

The Fifty Year Debt: The Contentious Voyages of the Ship *Benjamin and Samuel*, 1760-1761

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Abstract

Years ago I discovered the Hallowell shipwrights of Boston, resulting in a published study of the family's long-running seventeenth and eighteenth century shipyard. At that time brief mention was made of their extensive Atlantic trading, although a follow-up essay featuring their ship *Benjamin and Samuel* had been planned. A focused cache of documents reveals the quarrelsome tale of this ship, launched during the French and Indian War (1756-1763) and freighted in cooperation with their London in-laws. Decisions concerning her cargoes set the stage for a family dispute which ran on for decades. Because of this disagreement, their accounts and correspondence were assembled thirty years after the original events and preserved within a larger collection. The story takes us in and out of Boston, London, and Portugal with famous passengers, mixed cargoes, and an uncommon wealth of detail. Revealed are the potential problems associated with merchant shipping in the mid-eighteenth century: slow trans-Atlantic communication; risks associated with purchasing, freighting, and selling cargoes; and the uncertainties of wartime market fluctuations and speculations... and working with relatives.

While combing through the voluminous *Boylston Family Papers*, stored away since the mid-nineteenth century, I discovered a cache of manuscripts relating to the 1760 ship *Benjamin and Samuel*. Scattered among personal letters and household accounts, these Hallowell-Vaughan business papers immediately piqued my curiosity, and once reviewed and indexed, the reason for their survival became apparent. An extraordinarily detailed chronicle emerged surrounding a family dispute that went unresolved for decades... a tale just waiting to be told. Sixty-two documents specific to the *Benjamin and Samuel*, together with thirty additional papers, reveal a more complete story than is usually found for merchant ships of the period. Naval Office and Massachusetts government records, and Boston newspapers provide details surrounding the ship's early days. The Hallowell-Vaughan accounts and those of their captains outline the finances and cargoes of the *Benjamin and Samuel's* voyages. Their business letters, always sprinkled with family news, augment the story with the sometimes personal nature of their disagreements. We can only be grateful for the serendipity of history and for the Hallowell descendants who preserved their family's documents for so long. And for his kindness and generosity, I would especially like to remember Ralph L. Bean (1922-2000) by dedicating this essay to him. He always expressed enthusiasm for the Hallowell family history, and as executor to his sister-in-law, Barbara Hallowell Boylston Bean (1913-1975), it was Ralph who gifted *The Boylston Family Papers* to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1976.¹

The Protagonists

Benjamin Hallowell, Sr. (1699-1773), well-known Boston shipwright and Colonial agent for the British Navy, was the last of a dynasty whose shipyard had been in operation since 1635. He built vessels for the Provincial government, the Royal Navy, local and foreign merchants, and his

own family's shipping business. Because of the shipbuilding decline in Boston, by the mid-eighteenth century the family's focus was shifting towards ship owning and trade. Seven to ten ocean-going vessels at a time were plying the waters of the Atlantic, connecting Massachusetts with the Caribbean, England, and Europe. Vessels of all sizes were built and owned by the family, and besides operating their own trading fleet, they sometimes sold their ships to British merchants as part of transactions, leased them as military transports, and even acted as agents for Boston's privateers during the frequent wars. The products carried by the Hallowell ships followed well-proscribed channels; New England fish, oil, and lumber products, Southern Colony naval stores, and island products from the Caribbean were often sent as mixed cargoes to England in exchange for European goods for Boston. The Hallowells were also involved in the direct fish trade to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and during the 1750s they outfitted a small fleet of schooners in a failed attempt to establish a Boston-based fishery.

Samuel Vaughan (1720-1802), sugar and coffee planter of Jamaica and merchant banker of London, married Benjamin Hallowell's daughter Sarah (1727-1809) in 1747, bringing Samuel into the family as a shipping correspondent. It was fairly common practice to have relatives living at various destinations of a family's trade, which was expected to ease any problems that arose. While Samuel and his young family lived on their plantations, Jamaica was added to the routes taken by the Hallowell ships. Once the Vaughans settled in London, a more regular shipping and financial connection was formed between Samuel Vaughan and his father-in-law Benjamin Hallowell. Although this relationship had its ups and downs, it appears to have been mutually beneficial for at least the better part of a decade. Their long-running account dispute over the ship *Benjamin and Samuel*, which began in 1760, shifted to an estate issue after the death of Benjamin Hallowell, Sr. in early 1773. Because of the Revolutionary War and the 1776 exile of Hallowell's two executor sons, Loyalists Benjamin Hallowell, Jr. (1725-1799) and his youngest brother Robert (1739-1818), their father's complex probate work was forced into postponement, taking with it the contentious dispute.

Over the fall and winter of 1790 Robert Hallowell was visiting Boston from Bristol, England for a second time since the end of the Revolutionary War, to continue work on his father's estate. Robert was chosen for the task because his older brother Benjamin, banished by a Bill of Treason, still did not feel welcome in Massachusetts. Robert stayed in his parents' waterfront mansion on Batterymarch Street, designated to become his own property by his father's will. Because the house was owned by Robert's widowed "absentee" mother, Rebeckah Briggs Hallowell (1699-1791), it had not been confiscated and sold when Massachusetts seized Loyalist properties around 1778. Instead, the State had rented the house to arch-patriot Samuel Adams for the duration of the War. The Hallowell brothers kept in touch during Robert's stay in Boston, partly because Benjamin held some of the estate papers in London. The dormant issue about the *Benjamin and Samuel* re-erupted in late 1790, as revealed in the following letter. Between the lines, we hear the emotions underlying the dispute... a trans-Atlantic paper war that began thirty years earlier.²

December 11, 1790, Benjamin Hallowell (Jr) in London to Robert Hallowell in Boston

... “2 or 3 days ago I saw old Mr.(Samuel) Vaughan, who for the 1st time since I have been in England, told me he should make a Demand of about £600 the ballance of an account arising from the transaction on account of Ben and Sam Vaughan that took place in purchasing a cargo of sugars about the year 1760 - destined for Hambough (Hamburg) or Holland which they threw on our worthy father’s hands and sold for his account - which was afterwards thought incumbered with considerable charges... I expressing my great surprise on the mentioning such a Demand after so long a silence & that accounts were prepared by the Executors to make demands on Mr. Vaughan for a much larger sum... but since in England and finding the generosity of the Vaughan relatives to our Good mother and family... we dropped all thought of making such demand and all the papers were thrown aside.”³

This late-breaking renewal of hostilities was responsible for Benjamin Hallowell collecting and saving the pertinent documents in his possession, including papers he had stored in Samuel Vaughan’s cellar. The business connection between Benjamin Hallowell, Sr. and Samuel Vaughan began around 1752, with Sam promising in February 1753 that “in future I’ll send accounts current with us every Christmas,” the customary time that corresponding merchants called for payments.⁴ During the height of their business relationship Vaughan and Hallowell wrote to each other at least every month or two, and letters were often left open and continued days later, while awaiting a convenient carrier. Their letters were dispatched using their own ships, or if more timely, sent with other departing merchant or British Navy Captains. To insure against delay or loss, copies of letters, accounts, and even bills of exchange, were sent via several ships, as was common practice of the day. At this time, the shipping activity of the port of Boston was third only to London and Bristol, England among the British Empire ports. London and Boston were also both close-knit trading communities, and travelling merchants and mariners acted as informers, passing along local business gossip together with useful news. Despite such precautions, events could still get ahead of correspondents, especially during a war. At the time of the ship *Benjamin and Samuel’s* travels, the joint family undertakings involved the use of numerous vessels, many owned by one or both parties. Quite a few were built and registered in Boston, many possibly launched by the Hallowell yard. Others were purchased as prizes, picked up in various ports in Great Britain and the West Indies, and occasionally chartered if no ship of their own offered when cargoes were waiting. The following table shows what is known of the vessels mentioned in this surviving correspondence and freighted by the Hallowells and Vaughans between the years 1756 and 1762.⁵

Vessel	Rig/ Registered Tons/ Guns/ Men	Known Owners/ Registration date and place	Known Masters	Build date & Place or Source	Disposition
<i>Alexander</i>	Ship 300-320 tons 12-18 guns 30-40 men	Ben Hallowell Sam Vaughan Reg. 1758 London	Henry Aitken	Built 1756 Boston	
<i>Amsterdam</i>	Ship	Ben Hallowell?			
<i>Ann</i>		Sam Vaughan? Or Ben Hallowell?			Sold £170 London 1760

<i>Barbara</i>	Ship 230 tons	Sam Vaughan	Benjamin Eddy	Built 1750 Boston Comeron	
<i>Benjamin and Samuel</i>	Ship 230-250 tons 6 guns/13-16 men	Ben Hollowell Nathaniel Patten	Nathaniel Patten Stephen Hills	Built 1760 Boston Hallowell	Sold 1761 London to Peter Fearon
<i>Boscowan</i>	Ship 130 tons	Thomas Lane, London; Robert Gould, Boston	Howard Jacobsen		
<i>Bristol</i>	Ship 150 tons 9-10 men	Ben Hollowell Reg. 1757 Boston	Nathaniel Patten	Built 1757 Boston Hallowell?	
<i>Britannia</i>	Ship 110 tons	Thomas Lane Reg. 1753 London	Capt. Spender Samuel Dashwood	Built New England	Captured 1760
<i>Charlemount</i>	Ship	Ben Hollowell		Built Boston? Hallowell?	Lost or captured 1760
<i>Devonshire</i>	Ship 180 tons 6-10 men	Ben Hollowell Reg. 1755 Boston	Robert Smith	Built 1755 Boston Hallowell?	
<i>Devonshire</i> (Mention only)	Ship 150 Tons	John Rowe Boston	Hugh Hunter		Captured 1760. Back in use 1763/4
<i>Dolphin</i>	Brig 75 Tons/5-8 Men	Ben Hollowell Reg. 1756 Boston	Caleb Prince John Reed	Built 1754 Boston	
<i>Elizabeth</i>			Capt. Bradford		
<i>Expedition</i>	Ship 230 tons	Sam Vaughan	Capt. Curtis	Purchase 1760 prize	
<i>Hannah</i>	Ship?	Sam Vaughan?	Joseph Eddy		damaged winter 1759 Sold London
<i>Happy Return</i>	Use as slave ship? (3 rd deck added)	Sam Vaughan	Capt. Curtis	Purchase Nov 1761	
<i>Knowles(2)</i>	Ship 235 tons/12 men	Ben Hollowell Reg. 1754 Boston	John Brookins Ben Hollowell, Jr.	Built 1753 Boston	
<i>Madeira Packet</i>		Sam Vaughan?	Capt. Clap		
<i>Marquess Carnarvon</i>			Capt. Moran		
<i>Mary</i>	Ship	Sam Vaughan	Capt. Schonberg		
<i>Mary Transport</i>	Ship	Ben Hollowell	Capt. Johnson		Military lease Lost 1762/3?
<i>Nancy</i>	Snow 120 tons 8-9 men	Ben Hollowell Reg. 1753 Boston	Benjamin Mulbury Archibald Dinmore Stephen Hills	Built 1752 Boston	Sold £245 London 1760
<i>Pherrin</i>		Joseph Eddy	Joseph Eddy	Purchase 1760 St Kitts	
<i>Pluto</i>	Ship (Privateer) 644 tons 36 guns/60 men	Ben Hollowell, built for Hollis of Bristol, England	Richard Baker	Built 1758 Boston Hallowell	Used for cargo & Convoy 1758

<i>Rebecca</i>	Schooner 48 tons 6 men	Briggs Hallowell Reg. 1752 Portsmouth, NH	George Hunnewell Thomas Baker	Built 1752 Haverhill MA	
<i>Reeves</i>	Ship 125 tons/8 men	Ben Hallowell Reg. 1755 Boston	Ben Hallowell, Jr.	Built 1755 Boston	Wrecked off Newburyport 1765
<i>Sally (1)</i>	Ship 300 tons 18 guns/35 men	Sam Vaughan Reg. 1754 London	Joseph Eddy	Built 1746 Boston	Damaged & Scrapped 1759 Boston
<i>Sally (2)</i>	Ship?	Probably Sam Vaughan	Capt. Curtis Capt. Johnson		Lost all masts 1760
<i>Sarah</i>	Brig	Ben Hallowell?	George Smith		Captured 1760
<i>Sheffield</i>	Ship 125 tons 8 men	Ben Hallowell Reg. 1754 Boston	John Reed William King	Built 1753 Boston Hallowell?	
<i>Susannah</i>			Capt. Smith		
<i>Truelove</i>			Capt. Moulton		
<i>Two Brothers</i>		Ben Hallowell?	Capt. Alcock		
<i>Unknown name</i>	Ship 260 tons/used to transport slaves	Sam Vaughan	Capt. Scott	Purchase 1760	
<i>Whale</i>	Sloop 80 tons/5 men	Ben Hallowell Reg. 1755 Boston	John Odin Arthur Newton	Built 1755 Boston	

Debit and credit accounts submitted by both parties show a noticeable difference in preparation. The Vaughan balances were calculated in British pounds Sterling, while the Hallowells totaled theirs in Lawful Money pounds (LM) of Massachusetts, which during this period were exchanged at between 26.6 % and 33.5 % below Sterling. The Vaughan pages were usually ruled and written by professional clerks in careful copperplate handwriting, while the surviving Hallowell sheets were often messy and bore the recognizable handwriting of family members. The Hallowells' more casual business and bookkeeping styles were sometimes a source of irritation to the London branch of the family. Sam Vaughan's directives towards his father-in-law could also be overbearing, and although Hallowell overlooked most of the criticism, 3,500 miles of ocean may have helped keep the peace. In September 1759 Vaughan stepped over the line, chastising Hallowell with a litany of personal disapprovals: for not training any of his four sons as a shipwright; for financially favoring his eldest son Benjamin Jr.; for not taking son Briggs as his partner; for allowing Ben Jr. to share his own prize money with his wife's family instead of with Briggs; and for using sons Robert and Briggs as "slaves" to the family enterprises. The pattern exposed here supports the fact that Briggs Hallowell and Sam Vaughan were friends. They also shared political leanings; a Patriot and a pro-American Whig in a family of committed Tories. Excluding such partisan divides, which were still a few years away, what really happened between the family members over the ship *Benjamin and Samuel*? Beginning with the first orders sent to Boston and tracking events from port to port as they unfolded, we discover how and why the story developed into this unfortunate disagreement.⁶

December 1759 from London

Sam Vaughan remarked to Ben Hallowell Sr. in his December 8, 1759 letter: “with the return of the Sugar markets after Peace with the French, [we will] want to charter two small vessels of 100-160 tons from Boston to Holland or Hamburg, to touch at England.” This first request from the Vaughan brothers shows an error in judgment, when some British merchants began speculating in various commodities, thinking the War would soon end; possibly the result of ongoing European negotiations and General Wolfe’s Quebec victory over the French in September. Trafficking in various sugars via London to European markets was fairly common, although the movement of enumerated Colonial goods, such as sugar from the Caribbean, was controlled by Great Britain. Sugar was an extremely valuable commodity and imports to England doubled between 1740 and 1769, reaching over 70,000 tons per year. The mention here of touching at England was a stop made necessary by the restrictive British Navigation Laws; an English or British-Colonial built vessel had to unload any enumerated commodities and then reload to proceed to specified foreign ports. This law, instituted partly to prevent the Colonies from establishing an independent trade, also required many European goods to pass through England on their way to the Colonies.⁷

On December 31 Vaughan wrote again to Hallowell. “Received a letter from Capt. Schonberg advising the *Sally* had sprung a leak and put back into Boston - as you had the *Sally* in your hands - wish you had given her a thorough repair and that Eddy had not shipped the logwood in such an old ship (built 1746) for winter passage... Hope her complaint may soon be found and repaired.” Capt. Joseph Eddy (1727-1797), Hallowell’s nephew, had probably left Boston in late October with the *Sally*, laden with sugar and logwood for delivery to London; possibly travelling in consort with Capt. Schonberg in the *Mary*. Fortunately Vaughan had insured the *Sally*’s cargo for £12,500 through to Hamburg, indicating she was carrying a large load of sugars; the charges for landing and reshipping the goods would fall to the underwriters, and Customs later granted a small rebate for damaged sugars. Vaughan would not yet have received the December 19 report from Boston condemning the 300 ton *Sally*. Her condition included started and broken knees of the lower deck, broken trunnels and naval timbers on the starboard side where she laid on the ground, and twenty-five feet of hogging between the main and fore chains; she was deemed repairable only by unsheathing the vessel... with the cost exceeding the value of the ship. Someone should have examined her before she left Boston, knowing she was headed into the North Atlantic during the stormy winter months, a time often avoided by mariners. Freighting the aging *Sally* with a cumbersome load of logwood would also have increased the chance of damage in heavy seas; and here the logs were blamed, at least in part, for the ship’s lack of seaworthiness. It was not to be Eddy’s best winter, as the vessel he did take across the Atlantic (likely the *Hannah*, reloaded with *Sally*’s cargo) barely made it to England. Following a hard gale, he parted company with the escort vessel HMS *Hind*, lost his main mast, and arrived in January 1760 with a crew exhausted from pumping to keep afloat.⁸

February and March 1760 from London

On February 4 Vaughan wrote to Hallowell, again stating that “one campaign will bring about peace” and adding it’s “imprudent to build (new vessels)...Have ordered the *Sally* and her materials sold.” Vaughan may have feared that vessels acting as privateers would suddenly be back in merchant service, lowering the demand for new ships. The next day Vaughan mentioned his recent purchase of the French prize ship *Expedition* to Capt. Eddy, and instructed him to load

her at Boston with cotton, coffee, and various white sugars, but no brown sugar. He cautioned Eddy how to examine and weigh the sugar and added: “We judge the orders and limits formerly given to Mr. Hallowell with regard to purchasing (sugars) will be sufficient for your direction.” Vaughan also warned that if the sugars and coffee could not be shipped “by mid-April, do not speculate in those articles, but load with spermaceti oil from Nantucket, not to exceed £14 sterling/per ton.” On March 8 Capt. Eddy wrote to Hallowell from London... “[Price of] sugars have rose and still rising. I understand by the Vaughans they have given you direction to purchase sugars... wish you success... Sam Vaughan tells me the *Expedition* is not to go for Boston, therefore for you to charter a vessel to comply with directions given me to purchase oil, which letter you have.”⁹

March and April 1760 at Boston

During the early morning hours of March 20 Boston suffered a disastrous fire which raged for six hours from the center of town down to the waterfront. Although no lives were lost, 220 families were left homeless and 349 buildings were destroyed, including many shops, warehouses, and dwellings, along with nine vessels at various docks. The total loss was estimated in excess of £32,000 sterling (£6,400,500 in today’s currency). Benjamin Hallowell’s family mansion on Batterymarch Street, dating from the mid-seventeenth century, was counted one of the larger real estate losses at over £2,000 (£400,000 today). A ship with her stores valued at over £700, owned by Joshua Winslow, burned in Hallowell’s shipyard awaiting repairs. And at nearby Wendell’s wharf and warehouse, Sam Vaughan’s condemned ship *Sally* was further damaged by fire and most of her previously removed appurtenances were destroyed.¹⁰



Figure 1: *The Angel of Death (Boston Fire March 20, 1760)*, by Zechariah Fowle, Woodcut, 1760, Samuel Draper printer, Boston. (J. L. Bell, boston1775.blogspot.com, January 14, 2019).

Due to the destitution caused by the fire, departing Massachusetts Governor Thomas Pownall (1722-1805) delayed his trip home to England to help organize the relief efforts. The Province treasury was aided by donations from Boston's churches, other towns and Colonies, and the merchants of London. On March 24 the House of Representatives voted to send the Massachusetts Province warship *King George* to London to collect the annual Parliamentary grant for the war, and invited Pownall to take his homeward passage on board. Benjamin Hallowell, Jr., Captain of the 400 ton *King George* (20 guns, 150 men) from 1757 to 1762, was subject to the direction of the Massachusetts government for each season the vessel was at sea. Merchants who had put up the money to build the *King George* were angry about the plan to send her to London during active war months. The scheme might have been more acceptable had the House suggested November, when the *King George* was normally laid up for the winter months. Between March 20 and April 19 four protest petitions were submitted to the House, totaling 227 signatures from Boston, Charlestown, Salem, and Marblehead. The merchants stated that the Province would be left defenseless, enemy privateers would find out, insurance rates would rise, and that any savings of freighting the £60,000 grant were outweighed by the £8,000 cost to the Province for using the *King George* on this mission. And finally, they had heard that the Parliamentary grant might arrive any day on a British Navy warship.¹¹

In mid-April the Boston press announced that the House of Representatives had read an April 7 letter from Gov. Pownall, politely turning down passage on the *King George*. His initial reason for refusing the offer was that the timing was not right for him, but he later admitted it was the “animosity between some of the Merchants and the (General) Court.” Capt. Hallowell was still ordered to ready the *King George* for sea and to enlist men to go to England for the grant. Although the Governor had a few supporters within the Boston political world, he was not popular among the old established “Court” (Tory) party. He was satirized several times by local wits, one of whom labelled him “Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Brazen,” referring in part to his use of the *King George* the previous year for an expedition to the Penobscot River to build a defensive fort and sign a treaty with local Indians. On April 22 the House of Representatives appointed a three-man committee to respond to the merchants’ petitions, and the next day the House changed its instructions to Hallowell, ordering the *King George* to cruise off the New England coast as usual. On April 24 they voted £200 from the Province Treasury towards Pownall’s travel expenses. The Governor had booked passage aboard the newly launched Hallowell ship, the *Benjamin and Samuel*.¹²



Figure 2: *Portrait of Thomas Pownall* (after the 1763 Oil Portrait by Francis Cotes), by Richard Earlom, Mezzotint, 1777, Robert Sayer and John Bennet publishers, London, sheet 39.9 cm X 27.8 cm, NPG.77.95, National Portrait Gallery, Washington.

Meanwhile on April 9, Sam Vaughan had written to Hallowell Sr. "...received yours of February 23 advising you would comply with loading two small vessels with sugars and coffee to sail from Boston in March on account of Benjamin and Samuel Vaughan. But do not go further with that speculation as the present prospect is hazardous." Vaughan's cautionary letter probably did not reach Hallowell until early May, not that it would have mattered with the chaos in Boston. Hallowell's extended family was living in a rented house; Benjamin was busy petitioning the Selectmen to rebuild, while Boston was struggling to finally pass stringent fire prevention building codes. His shipyard was also trying to launch their newest vessel, the 230-250 ton ship *Benjamin and Samuel*, probably named in honor of his association with the Vaughan brothers. Despite the delayed departure, she was about to become involved in the Vaughans' standing cargo orders, although she was not the small-size ship they had stipulated. Hallowell presumably wanted to add the sale of his own vessel into the transactions, especially at a time when his family was under duress.¹³

May and June 1760 at Boston

The ship *Benjamin and Samuel*, launched sometime after the March 20 fire, was registered in Boston on May 22, 1760 under owners Benjamin Hallowell and Nathaniel Patten. With his own mast yard and ropewalk, and ordnance likely from his own warehouse, Hallowell could have efficiently managed her completion with the local maritime artificers he normally employed. At 230-250 tons she would have been a mid-sized ship among those regularly used by the family for crossing the Atlantic. Nathaniel Patten, appointed Master on April 1, had entered Boston from Portugal on February 19, 1760 as Master of the 150 ton ship *Bristol*, also owned by Hallowell. Patten had been working with the family since at least 1755, and had commanded the *Bristol* since August 1759, when she left Boston for London loaded with oil, staves, and tar. She was emptied and re-loaded at London in thirty-one days, then travelled with wheat to Lisbon, where she was reloaded again with salt for Boston. The ship *Benjamin and Samuel* was built as an armed vessel mounting six cannons, possibly the medium-sized six pound carriage gun of that period. Two months later Hallowell would purchase a third of the eighteen six-pounders taken from Vaughan's scuttled ship *Sally*, which might suggest the size of guns that he kept on-hand. Carrying armament provided some defense against enemy warships and privateers, and allowed shippers to raise freight charges, but it did not substantially lower insurance costs. Travelling in convoy offered some protection and cost saving, however everyone was forced to sail at the speed of the slowest vessel, and they were often separated by bad weather, as with Eddy's rough winter passage.¹⁴

Capt. Patten's first Portledge Bill for the *Benjamin and Samuel* shows three other men hired on April 1, 1760: First Mate John McFarland and Cook William Thomlinson, both having come over with him from the *Bristol*, and an unrated boy. The remaining eleven crew members, including Second Mate P. McMathews, Boatswain Isaac Massingham, Carpenter Thomas Ayres,

and eight Seamen were hired between May 10 and 30. One sailor took his advanced wages and ran after only two days, and several men had once served on the Massachusetts warship *King George*. The number of merchant ships and privateers operating out of Boston during the War drained the available pool of seamen, often resulting in manning problems for the Province warship. The Seamen's wages varied between £2.5 and £3.10 per month, while the un-rated Boy and the Cook were the lowest paid crew members at £2. The two Mates and the Boatswain each received £4, and Patten himself was paid £6 per month. The fact that the last crew members were hired in late May indicates that an early spring departure was never actually contemplated or possible. Traditionally, ships travelling from the Northern Colonies to England would leave in March or April, be back in time for a second trip out in September or October, and lay over in England for the winter.¹⁵



Figure 3: *Shipping Sugar*, Plate 6 of *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua*, by William Clark, Hand Colored Aquatint and Etching, 1823, Thomas Clay publisher, London, (Wikipedia). Note the large size of the hogsheads and the use of rolling to move them around.

The cargo for the maiden voyage of the *Benjamin and Samuel* was assembled from various suppliers between February and May 6, 1760. The “303 hogsheads and 69 barrels of [French prize] sugars” appear to have been purchased in Newport, together with coffee which Hallowell had already sent out on the brigantine *Sarah*, along with another 222 casks of sugars (first small

vessel as per Vaughan order). Incidental costs at the time of loading the *Benjamin and Samuel* included over £40 cash paid to the Custom House officers to allow the sugars on board. Later sales from this cargo suggest the sugars were a mixed load of both white and brown varieties. Additionally, “22 tons of logwood and 438 casks of spermaceti oil” accompanied the sugars. Logwood, a heavy, tropical hardwood which grows thirty to fifty feet tall, was harvested from the Yucatan Peninsula and the Caribbean islands, including Jamaica. Its heartwood was an important source of dye colors, producing black, grey, violet, and reds. The sugars and logwood together were invoiced at over £8,300.¹⁶

Spermaceti (Sperm whale) oil, preferred in the English market, was imported for lighting, wool cleaning, and machine lubricants. Boston controlled the shipping of Colonial whale oils to London, which at this time came primarily from Nantucket and Newport. Spermaceti oil (as it was then called) was sold in colors or grades, based on how and when the oil was tried out and processed, with the white or palest variety demanding the highest price. The lowest quality Sperm Oil sold at the price of the less desirable Right Whale oil (called train oil), which was often used in the Colonies or traded to the West Indies. During these early years of the Sperm Oil trade, the waxy head matter (called Spermaceti head matter) was not always separated from the oil. Although the source of this particular oil shipment is unclear, Hallowell purchased spermaceti oil and head matter the previous year from Samuel Sturgis.¹⁷ A lengthy 1760 account shows where Hallowell directed a large number of Bills of Exchange for the *Benjamin and Samuel* cargo, ranging from £60 to £700 and payable within thirty to forty days sight. The financial transactions involved between forty and fifty Massachusetts and Rhode Island merchants. Cash paid for a man and horse for “sundry trips carrying money from Boston to Newport, Rhode Island” suggests that some financial arrangements were handled by the wealthy Jewish merchants named in the account, including Aaron Lopez, Moses Levy, and Jacob Rodrigues Revera.¹⁸

On May 31, 1760, £100 worth of goods was insured on the *Benjamin and Samuel* through insurance broker Ezekiel Price for John Hancock (1737-1793), who was taking his first trip to Europe. The young Hancock, being groomed to become partner to his wealthy uncle Thomas Hancock, was being sent to meet the family’s London contacts. In his May 21, 1760 letter to Kilby, Barnard and Parker in London, Thomas Hancock wrote: “he (John) has taken passage in Capt. Patten on board the ship *Benjamin & Samuel*, will Sail in about Ten days... He goes with Gov’r Pownall... Should he be taken on his Passage & Carried to France or else where I have given him leave to draw upon you for what money he may want.” This last precaution was needed, as French privateers were very active, particularly near England’s coast. Hancock later said his nephew embarked for a passage price of £150, presumably the same fee Pownall was charged for a cabin. The few surviving passenger records from this period suggest that vessels travelling across the Atlantic were equipped with cabins for a small number of high paying passengers. On June 3, well-wishers escorted them to a gaily decorated barge from Castle Island, where guns were fired as they passed that fortress. They were ferried to the Province ship *King George*, at anchor in Nantasket Roads, where they were greeted with another gun salute and spent the late afternoon feasting and toasting. After a third salute, they transferred to the *Benjamin and Samuel* and on the turn of the evening tide they lifted anchor for England. Despite a final inspection of his father’s new ship by Capt. Benjamin Hallowell, Jr., Patten managed to hide a stowaway for which he was later charged £5.5, presumably the price of steerage

accommodation. Reportedly, they had a stormy first few days, followed by the typical smooth sailing of summer. When the ship arrived in Portsmouth on July 7, Pownall and Hancock disembarked and travelled to London by coach, arriving shortly after July 10, considerably ahead of the *Benjamin and Samuel*. Travelling overland to London from a south-coast port was often quicker and more comfortable than risking the contrary weather of the English Channel. The ship's swift passage to Portsmouth was noted in two Boston newspapers when the news arrived in September.¹⁹

June and July 1760 at London

In Sam Vaughan's June 14 response to Hallowell's March 3 letter, he confirms that "you had purchased 200 casks of sugars for the *Benjamin and Samuel*, and you judged the cargo would amount to £8-9,000, but have heard nothing since... Sincerely condole with you on fire loss... Please sell any of *Sally's* stores if saved, and send account. The Loss is heavy as I was not insured on the ship." On June 17 Sam added that his brother Benjamin Vaughan and Mr. (Samuel) Enderby, the two other investors in the *Benjamin and Samuel's* cargo, were concerned about [Hallowell's lack of] punctuality. By July 1, when the ship still had not arrived in London, the Vaughans' displeasure openly revealed itself. From Sam: "Sorry you purchased the cargo for the *Benjamin and Samuel* as you could not comply with the conditions of the orders with regard to time, especially as my brother Ben says he will not take (the sugars)- so they shall remain on your account and risk. In case of loss I'll try to make it easier with [my] brother Ben." Clearly Benjamin Vaughan was the tougher negotiator, which became evident when he addressed Hallowell the next day. "Our orders of 8 December were clear and express not to purchase but on condition they could sail from Boston in March, whereas I am informed the *Benjamin and Samuel* was not launched before March 27, had no sugars on board the middle of April - and by your own acknowledgement the sugars bought to be shipped were not arrived in Boston the 22 May. Had the detention been occasioned by the calamity of the fire, I should not hesitate in taking them." Three consulting merchant houses supported Vaughan's decision to refuse the sugars, thereby transferring them to Hallowell's account. He went on to say they "had insured the *Benjamin and Samuel* from Boston to Holland or Hamburg with liberty to touch at England for £6,900 @ 12 guineas to return 5% for convoy (probably for the cargo), £1,100 at 15 guineas to return 5-7% for convoy (probably for the ship), and although we apprehend she will carry more than that value, yet as by yours of 3 March you compute her cargo would amount to £8-9,000, have given order for £1,000 more to be done on goods."²⁰

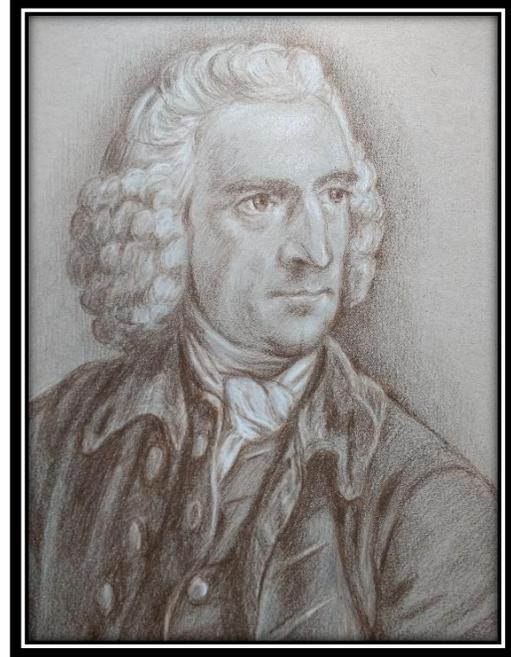
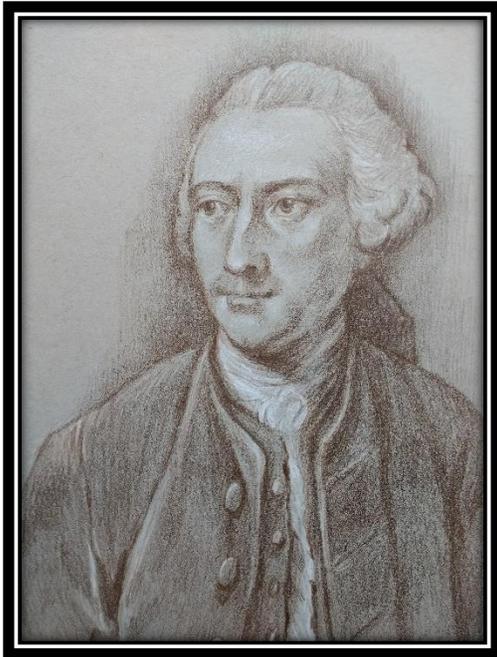


Figure 4: *The Vaughan Brothers*, Drawings by the Author, 14" X 11", 2019: (Left) detail from *Portrait of Samuel Vaughan* (1720-1802) by Robert Edge Pine, 1760, Oil on Canvas, 50" X 40", 16743, UK Government Art Collection (on view at The British Embassy, Washington, D.C.); (Right) detail from *Portrait of Benjamin Vaughan* (1713-1786) by Francis Cotes, 1768, Oil on Canvas, 50" X 40", 48.277, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA.

The final destination of the ship's French sugars was supposed to be Hamburg, Germany or Holland, probably Amsterdam. Hamburg had the most significant concentration of sugar refineries in eighteenth-century Europe, and sugar was the most important commodity of Hamburg's overseas trade between 1730 and 1800. Many of London's eighteenth and nineteenth century sugar bakers and refiners were from Hamburg or had been trained by Germans. The first sugars landed in early spring commanded the best price, as once the heavily convoyed West India sugar fleet arrived the market became glutted and prices dropped. Sugar refiners also did not work during the height of summer due to mold problems, with the demand rising again in October and dropping off in December. Higher prices for the small 1759 sugar crop had been followed by a fall in price by July of 1760. Re-exports of sugar to European ports were also higher in 1759 due to the war; French ports were blockaded that year, forcing the demand to go to English suppliers. The conquest of Guadaloupe also brought a flood of French island-milled white sugars, causing London prices to fluctuate from 52 shillings/cwt in August 1759 to a low of 30 shillings/cwt in August 1760. Even with these steep price swings, the government-protected London market was more stable than the free market of Amsterdam.²¹

As noted earlier, French sugars were allowed to pass through England on their way to Europe, but duties had to be paid on imported foreign sugars that stayed in England, whereas none (or low duties) were charged in European ports. A follow-up letter from Sam Vaughan to Hallowell on July 12, 1760 gave more specifics about their situation. "Holland and Hambro markets are overstocked and *Mary's* cargo still remaining unsold at Hambro, induced us to apply for advice

and decided to keep the sugars at this market...most of the underwriters signed to return 3% for her not proceeding further. When she comes up shall keep or sell her as appears most beneficial. The certificates [you] sent are for prize sugars without mentioning whether taken by A Man of War or Privateer, tho the former pays 4% more duty. As no Man of War carries prizes into Rhode Island, we take it for granted they must have been taken by privateers.” After listing the sugars which needed specific certificates, Vaughan mentioned some 146 sugar containers that had no paperwork, which they would try to enter as just French sugars, which if admitted would need no certificates. “Shall try to freight your ship for Boston, but if this fails, to sell her for the sum limited.” The *Benjamin and Samuel*, anticipated daily, did not arrive in London for another week or two, possibly delayed by bad weather in the Channel.²²

July 1760 at Boston

Meanwhile, back in Boston, Benjamin Hallowell was still dealing with the aftermath of the fire. The (auction) sale of the stores and remaining hull of Vaughan’s ship *Sally* was finally held on July 10, 1760. Forty-two lots, saved out of the March 20 fire, sold for about £332, many of which were bought up by Hallowell. The burnt and damaged hull sold for only “£12 to a Mr. Brown”, and although most of her stored cables and rigging were lost in the fire, a group of her sails sold for “£18 to Mr. Homer”. These help describe the rig and canvas expanse of this 300 ton ship: “Main sail 171 yards, Main top gallant 110 yards, 2 Middle stay sails each 60 yards, Flying jib 98 yards, 2 Top gallant Royals each 44 yards, Spritsail topsail 136 yards, Yawl sail 28 yards, and an awning 80 yards.” Hallowell bought, among other things, “6 of the 6 lb cannon, 21 small arms, 12 blunderbusses, 9 cutlasses, and a 1240 ½ lb anchor.” Charges against the proceeds included repairs to the hull in order to salvage the ironwork (cannons), as well as various laborers to remove and warehouse the ship’s stores. The net proceeds of about £260 went to Hallowell as agent for the owner. The final account of the sale of *Sally*’s stores was not completed until October, and received by Vaughan in December; one year after the *Sally* had been condemned.²³

August through October 1760 at London

Nathaniel Patten discharged seven crewmen from the *Benjamin and Samuel* in London on July 25, 1760; men who were later sent by Samuel Vaughan on board the larger ship *Alexander* for her September 10 return to Boston. Sam made sure to tell Hallowell that he’d be charged the overages for the crew as the *Alexander* paid lower wages. The First Mate, Cook, and unrated boy were again retained by Patten, waiting to see what the disposition of the *Benjamin and Samuel* would be. By August 14 the ship was empty and was put up for sale by private contract; the Vaughans, as experienced ship brokers, paid nine times that summer to advertise the ship. Although many viewed her, Sam expressed doubts that she would sell, because Hallowell had apparently set a high price. On August 23 Sam added that the sugars were about to be put up for sale, and four days later “14 of 32 [sugar] lots of *Benjamin and Samuel*’s cargo were sold as per catalogue; the rest were taken in, in hopes of a better market.” Capt. Patten released several more crew members at the end of August, and Vaughan mentioned that if she remained unsold, he would load her with corn (wheat) for Lisbon, and there to take in salt for Boston.²⁴

By September 1 Sam Vaughan was getting frustrated over plans for the ship, saying freight to Boston could not be procured, nor could corn to Lisbon, adding that “a winter voyage to Boston would tear her to pieces.” He considered sending her with a cargo to Jamaica, for a return to either Liverpool or Bristol, “for sale as a Guineaman (slaver), for which she only is calculated.” Liverpool had become the most important British slaving port after 1750, emerging from a group that also included Bristol, London, and Newport, Rhode Island. Samuel Vaughan, who owned three Jamaica plantations worked by 500 slaves, was sometimes involved in the secondary slave market and appears to have thought a cargo of slaves would have commanded a better profit margin. Vaughan’s conclusion, that the *Benjamin and Samuel* was unsuited for the type or volume of cargo that her registered tonnage promised, may relate to the size and shape of her hold, as defined by her lines. Although unlikely, she may even have had a third deck or the added platform spaces found on slave ships, which for some cargoes could be inconvenient obstacles. At the same time Vaughan’s warning about a winter passage suggests she might have had a lighter than average build. American merchant vessels of the day, partly to gain sailing speed, were sometimes built sharper in line and/or lighter in weight, either of which might affect their cargo capacity or their ability to carry loads under specific conditions.²⁵ One assumes the 230-250 ton *Benjamin and Samuel* had to have been strong enough to carry and use her six guns, and a rough calculation on her first cargo suggests that Hallowell loaded her with between 206 and 254 tons of produce. The primary freight on this voyage was the sugar, and being heavy, sugar was calculated and charged by weight rather than volume.²⁶

Although variable from port to port, it was generally understood at this time that a Colonial British vessel’s “registered tonnage” was on average about one third lower than her “measured tonnage” or potential cargo capacity. This discount, first arranged in the seventeenth century between Customs and merchants, lowered several port taxes charged by tonnage, such as lighthouse duties. If this ratio was still in operation at the port of Boston in 1760, then perhaps between 345 and 375 tons of cargo capacity might have been expected of the *Benjamin and Samuel*, depending on her lines and build, and excluding the space/weight occupied by her guns. Or perhaps Boston had already shifted to a registered tonnage that was closer to actual measured tons capacity, a correction that was finally instituted with Parliament’s Merchant Shipping Act of 1786. Regardless of where Sam Vaughan’s criticisms originated, he clearly felt the ship’s capacity limitations would always affect her profitability. He was also preparing Hallowell for the upcoming financial disappointment; Vaughan projected a £1,000 loss on this venture, blaming it on the late sailing time from Boston, and said it would have brought that much in profit had she sailed on schedule.²⁷



Figure 5: *A Thames Wharf, ca 1757*, by Samuel Scott, oil on canvas, 160 cm X 137 cm, FA 249[0], Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK.

Samuel Vaughan's September 27, 1760 letter began a month of disturbing news for Hallowell. Sam reported that two ships loaded with oil had been captured by French privateers off England's coast; (John Rowe's) *Devonshire*, Hugh Hunter Master, and (Thomas Lane's) *Britannia*, (Samuel Dashwood Master); adding that these events would probably ruin the price of oil. Benjamin Hallowell had chartered the *Britannia* in August for this shipment of oil to London, and would now have to collect insurance on the lost cargo. Sam went on to say there was still no buyer for the *Benjamin and Samuel*, and that he was about to load her with "100 tons of hemp for Boston and fill up with measured goods. A poor affair indeed, but could not do better for her." On October 7 Vaughan reported he'd "insured the *Benjamin and Samuel* for £1500 at 10 guineas to return 2, 4 or 5% if convoyed." However, nine days later everything had changed. "Could not make above £500 (insurance) on freight to Boston... Patten (and others) told me she could take 160 tons of hemp - so I took 100 tons from Campion and Haley & Trecothick... but found 95 tons of hemp blow'd her up, so she could not comply and has given me uneasiness." If the ship was merely fully loaded at ninety-five tons of hemp, surely Vaughan would have sent her off with that amount. Something must have gone very wrong for everyone involved to decide to remove the entire hemp cargo, which is what happened.²⁸

Traditionally, lightweight and bulky rectangular bales of various crops, including hemp, were forced into the curves of a ship's hold by Screwmen, highly skilled dockworkers using screwjacks to compress the bales. While increasing the ship's cargo and earning capacity, this procedure added significantly to loading time and cost, and if not done properly it could strain a ship's sides and cause leaking; in extreme cases it could sink the vessel once she was underway. Was this another indication the *Benjamin and Samuel's* build was problematic; had her planking opened up under the induced pressure of this loading technique? Hallowell owned a ropewalk in Boston, so his Captains would have been familiar with the proper stowing of hemp; Masters were responsible for selecting and balancing the cargo for the best sailing, so this event likely made Patten as nervous as it made Vaughan. Once again Hallowell was advised to sell her as a slave ship... "She is certainly fine for that, but must lose money by any other trade." In these unhappy circumstances, tons of hemp had to be off-loaded in mid-October and a new cargo plan arranged. Meanwhile between September 24 and October 19 Patten had hired twelve new crewmembers for the *Benjamin and Samuel*, including new Second Mate James Scott, Carpenter John Wiall, and Gunner Owen Phillips. The addition of a gunner may have been the result of an increase in privateer activity, but sadly Phillips was listed on the final Portledge Bill as "killed at sea"; his widow in Boston receiving his last wages.²⁹

November and December 1760 at Lisbon and London

At the end of October or early November 1760 the *Benjamin and Samuel* finally left London, Capt. Patten paying a Thames River pilot to get him to the Downs, a sheltered area near the English Channel. With a Mediterranean pass on board, she headed south to Lisbon, Portugal carrying a cargo of wheat, a few London goods, and two steerage passengers heading to Boston. It is curious that a grain cargo had been one of the solutions put forward by Vaughan in mid-August and again in early September; it seems the autumn had finally provided an available harvest. English wheat exports to Portugal had increased since 1755, the year of the terrible Lisbon earthquake. The previous October Patten had taken the 150 ton ship *Bristol* to Edward Broome at Lisbon with 160 tons of wheat at the freight rate of thirty-five shillings/ton. The larger *Benjamin and Samuel* should have been capable of carrying far more, but the hemp fiasco probably discouraged Vaughan and Patten from fully loading her. The wheat was again consigned to Lisbon merchant Edward Broome; the payment for using the ship for this load amounting to 435.956 mil-reis of Portuguese currency. Assuming the same freight rate, this invoice suggests the *Benjamin and Samuel* had carried only about seventy tons of wheat to Lisbon. In London, Patten had taken in small amounts of European items for Boston on behalf of twenty-six Massachusetts merchants, totaling over £500, and had also purchased some wines in Lisbon. Once he arrived in Boston he would be rebuked for the former, as he had gone against Hallowell's express instructions. In early December Sam Vaughan informed Hallowell that the brigantine *Sarah*, which he'd had trouble insuring earlier (partly because she was unarmed), had been captured 200 leagues west of England. Capt. Smith and three crewmen had been put on board a St. Eustaciaman and taken to Amsterdam, where Sam's correspondent had sent a protest. Vaughan lamented her sugar cargo, which had been purchased low, and with the market up about twelve percent, the cargo would have come to a good market. He confirmed that he had insured her for the amount Hallowell had suggested, and once she came into a port, he would "be about

recovering the loss.” And finally, after a third auction, the last sugars from the *Benjamin and Samuel* had sold.³⁰

January through April 1761 at Boston

On January 6, 1761 the ship *Benjamin and Samuel* entered in with Boston’s Naval Office, arriving with sixteen men and only “sundry European goods.” This leg of the trip was rather unprofitable with no large cargo on board from Lisbon; earlier Naval Office Records suggest it was routine for Hallowell vessels to carry salt (for New England’s fishing industry) when returning from the Iberian Peninsula. Capt. Nathaniel Patten filed his last account with Hallowell on February 4 and was discharged on February 7. He was either not signed on for her next voyage, was not available, or perhaps was not willing to take her out again. Patten continued sailing, mostly back and forth to the West Indies, where he died in early 1764. Although no Portledge Bill survives for the *Benjamin and Samuel*’s second voyage, Capt. Stephen Hills was hired in February, according to court documents related to victualing the crew. Problems with the beef supplied by James Dalton of Boston ended up in the courts; the case was resolved in 1762 in favor of plaintiff Benjamin Hallowell and his lawyer James Otis.³¹ Several Hallowells worked with Capt. Hills, Custom House waiters, dockworkers, and various weighers, gaugers, and surveyors, to inspect and load the *Benjamin and Samuel* for her second trip to London. Her outbound clearance named only Benjamin Hallowell as owner, and for this venture no sugars had been purchased. Her Bill of Lading and clearance record listed “505 casks of oil, 89 barrels of pitch, 557 barrels of tar, 309 barrels of turpentine, 6 hogsheads of furs, 8,000 hogshead staves, and 8,000 barrel staves.” The total freight she carried was similar to her maiden voyage, running roughly between 200 and 240 tons. Bonds were given, and after clearing out with the Naval Officer on April 6, she left Boston Harbor around April 13, 1761, carrying thirteen men and still mounting six guns. By Hallowell’s own records the oil had been shipped on the account of Benjamin and Samuel Vaughan, based on an order first outlined in Sam Vaughan’s October 7, 1760 letter. Vaughan had stipulated “4-500 barrels of pale Spermaceti - that is to be sweet and shipped directly, if none at Boston - send to Nantucket for it.”³²

May through November 1761 at London

The ship *Benjamin and Samuel* once again made a swift passage, arriving in London waters around May 19, 1761. However, even before she left Boston, Sam Vaughan was expressing concern about the oil shipment, firing off an angry letter to Hallowell on April 3. “In yours of January 16, observed you bought 500 barrels of oil, which Capt. Folger (Nantucket mariner) assures us are the brown sort. He is positive- but can’t believe you’d act contrary to [our] orders.” Vaughan then complained he’d received no February letter from Boston, so does not know how much insurance to place on the ship and warned that the final accounting of the *Benjamin and Samuel*’s previous cargo would leave Hallowell owing them a large debt. Sam added on April 8 that he’d finally received Hallowell’s February 18 letter, so by May 1, 1761 Vaughan had insured the goods on the *Benjamin and Samuel*; Hallowell’s 1761 invoice shows he was charged £1,599 for insurance coverage. It was not uncommon for insurance to be brokered on a vessel and her contents after she was underway, but in this case some percentage was returned as the ship had travelled in convoy.³³



Figure 6: *Shipping in the Pool of London*, by Robert Dowd, Eighteenth century, Oil on Canvas, 76.2 cm X 137.2 cm, BHC 1879, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich London, UK.

The ship was unloaded by June 3, 1761 and most of the cargo was sold during the next few months. The turpentine was held over the winter for a better price, but was sold very cheaply the following spring, and the British bounties granted to the various naval stores were delayed until 1769 due to a problem with Customs. Although North American furs had been a feature of mixed cargoes to England since the seventeenth century, the six hogsheads of fur shipped on the *Benjamin and Samuel* by Sarah Nicholson arrived into a booming London market. The British had taken control of the entire North American fur trade with the conquest of Montreal in 1760, making London the principal import-export center of pelts for all of Europe and even Russia. Vaughan again put the *Benjamin and Samuel* up for sale, but with no immediate offers he was unsure what to do next, and again criticized the ship: "... as long as she is in your employ, she will pick your pocket, as she carries nothing in proportion to her tonnage... there is no freight for Lisbon, so shall be under necessity to lay her up, or send her for a load of coals to Newcastle in her way to Boston."³⁴

Sam continued: "My information was too true that the oil was the brown sort, so that the whole cargo remains on your account... It is amazing that you should mistake our order of 7 October... This disregard of our orders leaves no encouragement for future orders." Vaughan goes on to say bidders for the brown spermaceti were only at £22 per ton, whereas the white sort (which they had specified) would have sold for £32 per ton. To add insult to injury, the *Benjamin and Samuel* was sold on September 23, 1761 to broker Peter Fearon for £1,355, a lower value than Hallowell thought she deserved (later letters suggest that Hallowell valued her at £2,000). Samuel Vaughan's final account on the ship was completed in November 1761, stating Hallowell owed

them £587. The proceeds on the sugars and logwood from the first voyage amounted to about £10,300; however with over £3,800 in charges, this voyage was clearly a loss for Hallowell, who had laid out over £8,300 for this part of her cargo. To “ease the loss,” the Vaughans offered not to charge brokerage fees and their standard 1% commission on the £11,696 total proceeds, saving about £550 for Hallowell... adding they “believe your loss will be but trifling.” Vaughan also asked Hallowell to receive the never-paid freight on goods shipped for John Hancock.³⁵

1762 through 1767 from London and Boston

Letters saved from the next few years reveal the frustrating impasse caused by the *Benjamin and Samuel* dispute. Benjamin Hallowell’s lost letter of October 22 & 23, 1761 apparently expressed his dissatisfaction with the handling of the cargoes from both voyages. To defend themselves, the Vaughan brothers responded in unison on January 8 & 9, 1762. Hallowell had remarked that London was the worst market for French sugars, to which they responded: “[this] is fully confuted by the great number of ships chartered for London, Holland & Hambrough that have & are ordered to this market in preference... foreign markets often being low, glutted & fluctuating, sometimes wanting one sort, at others another, whereas here they are ready to be had agreeable to orders as to quantity and quality & but a trifling 1/10% lost to the crown. This was the case with the *Benjamin and Samuel* cargo, as chief of the fine (sugars) were bought for Leghorn (Livorno, Italy) and the Straits, the common & brown for Holland & Hambrough by which the cargo made more than at any other European market & at a 3% (insurance) savings for discharging here.” Having taken the opinion of Simonds, Grote, Udney and others, the principle merchants in that trade, they continue: “Therefore give us leave to say it is impossible for you to be a competent judge of this Branch (of trade) & that your information & opinion are both erroneous- for had she gone to any other market at that time the concern would have turned out much worse... With respect to the oil, we doubt not your good intentions but blame your indiscretion in not complying with conditions of the order, which were explicit for white oil... Upon the whole undertaking the loss is inconsiderable to what expected or you imagined, but as proof of our uprightness... we now offer to leave the whole to the decision of any two merchants in this city of your own nomination & abide by their determination, but in this case we will not relinquish our brokerage & commission.” Hallowell had also complained about the price accepted on the ship, to which they replied that Capt. Cahill did all in his power to recommend the ship and other competent judges felt she had sold for her full value. Vaughan ended with “I am done with all manner of speculation & shall in future keep to my own Branch of Business only.” Following this lengthy justification, communication seems to have broken down.³⁶

One year later, on February 24, 1763, a peeved Sam Vaughan began his letter saying he wouldn’t answer Hallowell’s present letters of May and June, because Vaughan’s of January 9, 1762 had received no response. “Am waiting for an answer & remittance of balance... but in vain, not having heard from or of your family for months past, which is treatment I neither expected or deserved having eagerly embraced every opportunity... to serve every branch of the family, & am sorry to say I have met with very unsuitable returns.” While Vaughan says he is in want of money, he does not wish to distress his father-in-law if inconvenient, so he proposes that Hallowell acquire or sign over some lands in the Kennebec “for your ease, my security and for my children’s benefit... to be valued by Aphthorp and Wheelwright on my behalf, to be equivalent in value, with two others to be chose by you and if a disagreement, they chose an

umpire.” This was certainly a very assertive proposal, filled with specific conditions laid out by Vaughan for his own advantage. Hallowell was one of a group of Boston investors in a large land grant along the Kennebec River in Maine; after many lot distributions his estate would own over 50,000 acres. In August 1763 Sam Vaughan reminded him he should have sent his papers to London for settlement, especially as his sons, Benjamin Jr. and Briggs were in London that summer, and both were familiar with the transactions. Otherwise, with reluctance, “must send my account under the city seal for a final settlement & if you think you have a claim on us, you no doubt will pursue it.”³⁷

The following year, in April 1764, Sam wrote another defiant letter to Hallowell, delivered in July by Benjamin Hallowell, Jr. on his return from London. “Cannot believe you still trifle with me about resolving the accounts through England,” and it would be “extremely irksome and disagreeable to me” to try to recover the debt through the court at Boston, so have avoided this, and to preserve harmony in the family he “again entreats payment.” He still wants to put the settlement to arbitrators in London, but if this is objected to, “my honor stands engaged to support the demand.” He goes on to say he did not expect his proposal of some American land would be met with such “umbrage... you having so many tracts of land, could not imagine a part thereof going to your grandchildren could prove... disagreeable.”

In response, we have the only salvaged letter on this contentious topic written by Benjamin Hallowell, Sr. himself. On August 31, 1764 he addressed Sam Vaughan as “Dear Child,” then laid out his case on several fronts. “I cannot think as I have repeatedly wrote you there is a balance due to you, but a great one in my favor - you have taken great deal of pains to show my first letter upon this subject. If you had shown all those you wrote me & my answers, am confident they would have advised you in a different manner, for I look upon it [as] a great persecution to be treated as you do me, which I bear patiently... I am sorry you Imagine there is no gentlemen here who can judge impartially in this affair. If I were in England I would cheerfully agree to be arbitrated. I do not see how your honour is concerned, if you should choose to alter your judgement.” He then addressed Sam’s land proposal: “I strove hard to purchase a 48th part for you in the Kennebeck Lands, but the fire and other misfortunes prevented me. I could then have had it for £150 and now for £250, which I cannot lay down... It is easier to get £3,000 in England, than as many hundreds here... reread all the letters, and [I] think you will alter your judgement and reverse your present sentiments.” For Hallowell, it was beyond comprehension that he owed any debt on these ventures, when he had already born huge losses alone.

In his November 1764 response Vaughan remained adamant: “I expect your immediate compliance and will wait a proper time,” and if not paid “will reluctantly send the account under city seal, on which I shall naturally recover. An appeal may be lodged here.” The last saved letters of Samuel Vaughan on this subject were dated February 1766 and September 1767. Although he clearly found the process “disagreeable”, he stated he was “tired of making proposals to settle our long contested account by arbitration & that if this is not resolved soon I will acquiesce in my brother’s impatience... & no longer oppose his method of procedure.” This suggests that all along it had been Benjamin Vaughan who threatened sending the accounts under the Seal of London to compel the debt recovery; or perhaps Sam was hiding behind his brother’s

stern reputation when writing to his father-in-law. In the end, it appears that neither party was willing to subject himself to arbitration or litigation in the other's home port.³⁸

1773 through 1818 at London, Boston, and the Kennebec

It is not clear if more salvos passed back and forth between 1767 and Benjamin Hallowell's death on January 30, 1773, or if the Vaughans just stopped pushing their case. In an awkward coincidence, the Vaughans' early 1773 account was tallied on Hallowell's death date, and lists his debt with them as over £788 (probably enhanced by years of interest). At this point the unresolved dispute passed to Hallowell's executors, where we see for the first time the size of the loss/debt claimed by the senior Hallowell. Benjamin Jr. and Robert Hallowell judged that the Vaughans owed them over £6,270; the largest line item being £3,699 from the *Benjamin and Samuel's* contested 1760 sugar cargo. In September 1773 the Hallowell brothers addressed Sam Vaughan: "We have been about the estate business since the death - some things are perplexed & extensive and therefore will lie a work of time... we have received of Mr. Henry Lloyd an account from you and with concern we say that we cannot allow one single article of the charge & have told the same to Mr. Lloyd, who I suppose will prosecute the executors." After criticizing Vaughan's timing, they suggest he should have agreed to reconcile this long ago... adding "this now has to be settled before estate division can occur." This last was a warning, as the Vaughan legacies from the estate would now be delayed, along with those for the other heirs, most living in England.³⁹



Figure 7: *The Hallowell Brothers*, Drawings by the Author, 14" X 11", 1997, 2019: (Left) detail from *Portrait of Benjamin Hallowell (1725-1799)* by John Singleton Copley, 1765, Oil on Canvas, 50" X 40", Bowdoin and Colby Colleges, Maine; (right) detail from *Portrait of Robert Hallowell (1739-1818)* by Gilbert Stuart, 1809, Oil on Panel, bust length, Private Collection. The 1733, 36" X 28" oil on canvas *Portrait of Benjamin Hallowell, Sr.* by Boston artist John Smibert is believed to be lost.

In a complex 1786 case, the executors were held responsible for a debt of their deceased brother Briggs Hallowell (1728-1783) with the bankrupt Bristol merchant house Devonshire and Reeves. Hallowell Sr.'s estate was claiming against this same merchant house for their part in Hollis's

default on payment for the 644 ton *Pluto*, built by Hallowell in 1758. And Samuel Vaughan also had a claim against Briggs for a failed joint venture in 1759. Using a convoluted legal settlement, the Vaughans, working with the Hallowells, managed to erase the various liens. In the process they acquired the centerpiece of Benjamin Hallowell Sr.'s Maine landholdings, a large lot deeded to Briggs Hallowell in 1767. However, this does not seem to have resolved the longstanding accounts dispute. The Hallowell brothers probate work continued half-heartedly, with the *Benjamin and Samuel* sugar cargo often listed as a loss in the account margins. Although the debt the Vaughans claimed was probably correct on paper, it was insignificant considering their comparative wealth, and it would have been a worthy, and perhaps wiser, decision had they excused the amount in 1761. But instead they constantly pressed the Hallowells, who had been willing to write off their own larger loss... until 1790, when Sam Vaughan challenged the executors yet again. In his December 1790 letter to his brother Robert, Benjamin clearly took their father's side in the dispute, saying "Mr. Vaughan I know was reprobated by all who know the transaction- & Capt. Cahill after told me and sister Vaughan (Sam's wife Sarah) that [he] would not have dared treating (any)one as he (Sam) treated [old] Mr. Hallowell, his father in law - the Sugars, if they had gone to ye (original) place of Destination would have yielded a handsome profit."⁴⁰

Benjamin Vaughan died in 1786, Samuel Vaughan in 1802, and Benjamin Hallowell, Jr. in 1799, which may have made it easier to broach a final family settlement. Between 1803 and 1811 Robert Hallowell, assisted by his son Robert Hallowell Gardiner and Charles Vaughan (Sam's fourth son, who lived in America), completed most of his father's probate work. During the accounting one winter, the bulk of old Benjamin Hallowell's loose business papers, stored in two trunks in his Boston house, were burned in the fireplace for warmth. Robert Hallowell submitted the final estate account with the surviving heirs in 1811, asking them for just over \$16,000. The account was then referred to the heirs' lawyer, William Vaughan of London (second son of Samuel), for his "amicable decisions" and to adjust and award the balance due to Robert Hallowell. Over the years a few personal animosities had developed between family members over this case... beyond their collective frustration waiting for their inheritance. After deleting five years of interest, William Vaughan signed off on a final decree of about \$12,700, commenting "all differences respecting this account shall cease, and this reward shall be binding to all parties concerned."⁴¹

At long last, in 1818, fifty-seven years after the *Benjamin and Samuel* voyages, and following the death of the last executor, an agreement was concluded between Robert Hallowell Gardiner and the remaining heirs. Some of Benjamin Hallowell Sr.'s extensive lands in Maine were to be distributed among his descendants as their inheritance. Charles Vaughan induced his relations to reconsider their original plan of paying their debt in cash, so at least twenty-five land lots throughout the Kennebec Proprietorship were re-assigned to the Hallowells to cover the debt. In 1804 the Hallowells had sold their Boston properties, including the shipyard, to developers who were expanding the shoreline out into the harbor. And although Samuel Vaughan had recommended selling his Jamaica sugar plantations within seven years of his death, the family had held on to them. The British abolished slave trading in 1807 and slave holding in 1833, and the price of sugar fell twenty-five percent between 1805 and 1825. The final blow came when the Vaughan sugar estates were destroyed in Jamaica's 1831 slave uprising, causing a catastrophic loss in their value. Although branches of the Hallowell and Vaughan families

continued to live in both England and America, only a few men remained individually involved in shipping. The days of joint family ventures were long over, apparently ending in the 1760s, possibly with the misadventures of the *Benjamin and Samuel*.⁴²

¹ *The Boylston Family Papers 1688-1979*, Ms. N-4, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA (hereafter *Boylston Papers*). I would like to thank the former and present staff of the Massachusetts Historical Society for their friendly assistance over the last twenty years, and my helpful and supportive readers: Jeannie Griffin Bartovics, Randle M. Biddle, Richard C. Malley, and Susan M. Revell.

² Sandra L. Webber, "Proud Builders of Boston: The Hallowell Family Shipyard, 1635-1804," *The American Neptune*, Vol 61: 2, Spring 2001, 115-150; various documents, *The Boylston Papers; Massachusetts Naval Office Records*, Colonial Office, CO5:848-851, National Archives, London UK, (Microfilm and bound copies, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA., hereafter PEM), Naval Officers were Colony-appointed men who kept entrance and clearance Port books similar to those kept by British Customs officers. Fortunately some Naval Office Records have survived, whereas Colonial Customs Records were apparently lost.

³ December 11 (assumed 1790) Excerpts of Draft Letter, Benjamin Hallowell at London to Robert Hallowell at Boston: *Boylston Papers* (Punctuation, capitalization, and spelling are original. Quotes appearing throughout are primarily short extractions from letters often two to four pages in length).

⁴ February 22, 1753 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: *Boylston Papers* (all Vaughan Letters to Hallowell were sent from London to Boston); T. S. Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England 1700-1800*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1959), 13.

⁵ *Massachusetts Naval Office Records*, Bound Volumes, PEM (scattered records between 1717 and 1765 for Boston and Salem) all listings mentioned are from the Port of Boston entrances and clearances; various documents, *Boylston Papers*.

⁶ September 17, 1759 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: *Boylston Papers*.

⁷ December 8, 1759 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: *Boylston Papers*; "Sugar Refining", History of the Parish, St. George-in-the-East, London (stgitehistory.org.uk/sugarrefining.html); British Navigation Act 1663, 15 Charles 2 c 7, "An Act for Encouraging Trade" (The Staple Act), (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Navigation_Acts).

⁸ December 8 & December 31, 1759, Letters, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell, *Boylston Papers*; *Massachusetts Naval Office Records*, Vol 7: 1756-1765, PEM (Incomplete records for 1759 leave a gap in tracing the *Sally's* activities. It appears that Eddy left for Montego Bay, Jamaica in early August and returned to Boston September 4, 1759; oddly the entrance report listed only 2 hogsheads of sugars on board); damaged sugars on board: see June 14, 1760 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell, *Boylston Papers*; December 19, 1759 Damage report at Boston on Ship *Sally*, *Boylston Papers*: Thomas Richardson was listed as Master, the three reviewers appointed by the Vice-Admiralty court were Tim McDaniel, William Welch, and Alexander Hunt, the last a known shipwright. Her sale, originally scheduled for noon December 27, 1759 at the Exchange Tavern was postponed, apparently awaiting Vaughan's decision to sell, and was finally held on July 10, 1760; February 5 & 7, 1760 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Joseph Eddy, *Boylston Papers*: Sam mentioned "the *Hannah* came home a wrack and will be sold."

⁹ February 4, 1760 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; February 5 & 7, 1760 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Joseph Eddy (both at London); March 8, 1760 Letter, Joseph Eddy at London to Benjamin Hallowell at Boston: (all *Boylston Papers*).

¹⁰ *Boston Gazette*, March 24, 1760; *Boston Weekly Newsletter*, March 27, 1760 (Newspapers: Microfilm courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA); "Papers related to the Great Fire," *Boston Record Commissioners Reports*, Vol 29, (Boston, Rockwell and Churchill, 1876-1898).

¹¹ *Massachusetts Archives* (328 Volumes 1629-1799), Vol 66 (Maritime): 52-66, Massachusetts Archive, Dorchester, MA; Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, "King George, The Massachusetts Province Ship, 1757-1763: A Survey," *Seafaring in Colonial Massachusetts*, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol 52, (Anthoesen Press, Portland, 1980), 174-198; Worthington C. Ford, et al editors, *Journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts 1717-1779*, Vol 36 (1759-1760) Fourth Session: March 19-April 28, 1760, (Boston, MHS, 1919); *Boston Gazette*, March 24 &

April 10, 1760; *Boston Evening Post*, April 14, 1760. The Province badly needed the money and the 1758 grant had not arrived until November 1759, so the scheme was well predicated.

¹² *Boston Evening Post*, March 17 & April 7, 1760; *Boston Gazette*, March 24 & April 21, 1760; *Boston Weekly Newsletter*, April 10, 1760; Maurice H. Smith, *The Writs of Assistance Case*, (University of California, Berkeley 1978), 159; *Massachusetts Archives*, Vol 66 (Maritime): 66-76; Ford et al, *Journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, Vol 36: (1759-1760) Fourth Session March 19-Apr 28, 1760; Tom Thumb (Samuel Waterhouse), *Prospectus for Printing by Subscription, the History of the Publick Life and Distinguished Activities of Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Brazen*, (Boston, 1760). Waterhouse later worked for the Customs Commissioners at Boston; Thomas Pownall and his Secretary, "Journal of the Voyage of Governor Pownall from Boston to Penobscot River, May 1759," *Maine Historical Society Collections*, Vol V: 363-387, (Portland ME, Me HS, 1857.) Thomas Pownall (1720-1805), later a Member of Parliament, was best known for his various editions of *The Administration of the American Colonies*, 1764-1777. His brother John Pownall held various government positions in London.

¹³ April 9, 1760 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell, Sr.: *Boylston Papers*; Benjamin Hallowell's household included his wife, some of his own eight adult children, several of his brother William's orphaned six children, a friend's son from Jamaica (studying at Boston's school), and several servants; *Massachusetts Naval Office Records*, PEM: Ship *Benjamin and Samuel*, Entrance January 6, 1761 and clearance April 6, 1761 (shows 2 different tonnage listings, 250 and 230 tons; variations in recorded tonnage were seen on several other vessels in the table).

¹⁴ *Massachusetts Naval Office Records*, Vol 3: 1756-1763, PEM; Webber, "Hallowell Shipyard," *American Neptune*, 132; Oct 1759-February 1760 Ship *Bristol* Disbursements; April 10, 1759-February 20, 1760 Nathaniel Patten, Ship *Bristol* Portledge Bill; (Nathaniel Patten: Possibly born in England? When he died in 1763-4 he owned a house in Boston, and left money to a female companion, his adult (assumed) natural born son Nathaniel, and a brother in Bristol); April 1-May 1760 Nathaniel Patten, Ship *Benjamin and Samuel* Portledge Bill: (all) *Boylston Papers*; Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England*, 56; Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies 1739-1763*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1936), 499-500; Six pound cannon were of medium size (probably iron), made in lengths between six feet and nine feet, and ranged in weight between 1650 and 2400 lbs. (David Mc Connell, *British Smooth-Bore Artillery: A technological Study to Support Identification, Acquisition, Restoration, Reproduction, and Interpretation of Artillery at National Historic Parks in Canada*, (Minister of Environment, Ottawa, 1988), 88.

¹⁵ A Portledge Bill was the Master's list of crew members for a specific ship or voyage, along with their quality (First Mate, Seaman, Cook, etc.), dates of entrance and discharge from the ship's service, and wages; April 1-May 1760 Ship *Benjamin and Samuel* Portledge Bill, *Boylston Papers*; Province Warship *King George* Muster Rolls, *Massachusetts Archives*, Vols. 96-99 (Military), Massachusetts Archive; Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England*, 10.

¹⁶ Sugar and coffee (and oil?) purchases Feb 21-May 6 (1760 assumed), *Boylston Papers*; Wooden "cask" volumes were initially based on gallons of wine capacity. Tight or "wet" casks were used to store strong liquids, typically alcohols and wines, as well as whale oil: Hogsheads held 63 gallons, and barrels at this time held about 31 ½ gallons or 196 lbs. of dry goods (newworldencyclopedia.org); Wayne P. Armstrong, "Logwood and Brazilwood," *Pacific Horticulture*, Spring 1992, Vol 53: 38-43: (www2.palomar.edu).

¹⁷ Richard C. Kugler, "The Whale Oil Trade 1750-1775", *Seafaring in Colonial Massachusetts*, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol 52: 152-173, (Anthoosen Press, Portland, 1980), 155, 159. By 1750 Sperm Whale Oil had become more popular than other whale oils; Walter Sheldon Tower, *A History of the American Whale Fishery*, (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1907), 103; July 17, 1759 Account, Benjamin Hallowell with Samuel Sturgis: *Boylston Papers*.

¹⁸ February to September, 1760 Account, Benjamin and Samuel Vaughan with Benjamin Hallowell: *Boylston Papers*; Max J. Kohler, "The Jews in Newport," *American Jewish Historical Society Publications*, No 6: 61-80, (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1897).

¹⁹ 1758-June 1760 Account, Samuel Vaughan with Benjamin Hallowell; July 12 & Aug 14 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: (both) *Boylston Papers*; John Hancock Goods: Ezekiel Price Insurance Records, Vol 2: 367, *Ezekiel Price Papers*, Ms. S45, Boston Athenaeum, Boston, MA; Undated Nathaniel Patten Account (Late 1760 assumed), Ships *Bristol* and *Benjamin and Samuel*, *Boylston Papers*; "Port Arrivals, Immigrants 1762-1769: Records Relating to the Early History of Boston containing Miscellaneous Papers," *Reports of the Record Commissioners of Boston*, Vol 29:243-314, (Municipal Printing, Boston, 1900); Lorenzo Sears, *John Hancock: The Picturesque Patriot*,

(Little Brown, Boston, 1913), 69-71; William M. Fowler, Jr., *The Baron of Beacon Hill: A Biography of John Hancock*, (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1980), 38-39; *Boston Weekly Newsletter*, June 5 & September 8, 1760; *Boston Gazette*, June 9 & September 22, 1760.

²⁰ June 14, June 17, & July 1, 1760 Letters Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; July 2, 1760 Letter Benjamin Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: (all) *Boylston Papers*. Benjamin Vaughan is often listed as Scrivener, defined as a clerk, notary or person who invests money at interest for clients, and who lent funds. Samuel Enderby was involved with England's whaling industry, and was also an underwriter with Lloyd's (Kenneth James Cozens "Politics, Patronage and Profit: A Case Study of Three 18th Century London Merchants," University of Greenwich dissertation, Greenwich Maritime Institute, 2005: <http://studylib.net/doc/8722947>).

²¹ Ulrich Pfister, "Great Divergence, Consumer Revolution, and the Reorganization of Textile Markets: Evidence from Hamburg's Import Trade, Eighteenth Century," London School of Economics and Political Science Working Papers, No 2: 266/2017 pdf: 8, 16, ([lse.ac.uk/Economic-History/Assets/Documents/Working Papers](http://lse.ac.uk/Economic-History/Assets/Documents/Working%20Papers)); Richard Pares, "The London Sugar Market 1740-1769," *The Economic History Review*, Economic History Society, Vol 9:2, December 1956, (Wiley, Glasgow, 1956), 255, 261 & 269 ([jstor.org/stable/2591748](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2591748)); Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies 1739-1763*, 479-482 & 497.

²² July 12, 1760 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: *Boylston Papers*. Bad weather in the English Channel was common; wind blowing from the wrong direction could detain a sailing vessel for days.

²³ July 10, 1760 Account of Sales of stores & remaining hull of Ship *Sally* saved out of the fire in Boston March 20, 1760 (Benjamin Hallowell Jr. had retrieved this from Vaughan and noted on the document that he looked at in 1784): *Boylston Papers*.

²⁴ April to September 1760 Portledge Bill, Nathaniel Patten for the Ship *Benjamin and Samuel*; August 14 & 23 & September 1, 1760 Letters, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; May 1760-Dec 1762 Account to Benjamin Hallowell from Samuel Vaughan: (all) *Boylston Papers*. In England "corn" referred to any grain including barley, oats, rye, and wheat; here it referred to wheat.

²⁵ September 1, 1760 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: *Boylston Papers*; Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean 1763-1833*, (Century Co, New York & London, 1928), 82-83; Michael Baron, compiler, "Samuel Vaughan, 1720-1802, Profiles and Legacies Summary and Associated Estate Information, including St. James, Cornwall County, Jamaica Plantations: Slave Registries, and Claims," University College of London (cl.ac.uk/lbs./person/view); David Richardson, "The British Empire and the Atlantic Slave Trade 1660-1807," Louis, Low & Marshall compilers, *The Oxford History of the British Empire: the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1998), 446; Charles Garland & Herbert S. Klein, "The Allotment of Space for Slaves Aboard Eighteenth-Century British Slave Ships," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol 42:2, 1985, 238-248 ([jstor.org/stable/1920430](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1920430)); Howard Chappelle, *The Search for Speed Under Sail 1700-1855*, (Bonanza Books/W. W. Norton, New York, after 1957), 108.

²⁶ Freight calculations were based on the following: Sugar: 303 Hogsheads @ 800-1050 lbs per Hogshead (generally 1050 lbs in 1760), and 69 Barrels @ 400-525 lbs per Barrel= between 135 and 177 tons; Oil: (barrels per ton were extracted from another voyage in 1759, where barrels and tonnage were both listed) 438 barrels @ 8 to 9 barrels per ton (31 ½ gallon barrels were used for the oil trade)= 49 to 55 tons; and 22 tons of logwood= a total of 206 to 254 tons. (Russel R. Menard, "Transport Costs and Long-Range trade 1300-1800..," in James D. Tracy (edit), *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade 1350-1750*, (University of Cambridge, Cambridge UK, 1991), 264-265.

²⁷ John J. McCusker, "The Tonnage of Ships Engaged in British Colonial Trade during the Eighteenth Century," McCusker (edit), *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World*, (Routledge, London and New York, 1997), 23-46; 1786 (British) Merchant Shipping Act (26 Geo III, 3 c. 86) was in effect until replaced in 1854; Aji Vasudevan, "Tonnage Measurement of Ships: Historical Evolution, Current Issues and Proposals for the Way Forward," World Maritime University, Malmo, Sweden, 2010 dissertation, 9-10, (<https://commons.wmu.se>); September 1, 1760 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: *Boylston Papers*.

²⁸ September 27 & October 7 & 16, 1760 Letters, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; 1760 Nathaniel Patten Portledge Bill *Benjamin and Samuel*: (all) *Boylston Papers*; Naval Office Records, PEM.

²⁹ Robert White Stevens, *On the Stowage of Ships and Their Cargoes*, (Longmans, London, and Stevens, Plymouth, 1863), 3rd edition, entry 341:124; for an 1807 case: Thomas Gilbert Carver, *A Treatise of the Law Relating to the Carriage of Goods by Sea*, (Stevens and Sons, London, 1905), 4th edition, section 271:330; The use of highly-paid

Screwmen continued until the turn of the 20th century, when they were outmoded by mechanization, larger metal-hulled ships, and changes in containerization; for a wonderful view of the Screwmen's trade see: Margaret Edythe Young, *A Social Journal of and Artist's Life 1884-1920*, Part VI The "Jno. Young Co," (galvestonartist.wordpress.com); 1760-February 1761, Nathaniel Patten Portledge Bill for Ship *Benjamin and Samuel: Author's Collection*. (This 1761 copy appears to have been submitted to Boston Town Clerk Ezekiel Goldthwait, possibly to record the death of Owen Phillips.)

³⁰ Nuno Palma, *Anglo-Portuguese Trade and Monetary Transmissions During the Eighteenth Century*, 2012 Draft, Nova School of Business and Economics, (histproj.org/completed/PARMA), 8 and Appendix figure 11; Around 1755, 3600 Portuguese reis equaled £1 sterling: Mark Molesky, *This Gulf of Fire: The Destruction of Lisbon or Apocalypse in the Age of Science and Reason*, (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2015), 424 notes; (*Bristol's cargo*) October 20, 1759 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; February 1761 Freight Bill Benjamin Hallowell with Edward Broome; April 1760-Feb 7, 1761 Nathaniel Patten Account, Ship *Benjamin and Samuel* London to Boston; December 3, 1760 Letter Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: (all) *Boylston Papers*.

³¹ *Massachusetts Naval Office Records*, Vol 5, 1760-1762, PEM; February 1761 Portledge Bill Nathaniel Patten with Benjamin Hallowell, *Boylston Papers*; Nathaniel Patten Death: *Boston Weekly Newsletter*, April 26, 1764 & June 27, 1763 Will of Nathaniel Patten, *Suffolk County Probate Files*, Vol 62:1763-1764, 479 (13452); April 6, 1761 Bill of Lading for Ship *Benjamin and Samuel* signed by Stephen Hills: *Boylston Papers*; (meat dispute) *Suffolk Court Files*, August 1761 session (491:83161), August 1762 session, case 22, and (1275:172436), microfilm, courtesy of Massachusetts Archives, Dorchester, MA.

³² *Massachusetts Naval Office Records*, Vol 5, 1760-1762, PEM; 1761 cost and charges for oil shipt by Benjamin Hallowell, Capt. Stephen Hills, for Benjamin and Samuel Vaughan; October 7, 1760 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: (both) *Boylston Papers*.

³³ April 3 & 8, 1761 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; May 1, 1760 to August 1761 Account Benjamin and Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; June 3, 1761 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; May 1761 Cost and Charges for oil shipt by Benjamin Hallowell by Capt. Stephen Hills for Ben & Sam Vaughan: (all) *Boylston Papers*.

³⁴ June 3, 1761 & June 12, 1762 Letters, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; 1773 Account Benjamin Hallowell with Samuel Vaughan, (all) *Boylston Papers*; The bounty on pitch and tar was £4/ton from 1702-1776. Most of these pine products were extracted from the Long Leaf Pine (*Pinus palustris*) of North Carolina, from Michael Williams, *Americans and their Forests: A Historical Geography*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 1989), 84; Ann M. Carlos & Frank D. Lewis, *The Economic History of the Fur Trade: 1670-1870*, (Economic History Services, eh.net/encyclopedia); London fur trade to Europe and Russia: *The General Evening Post*, London July 14, 1761.

³⁵ June 3, 1761 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; May 1, 1760-August 1761 Account between Benjamin Hallowell and Benjamin and Samuel Vaughan; 1761 Sales of Cargo, Ship *Benjamin and Samuel*: (all) *Boylston Papers*. Peter Fearon was a Merchant and Ship Broker at Nicholas-Lane, Lombard Street, London. He often offered ships for sale as "Auction by the Candle" at Lloyd's Coffee-House. Sale by the candle was an ancient form of auction, where the bidding ended after one inch of candle had burned down.

³⁶ January 8 & 9, 1762 Letter Benjamin and Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell (2 copies): *Boylston Papers*. Captain Edward Cahill, a recently retired mariner familiar to Boston traders, was at this time a London Ship Broker who advertised ships for sale in the London's trade newspapers.

³⁷ February 24 & August 13, 1763 Letters, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: (both) *Boylston Papers*; Gordon E. Kershaw, *Gentlemen of Large Property and Judicious Men: The Kennebeck Proprietors*, (NH and ME Historical Societies, Somersworth and Portland, 1975); Estate of Benjamin Hallowell List of Deeds, Box E-8, *Charles Vaughan Papers*, George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections and Archives, Longfellow Library, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, ME.

³⁸ April 17, 1764 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; August 31, 1764 Letter, Benjamin Hallowell to Samuel Vaughan; November 12, 1764, February 8, 1766 and September 4, 1767 Letters, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell: (all) *Boylston Papers*.

³⁹ January 30, 1773 Account of Benjamin Hallowell with Samuel Vaughan; September 1773 Account of Samuel Vaughan with Benjamin Hallowell, deceased, (2 copies); September 1773 copy of a draft letter, Robert Hallowell (interlined by Benjamin Hallowell) to Samuel Vaughan: (all) *Boylston Papers*.

⁴⁰ April 5, 1786 Letter, William Vaughan in London to Samuel Vaughan Sr. in Philadelphia, Box E-15, *Charles Vaughan Papers*, Bowdoin College; re Briggs: March 10 & 21, 1760 Letter, Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Hallowell; Dec 11, 1790 (assumed) Draft Letter Benjamin Hallowell Jr to Robert Hallowell; 1787 Account, Debts due to estate of Benjamin Hallowell: (all) *Boylston Papers*.

⁴¹ Robert Hallowell Gardiner, *Early Recollections of Robert Hallowell Gardiner 1782-1864*, (White and Horne, Hallowell, ME, 1936), 135-136; Copy of September 18, 1811 Legal Agreement of Robert Hallowell with William Vaughan on estate of Benjamin Hallowell: *Boylston Papers*.

⁴² May 13, 1818 Balance of debt due Robert Hallowell, and (undated, presumed 1818) List of Lands Conveyed to Robert Hallowell by Heirs of Benjamin Hallowell in part payment of debts, (both) Box E-4, *Charles Vaughan Papers*, Bowdoin College; Robert Hallowell Gardiner, *Early Recollections*, 135; Webber, "Hallowell Shipyard," *American Neptune*, 145; 1797 Samuel Vaughan Will, Court of Canterbury, (ancestry.com); Vaughan's two Jamaica sugar plantations, once valued together at between £84,000 and £160,000, were assessed for acreage and remaining slaves at only £6,000 in 1835; Michael Baron, "Samuel Vaughan, Profiles and Legacies Summary and Associated Estate Information, University College of London, (cl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view); Philip Manderson Sherlock and Hazel Bennett, *The Story of the Jamaican People*, (Ian Randle & Marcus Wiener, Kingston & Princeton, 1998), 222.