Porquet to the aforesaid property, so far as I, the said sheriff, lawfully may or can dispose of under said execution, to the said Wm W Hazzard, in trust for Sarah D Frewin her heirs and assigns, forever.

In witness whereof, I, the said Nathaniel Dart sheriff as aforesaid, hath hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal, this second day of December in the year our lord, eighteen hundred and twenty nine

Sealed and delivered in the presence of
Jm Moore J. G. B. Nathaniel Dart L. G. C.
James Moore
John Parhis

December 1, 1829, sheriff's sale document recording the purchase of "1 mahogany dining table and one large mahogany side board" by William W. Hazzard "trustee of Sarah D. Frewin" for \$6.00 from Charles Porquet relative to a dispute with Edmund Richardson. Like James Frewin, both Charles Porquet and Edmond Richardson were coasting captains who traded along the Georgia coast in the 1820s and 1830s (from Frewin Family Papers, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah).

James Frewin's daughter, Sarah, died in October of 1824 at 13 years of age, and she was buried at Christ Church, Frederica. Family stories indicate that in 1837 or 1838, James and Sarah Frewin visited England (Banford Taylor, personal communication 1989). When they returned to Georgia in 1838, they brought with them Mrs. Frewin's brother-in-law, John Hay, and his daughter, Sarah Frewin's namesake, nineteen-year-old Sarah Dorothy Hay. John Hay may have died at sea during the voyage and his daughter came to St. Simons Island to live with the Frewins (Frewin Family Bible).

Sarah Dorothy Hay is listed as a member of the Frewin household in the 1840 census of population (U.S. Census of Population 1840). The Frewins considered and treated Sarah Dorothy as a daughter. In 1843 she married Charles Stevens, a native of Denmark who was involved in the Georgia coasting trade (Pearson 1991). Stevens, born in 1816, had arrived in this country in 1835 and by 1840 was in Savannah working on the sloops and schooners involved in the coastal trade. These boats called frequently at Frederica and during his voyages up and down the coast Stevens no doubt often met the Frewins and their niece. On November 23, 1843, just one month after his marriage, Charles Stevens, as sole owner and master, enrolled the sloop *Splendid* at the port of Savannah (United States Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation 1843). There is no record of what Stevens paid for the *Splendid*, but eight years later, on March 24, 1851, he sold the sloop to William Morrell for \$850.00 (Conveyances of Enrolled Vessels, Savannah 1850-1856). Stevens had been involved with the *Splendid* prior to his purchase of her; Savannah newspapers indicate that he was serving as her master as early as January of 1842 (*Daily Georgian*, January 1, 1842). When he enrolled the *Splendid* in Savannah in 1843, Stevens was listed as a resident of that city. There is no doubt, however, that by this time, or soon after, he settled at Frederica with his new wife, apparently living in the Frewin home. Over the next 20 years Stevens operated his shipping business from St. Simons. During this period he owned at least 4 sailing vessels which plied the waters of Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida carrying plantation crops and merchandise. In addition, he developed and farmed a modest plantation at Frederica (Pearson 1991).

Few details of the lives of James Frewin and his family can be gleaned from the scant documentation available for the period immediately preceding the Civil War. Frewin does seem to have been considered the unofficial caretaker of the extant ruins of Fort Frederica, constructed by James Oglethorpe in the 1730s. Frewin's role is mentioned in the reminiscences of Charles Seton Hardee, member of a prominent nineteenth century Savannah family. Hardee noted that he visited Fort Frederica as a child in 1838 when he was returning to Savannah after a stay at the family plantation, Rural Felicity, located outside of the town of Brunswick. Hardee writes:

I do not know how my brother John and I got to Rural Felicity, but I remember perfectly well that we came back to Savannah on the sloop "Splendid," commanded by a Swede named Charles Stevens. On the way home we stopped at Frederica, St. Simons Island, where Capt. Stevens' wife lived. She was the daughter of a wooden-legged, old seafaring man named Capt. Frewen, who was custodian of the old, abandoned Fort at Frederica, built in Oglethorpe's time.

Capt. Stevens took us ashore to spend the day, and this gave us a good opportunity to examine the old fort, which, I remember, was overgrown with vines and weeds, and was otherwise in very bad shape [Hardee n.d.:15].

Charles Hardee is very positive of the 1838 date in his account, but it is known that Charles Stevens did not marry until 1843. Stevens may very well have been sailing along the coast as early as 1838, although he did not purchase the *Splendid* until after his marriage. Hardee seems to have confused the date in this account or, possibly more likely, he was mistaken in the assumption that Charles Stevens was married at the time. If Hardee traveled along the coast subsequent to this first visit he is likely to have continued his acquaintance with Stevens and known that he ultimately married James Frewin's niece (not daughter).

Hardee does note that James Frewen was "wooden-legged," a fact likely to have made a strong impression on a young boy. This account also supports family stories that James Frewin had a "peg-leg" and brings to light the rather notable coincidence that both James and his wife, Sarah Dorothy, were crippled.

The 1850 United States census for St. Simons Island lists James and Sarah Frewin as residents of Frederica. James Frewin's occupation is given as "Farmer," and the value of his real estate was \$400.00 (U.S. Census of Population 1850). Charles Stevens and his family were apparently living in their own house by this time, because the census lists them in a separate residence, adjacent to the Frewins. Very few people lived at Frederica at this time. From the census records it appears that in addition to the Frewins and Stevens the only inhabitants of the old town were Sarah Armstrong, an elderly woman of 72; and the John Davis family, consisting of Davis, who was a teacher, his wife Ann, and John Cole, a carpenter aged 26 (U.S. Census of Population 1850). John Cole owned some property because the census indicates that his real estate was valued at \$500.00. It is possible that the Davis' were actually living with John Cole, as the Cole family had been residents of Frederica since, at least, the 1820s (U.S. Census of Population 1820, 1830, 1840). Also, there is some indication that John Cole was kin to the Frewins or Stevens as revealed in a deposition he made after the Civil War in which he indicated that he was "related" to Charles Stevens. What this relationship was is unknown. Another nearby resident was William W. Hazzard, of Pikes Bluff Plantation, who served as trustee for Sarah Frewin and was involved with many legal matters for the Stevens and Frewin families. The Silas W. Taylor family is also listed as nearby neighbors. Taylor, at this time, was the overseer at Hampton Plantation (owned by Pierce Butler, husband of noted British actress Fanny Kemble) located at Hampton or Butler's Point north of Pikes Bluff. Later, after the Civil War, Taylor's son William would marry Charles Stevens' daughter Isabelle (Parker and Langley 1984).

The 1850 Agricultural Schedule of the U.S. Census includes neither James Frewin nor Charles Stevens, indicating that they were not primarily engaged in agriculture. By this time James Frewin was 70 years old and it is likely that he and his wife were being cared for and supported by the Stevens'.

In the 1860 Population Census James Frewin is listed as a member of the Charles Stevens household. Frewin's occupation is given as "Farmer" and Stevens' is given as "Mariner." The value of Charles Stevens' real estate was \$2500 and his personal property was \$11,250. The high value for personal property is a reflection of his ownership of, by this time, the schooner *Northern Belle*, and part ownership of the schooner *Florida*. In addition to James Frewin, the Stevens household included his wife Sarah, aged 40; his children Anna (16), Sarah (14), Elizabeth W. (12), Isabelle (10), John L. (8), and Henrietta (6). Also in the

household were Caroline Harris (50), seamstress; Stephen W. Harris (53), teacher; Sarah Sauser (40), seamstress; Thomas Hanson (27), ship's carpenter (from Norway) (U.S. Census of Population 1860).

James Frewin's wife, Sarah Dorothy, died in 1854 while visiting England. The Savannah newspaper *The Daily Georgian*, for June 5, 1852, noted the arrival of the "Steam Packet Planter" from the St. Simons Island area with several passengers, including "Mrs Frewin, Mrs. S. Stevens, Miss A. Stevens" It is known that Sarah Frewin died in England in 1854 and that her grandniece, Annie Stevens, was educated in England (Mrs. Banford Taylor, personal communication 1989). Possibly, Mrs. Frewin, her niece and grandniece had traveled to Savannah at this time in order to secure passage on a ship to England. Sarah Dorothy was buried in the St. Hilda's Church cemetery in Hartlepool, England (Parish Records, St. Hilda's Church 1808-1837). The inscription on her gravestone reads:

In memory of Dorothy, the Beloved wife of James Frewin, for 35 years a resident of St. Simons Island United States of America and daughter of Robert and Dorothy Rowntree of Hartlepool who departed this life the 20th day of April 1854 aged 66 years.

A few short years of evil past
We reach the happy shore
Where death-divided friends at last
shall meet to part no more

Also John Hay, Brother-in-law of the above. Who was lost at sea Oct. 28, 1838 aged 44 years.

James Frewin apparently moved into the Stevens' home after the death of his wife, as indicated in the 1860 census.

The Civil War

The outbreak of the Civil War brought about tremendous disruption in the social and economic life of the Georgia coast; earlier than in many other areas in the south. The Stevens family, now including James Frewin, was not immune from these changes. St. Simons Island was recognized by both the Union and the Confederacy as an important strategic location. On the island were rich and productive plantations that harbored an abundant and valuable supply of staple goods, especially cotton, and foodstuffs. In addition, the island provided a base of operations and refuge for blockade runners and raiders and it commanded the entrance to the harbor at Brunswick. In January of 1861, before his state seceded from the Union, Governor Joseph E. Brown ordered the Jackson Artillery of Macon to occupy St. Simons (Candler 1910:29; Heard 1938). The company, charged with guarding the entrance to Brunswick harbor, was stationed at Frederica, where they would have been in close and constant contact with the Stevens family.

On April 19, 1861, President Lincoln issued the order to blockade the coastline of the Confederacy. Immediately, Governor Brown rushed all available troops to Savannah and Brunswick, and through that summer and fall approximately 2,000 men were stationed in and around Brunswick (Heard 1938:250). Despite Lincoln's order, the Georgia coast saw no Union blockade until October of that year. In that month, the United States frigate *St. Lawrence*, commanded by Captain H.Y. Purviance, arrived in St. Simons Sound, and the Federal blockade continued until 1865 (Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion [hereafter cited O.R.N.] 1901a:214). About 1500 Georgia troops, under the command of Colonel Carey M. Stiles, were stationed on St. Simons Island at the initiation of the blockade. These troops manned batteries located at the southern end of the island facing the entrance to Brunswick Harbor (Heard 1938:251).

In December of 1861, Union forces attacked Port Royal, South Carolina, and most of the residents of St. Simons, fearing a similar attack, evacuated their island. An effort was made to remove as much property as possible, including slaves. Charles Stevens seems to have removed his family at this time, but the elderly James Frewin apparently refused to leave his home. In February 1862, General Robert E. Lee, then in command at Savannah of the forces of the southern region, ordered the evacuation of the military troops on St. Simons (Candler 1910:151-153). Lee intended to concentrate all available forces at Savannah, considered the most important position on the Georgia coast. The withdrawal of Confederate forces from St. Simons and the rest of the coast was achieved by March, leaving Union forces essentially in complete control of all of the coastal islands.

On March 9, 1862, Lieutenant George B. Blach of the screw steamer *U.S.S. Pocahantas* took formal possession of St. Simons Island (O.R.N. 1901a:590-591). A week later, Commander Sylvanus W. Godon of the screw steamer *U.S.S. Mohican*, made an inspection of the island. Godon, in his report, stated that all of the Negroes had been removed from the island and that only three white persons remained (O.R.N. 1910, Vol 12:614). These were one white man, his aged mother and his little child. George A. Heard, in his publication on Civil War activities on St. Simons, identifies these individuals as James Frewin, his aged mother, and his young grandson, John Stevens (Heard 1938:255). This is obviously incorrect because James Frewin's mother was not living on St. Simons and, since Frewin himself was over 82 years old, it is doubtful that she was alive. It is almost certain that these three individuals were John Cole of Frederica, his three year old daughter Matilda, and 64-year-old Ann Davis, with whom Cole resided at Frederica (U.S. Census of Population 1860). The relationship between Cole and Ann Davis is not known, however, he had lived with the Davis' for over 10 years. It is also apparent that James Frewin remained on the island. On January 22, 1863, Samuel Boyer, naval surgeon on board the barque *U.S. Fernandina* stationed in St. Simons Sound, reported "a white man aged 30, paid us a visit today and took along with him quite a load of provisions, etc. . . . He lives about seven miles from the ship in company with his parents, two old people aged 80 years, and a little daughter" (Boyer 1963:48). It is probable that Boyer was referring to John Cole, his daughter, the elderly Ann Davis and James Frewin. Ann Davis' husband, John, since he is not listed in the 1860 census, had evidently died prior to this time.

According to family tradition, James Frewin did refuse to evacuate St. Simons during the war, and, for at least part of the time, Charles Stevens' 10-year-old son, John Lawrence, stayed with Frewin at Frederica (Mrs. Banford Taylor, personal communication 1989). Frewin may have left the island for a short time, possibly the reason Commander Godon did

not mention him. In a deposition made in 1873 for a claim against the U.S. Government for the loss of her husband's ship the *Northern Belle*, Sarah Stevens, describing the family's activities during the Civil War, stated that her uncle (James Frewin) and her son stayed on the island (U.S. House of Representatives 1873). In the same claim, John Cole noted in his deposition that he also stayed on the island during the entire war. Additionally, Cole stated that he was "related" to the Frewin family, but what this relationship was is not known. Family tradition holds that when the Frederica area was clear of Union troops, Frewin and his nephew would flash a lantern that could be seen from Belle Point on the mainland by the other members of the family. Charles Stevens would then row across to Frederica to visit and carry supplies to his uncle and son. One family story indicates that young John Stevens once had to hide under an overturned bateau to keep from being questioned by Union troops (Mrs. Banford Taylor, personal communication 1989). In the summer of 1862, Charles Stevens' schooner, the *Northern Belle*, was discovered by Union troops where he had hidden it up the Altamaha River. The vessel was seized and soon sailed to St. Simons Island, where it was lost in the Frederica River through accident.

It is likely that James Frewin did not share the same fervor for secession that many of his island neighbors had. He was not a large land owner and had never owned many slaves, plus his long tenure in the British Navy may have tempered his feelings about slavery in general. It is known that neither his niece, Sarah Dorothy, nor her husband Charles Stevens, were strong supports of the Confederate cause. In her 1873 claim against the United States Government, Sarah Stevens noted:

In the beginning of the rebellion I sympathized with the Union cause and so did my husband. He was always opposed to the Confederate Government. We felt very badly and said they ought not to go to war. . . . after the ordinance of secession was adopted we still sympathized with the Union cause [U.S. House of Representatives 1873].

Ultimately, however, Charles Stevens was mustered into the local militia. On December 14, 1863, he was listed as a member of the Glynn County Militia Company for District 26, composed mainly of individuals from St. Simons Island and Brunswick (Georgia Department of Archives and History 1863). Sometime in 1864, Charles Stevens became a member of Company I, 29th Battalion, Georgia Cavalry (National Archives 1865). The 29th Battalion was active during the last stages of Sherman's march through Georgia, specifically in the campaign against Savannah.

On December 22, 1864, Charles Stevens and 6 others, while riding picket duty near Troup's Plantation on the Altamaha River were captured by Union Forces from the blockading fleet (O.R.N. 1903, Vol. 16:135-136). Most of those captured were residents of St. Simons Island or Glynn County, and some had been members of the Glynn County Militia Company for the 26th District. The logbook of the Union ship *Ethan Allen* records that Charles Stevens and the other prisoners were placed aboard the supply steamer *U.S.S. Massachusetts* in St. Simons Sound on December 27, 1864 (National Archives 1864). The *Massachusetts* carried them north to Philadelphia. On January 10, 1865, Charles Stevens' name appears on a roster of prisoners transferred from Philadelphia to the Federal prison at Fort Delaware (National Archives 1865). Two days later, on January 12, Stevens was received at Fort Delaware, located on Pea Patch Island in the Delaware River opposite Finn's

Point, New Jersey. Fort Delaware became one of several prisons where Confederate officers were sent, despite the fact that it was known as an unhealthy prison and was noted for its large number of prisoner deaths, especially during the winter months.

On February 1, 1865, slightly over a month after his capture and only three weeks after his incarceration at Fort Delaware, Charles Stevens died in the prison hospital (National Archives 1865). Two notations on his record indicate that he died of "Laryngitis" and "Inflammation of Larynx," no doubt an infection brought on by exposure to the cold and dampness of the prison. The record also notes that he was buried on the "Jersey Shore" (National Archives 1865). His burial place was at Finn's Point, in what is today a National Cemetery. Stevens' grave site is unknown, but his name (C. Stevens) is one of 2436 names inscribed on bronze plaques commemorating the Confederate prisoners who died at Fort Delaware and were buried at the cemetery.

James Frewin remained on St. Simons, separated from his family, and in January of 1863 he died at the home of his friend and neighbor of over 40 years, John Cole. Frewin's death is reported in an account by the Union surgeon Samuel Boyer. On January 30, Boyer visited St. Simons and included the following in his narration: "Paid old man Cole a visit; found an old man sick at the house who is going to his last home, he being beyond all medical skill, aged 80 years. Poor soul-all by himself and not a female hand to smooth his pillow for him." The next day, Boyer, returning from an excursion to the John H. Couper plantation, Cannons Point, noted that he "stopped at Mr. Cole's place and found that the old man had gone to that "bourne from whence no traveler returneth" (Boyer 1963:54). The "old man" mentioned by Boyer was 84-year-old James Frewin. Frewin's death and his burial at Christ Church, Frederica, were also recorded in a letter written by Edward Moses, Acting Master of the United States bark *Fernandina*, which was then stationed at St. Simons. On February 3, 1863, in a letter to his family, Moses wrote:

. . . . I took a drive up the Island last week some 8 miles to a plantation belonging to a man named Frewin an Englishman by birth he had been quite wealthy and has all his money in the Savannah Banks he was at first on the mainland but fearing his land would be confiscated returned with a grandson he had been sick for some time and I thought could not live long being 82 years of age his grandson came down to the ships next morning for assistance to bury him I sent out a party of men on Sun morning and buried him in the little churchyard by the side of his wife & children he had a daughter on the main almost in sight of his house when he died but no communication is allowed, . . [Moses, February 3, 1863].

Acting Master Moses was mistaken about Frewin's daughter; he was actually referring to Frewin's niece, Sarah Dorthy Hay Stevens, who was living on the mainland with her family as refugees at the time. In addition, the "grandson" Moses mentions was almost certainly James Frewin's great nephew, John Lawrence Stevens, who is known to have stayed with his Uncle on St. Simons during the war (Mrs. Banford Taylor, personal communication 1989). One can only surmise that Acting Master Moses knew of James

Frewin long service in the Royal Navy and was providing him an honorable burial as a fellow sailor.

Frewin made a will on October 3, 1857, leaving all of his property to the children of his niece and her husband, Charles Stevens. His will is found in the Frewin Family Papers and reads:

Georgia

Glynn County In the name of God, Amen.

Know all men be these present, that I, James Frewin, of the State and County aforesaid, being of sound mind and health, and knowing all men must die, do hereby make known this my last will and testament, to all whom these present, shall or may concern.

I do will and bequeath unto the children of Captain Charles Stephens, and of my beloved niece Sarah D. Stephens his wife, all my personal claims to certain Lands and Houses, Stocks, /such as Horses, Cows, etc./ and all Negroes, together with all other personal property now owned by me not herein mentioned, to have and to hold the same for their own proper uses and benefit.

For the fulfilment of the foregoing, I do hereby appoint my beloved niece's eldest Daughter, named Annie Frewin Stephens, my Executrix of this my last will and Testament.

The execution of the foregoing shall take place upon my decease, and a Division made at such time as may be satisfactorily agreed upon.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand & seal at Frederica, in the State, and County aforesaid, On this the third day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred & fifty seven, 1857-

Signed & Sealed
in the presence of
L.S. Harris

James Frewin (seal)

Georgia,
 Glynn County. In the Name of God, Amen.
 Know all Men by these presents,
 that I, James Frewin, of the State and County
 aforesaid, being of sound Mind and Memory, and
 knowing all Men must die, Do hereby make
 known this my last will and Testament, to all
 whom these presents shall or may Concern.
 I do will and bequeath unto
 the Children of Captain Charles Stephens, and of
 my beloved Wife Sarah Stephens his Wife, All
 my personal claims, to certain Lands and Bonds,
 Stocks, such as I possess, Own &c. and all I acquire,
 together with all other personal property now owned
 by me not herein mentioned, to have and to hold
 the same for their own proper use and benefit.
 For the fulfilment of the fore-
 going, I do hereby appoint my beloved Miss
 Eliza Stephens, my beloved Son James Frewin Stephens,
 my Executors of this my last will and Testament.
 The execution of the foregoing shall
 take place upon my decease, and a Division
 made at such time as may be satisfactorily
 agreed upon.
 In witness whereof I have
 hereunto set my hand and seal at Frederica,
 in the State, and County aforesaid, On
 this the Third day of October, in the Year of
 our Lord, One thousand Eight hundred & fifty-seven.
 1857.
 Signed & Sealed
 in the presence of
 J. M. James.

James Frewin

Original copy of James Frewin's last will and testament with his signature, dated October 3, 1857 (from Frewin Family Papers, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah).

Charles Stevens' family returned to St. Simons after the war ended, one of the very few families to return and reestablish their life on the island. The patriarch of the family, James Frewin, was dead, as was Charles Stevens. The family had property and land on the island, however, Stevens' shipping business was destroyed, his vessel captured by the Federal Navy and lost, and his two sons, John and George, were too young to operate and manage the family lands. Frewin's niece, Sarah Dorothy Stevens, was left as head of the family, one of numerous women left in this position after the Civil War. She initially attempted to profit from her land by leasing it out, but these ventures were generally unsuccessful. Once her sons became old enough, they became involved in the management of the family property. Additionally, like their father Charles Stevens and their great uncle, James Frewin, both John and George Stevens took to the water, operating a variety of small coastal vessels and becoming locally well know as boat builders and carpenters. After the Civil War, Sarah Stevens derived a small income as Postmistress at Frederica and, in the 1890s, she was allotted a Widow's Pension by the state of Georgia as the widow of a Confederate soldier (Georgia Department of Archives and History 1893). In 1873, she entered a claim to the Federal Government in the amount of \$4000 for the loss of her husband's schooner *Northern Belle* (U.S. House of Representatives 1873). Her claim, however, was rejected by the Federal government. In spite of the difficulties, the Stevens family managed to survive on St. Simons, and today many of James Frewin's descendents continue to reside there.

James Frewin seems to have lived a fairly ordinary life on St. Simons Island. This was certainly quite different from his life as a seaman in the British Navy during the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812. It is unfortunate that so little remains that documents his life in the navy and on St. Simons because James Frewin truly was one of the island's unique residents.

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The Frewin Family Papers (FFP).

A collection of deeds, letters, receipts, photographs and other documents relating to the Frewin, Stevens and Taylor families of St. Simons Island. Included in the collection is the Frewin Family Bible containing information on marriages, deaths, births, accidents, etc for the Frewin, Hay, Rountree, Stevens, Taylor, Parker and allied families. This collection is at the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah. Documents referenced in the text are listed below.

1802 A recommendation to "Jas. Frowen" for his service on "His Majesty's Ship Malta" between 16 February and 12 April 1802 while at Hamoaze.

1826 Bill of Sale between John Cole and Sarah D. Frewin for one house and two lots (Nos. 6 and 7) in Frederica, for \$125.00 Dated April 25, 1826.

- 1828 Indenture between Mary Abbott and W. W. Hazzard, Trustee for Sarah Dorothy Frewin, for one cow for \$15.00. Dated September 1, 1828.
- 1829a Indenture between James Bruce Wright and W. W. Hazzard, Trustee for Sarah Dorothy Frewin, for one mare and colt, for \$80.00. Dated February 1, 1829.
- 1829b Sheriff's Sale Receipt for one mahogany table and one mahogany side board. To W. W. Hazzard, Trustee for Sarah D. Frewin, for \$6.00. Dated December 1, 1829.
- 1831 Indenture between Jas. A. D. Lawrence and Sarah D. Frewin for Lot No. 34, Frederica, St. Simons Island. Dated May 24, 1831.
- 1835 Bill of Sale between Samuel Fahman (?), Trustee for Joseph Demere, and Capt. James Frewin for Negro slave named Jack, for \$200.00. Dated February 2, 1835.
- 1842 Indenture between James Gowen and Sarah Frewin for 3 acres of land at Frederica, St. Simons Island, for \$15.00. Dated August 16, 1842.

Georgia Department of Archives and History

- 1863 Militia Enrollment List for the 26th District of Glynn County, Georgia. Civil War Collections. Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

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- 1893 Confederate Widow's Pension records of Sarah D. Stevens for the years 1893-1896. Civil War Collections. Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

Georgia Surveyors General Department

- n.d. Untitled pamphlet. Georgia Surveyor General Department, Atlanta.

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- 1831a Land Grant to James Frewin for Lot No. 8, 9th District of Muscogee County, November 10, 1831. Records of the Georgia Surveyors General Department, Atlanta.

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- 1831b Land Grant to James Frewin for Lot No. 227, 20th District of Lee County, November 10, 1831. Records of the Georgia Surveyors General Department, Atlanta.

Glynn County Superior Court Records (GCSCR)

- 1825 Trusteeship established for Dorothy Frewin by James Frewin. December 26, 1825. Deed Book H. p. 59. Glynn County Court House, Brunswick, GA.

Glynn County Superior Court Records (GCSCR)

- 1828 Sheriff's Sale to W. W. Hazzard, Trustee for Sarah D. Frewin, for property at Frederica on St. Simons, Island known as the Old Fort, for \$300.00. Deed Book H. p. 201. Glynn County Court House, Brunswick, GA.

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- 1863 Letter from Edward Moses, Acting Master of the United States bark *Fernandina*, to Josey Moses, dated February 3, 1863. Original in the possession of Colleen Holland.

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- 1864 Log of the United States Bark *Ethan Allen*, December 22 and 27, 1864. Record Group 24, Naval Personnel, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

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