

Admiral Nelson
Image and Icon

Volume 2

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Illustrations

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- conveyed from Greenwich to Whitehall ...* (London: J. T. Smith, 15 February 1806). NMM PAF 4378.
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 11. *A View of the Funeral Procession by Land with the Remains of that Great Hero Ad^l Lord Nelson, From the Admiralty to S^t Pauls Cathedral on Thursday Jan^y 9 1806. The Procession was led by a Military Force of near 8000 regular Soldiers* (London: G. Thompson, 27 June 1806) [Nelson's funeral], engraved by G. Thompson (London: [G. Thompson], 27 June 1806). Guildhall Library, Corporation of London, L22.83. The original of this print is immense in size, about 65cm x 1m.
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 17. *Nelson's Pillar, Sackville-Street, Dublin* by G. Petrie and R. Winkles (London: Fisher Son & Co, 1829). NMM PAD 3914.
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19. Flaxman's sketch for a Nelson Monument shows Nelson 'in his perfect figure', representing Nelson with two arms, ca. 1806. NMM PAF 4389.
20. Picture of Nelson monument in Barbados from: Robert Herrmann Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1848), frontispiece.
21. *Statue to the Memory of Admiral Lord Nelson, at Birmingham* (Gentleman's Magazine, May 1812, Pl. II, p. 217). NMM PAD3899.
22. *Battle of Trafalgar and Death of Lord Viscount Nelson To the Memory of the Immortal Nelson, and to the Honour of our Brave Countrymen, who so nobly fought & conquered the combined fleets of France and Spain ...* [painted by] W. M. Craig, [engraved by] R. Cooper (London: Edward Orme, 1 June 1806). NMM PAI 5451.
23. *Death of Lord Nelson* ([no publishing details given]). NMM PAD 5740.
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27. *The Death of Admiral Lord Nelson in the moment of Victory* by James Gillray (London: H. Humphrey, 23 December 1805) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 218.
28. *The Death of General Wolfe* by Benjamin West from Charles Mitchell, 'Benjamin West's *Death of Nelson*', *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard & Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), pp. 265-73, and illustrations XXXVIII, XXXVIII (fig. 3).
29. *The Death of Nelson* [painted by] Benjamin West and [engraved by] James Heath (London: [n. pub.], 1 May 1811). NMM PAI 5448.
30. [cheap print, copied from West's painting] ([no publishing details]). By copying directly from the print to the plate for his print, the artist reversed the picture, so that Nelson's left, instead of his right, arm is missing. NMM PAD 4043.
31. *The Death of Lord Nelson Painted by A. Devis, Engraved by W. Bromley, Dedicated to the British Navy* (London: Boydell & Company, 2 March 1812). NMM PAI 7637.
32. *Death of Lord Nelson* (London: J. & J. Cundee, 1814). This relatively cheap print appears to be inspired by the way in which Devis depicted the scene of Nelson's death. NMM PAD 4016.

33. The scene of Nelson's death (inspired by Devis' depiction) was displayed at Madame Tussaud's from 1967 to 1990 (see: *The Nelson Dispatch*, 3 (1990), 204). By courtesy of Madame Tussaud's. For a wax statue of Nelson see plate 71.
34. Scene of Nelson's death from the film *The Divine Lady* with Victor Varconi as Nelson (1929) from Clive Hirschhorn, *The Warner Bros. Story* (London: Octopus Books, 1979, reprint 1980), p. 71.
35. *The Battle of Trafalgar, as seen from the Mizen Starboard Shrouds of the Victory* by J. M. W. Turner (1806, reworked 1808) from Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll, *The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner* (2 vols., [1] *Text* and [2] *Plates*, revised edition, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), [2] *Plates*, plate 68.
36. *The Death of Nelson* (for the biography by Clarke & M'Arthur) by Benjamin West from: Charles Mitchell, 'Benjamin West's *Death of Nelson*', *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard & Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), pp. 265-73, and illustrations XXXVIII [hereafter: Mitchell], XXXVIII (fig. 5).
37. *The Immortality of Nelson* by Benjamin West from *The Nelson Companion*, ed. Colin White (Annapolis, Maryland: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995), colour plate no. 1, between pp. 108 and 109.
38. *The Immortality of Nelson*, executed in Coade Stone, by Benjamin West, pediment in west wing of Greenwich Hospital.
39. *Albion rose from where he laboured at the Mill with Slaves* by William Blake (1780) from David V. Erdman, *Blake. Prophet against Empire. A Poet's Interpretation of the History of His Own Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), opp. p. 204.
40. *The Spiritual form of Nelson guiding Leviathan, in whose wreathings are infolded the Nations of the Earth* by William Blake (1809) from David V. Erdman, *Blake. Prophet against Empire. A Poet's Interpretation of the History of His Own Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), opp. p. 204.
41. *Nelson* by Charles Lucy, 1853, from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 274.
42. *Happy Days at Merton* by Frank Dadd from *The Nelson Companion*, ed. Colin White (Annapolis, Maryland: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995), p. 26.
43. *Saluting the Admiral* by Alfred [sic!, other sources state: Albert] Holden from *The Nelson Companion*, ed. Colin White (Annapolis, Maryland: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995), colour plate no. 13, between pp. 108 and 109.
44. *Lord Nelson explaining to the Officers the Plan of Attack previous to the Battle of Trafalgar* (London: Edward Orme, 9 January 1806) from Roy Hattersley, *Nelson* (London: Book Club Edition, 1974), pp. 162-163.
45. 'Lord Nelson explaining methods of attack', published in William Laird Clowes and Alan Hughes Burgoyne, *Trafalgar Refought* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, [1905]), p. 153.

46. *Nelson* by John Francis Rigaud (of 1777-1781) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 18.
47. *Nelson* by Abbott (Kilgraston sketch of 1797) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 39.
48. *Nelson* by Abbott (of 1797), Lady Nelson's, from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 30.
49. *Nelson* by Abbott (of 1799) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 31.
50. Oil sketch of *Nelson* by William Beechey (1800) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 122.
51. Oil sketch of *Nelson* by Hoppner (1800) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 126.
52. *Nelson* by William Beechey (1800-1) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 123.
53. *Nelson* by Hoppner (1800-1) from Roy Hattersley, *Nelson* (London: Book Club Edition, 1974), opp. titlepage.
54. A French portrayal of *Nelson* by Grevedon (1826). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Le Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, no. D 224935.
55. *Nelson* in a Spanish portrayal after Heinrich Füger's portrait of Nelson in civilian dress (pictured in Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), frontispiece). This image was first published in an illustrated edition of Benito Pérez Galdós' novel *Trafalgar*, next to a portrait of the highest ranking Spanish admiral at the battle of Trafalgar: Gravina (Benito Pérez Galdós, *Episodios Nacionales – tomo I. Trafalgar. La corte de Carlos IV* edición ilustrada por D. Enrique y D. Arturo Mélida, Madrid: 1881, p. 78). This reproduction is from Enrique Giménez López, *El fin del Antiguo Régimen. El Reinado de Carlos IV* (series 'Historia de España', Madrid: Historia 16, Temas de hoy, [c. 2000]), p. 89.
56. Jugs moulded in relief with profile figures of 'Admiral Nelson' on one side and 'Captain Berry' in the other, produced after the battle of the Nile (where Berry was Nelson's flag-captain). The jug on the left is adapted to the occasion after the battle of Trafalgar by painting 'Adm^l Collingwood' over the relief lettering of 'Captain Berry'. NMM AAA 5140 and 5135.
57. Brown transfer-printed earthenware mug and jug; NMM AAA 4902 (mug) and 4904 (jug).

58. Creamware mug and jug, transfer-printed with a portrait of Nelson after the engraving by Chapman, after a painting by Abbott. NMM AAA 4806 (mug) and 4826 (jug).
59. Blue transfer-printed earthenware bowl. The inscriptions read: 'Shew me my Country's Foes, / The Hero Cry'd; / He saw – He faught [*sic*] – He conquered' (above picture), 'Dear to his Country, / shall his Mem'ry live; / But sorrow drowns the Joy, / His Deeds should give' (below picture). NMM AAA 4847.
60. Jasper vases with white applied reliefs of Nelson on one side and a mourning female figure on the other side. NMM AAA 5055 (showing Nelson) and AAA 5056 (showing mourning female figure).
61. Terracotta moulded jardinière with two dolphin-head lugs and on one side in relief a three-quarter-length portrait of Nelson, c. 1815. NMM AAA 5031. In Lily Lambert McCarthy, *Remembering Nelson* ([Portsmouth]: privately published, 1995), p. 189, no. 224, and John and Jennifer May, *Commemorative Pottery 1780-1900. A Guide for Collectors* (London: Heinemann, 1972), p. 100 (no. o) this item is described as a 'Wine Cooler'.
62. Brown stoneware jugs in form of Nelson's head, shoulders and hat with rope twist handles, produced by 'Doulton & Watts. Lambeth Pottery. London' (inscription on base). NMM AAA 5010 (large), 5003 (medium) and 5015 (small).
63. Staffordshire 'Death of Nelson' group with William Beatty, the *Victory's* surgeon, offering a cup to drink to Nelson and Captain Hardy, whose epaulettes that mark him as an officer (as Nelson's) are painted over in blue, holding Nelson's hand and supporting him with his right arm, the hand of which is visible on Nelson's right shoulder. This item was produced in the 1840s. NMM AAA 6012.
64. Stepengraph (silk machine embroidered picture) of 'The Death of Nelson' after Daniel Maclise's painting. NMM PAI 5444.
65. Parian ware bust of Nelson after Flaxman, introduced after 1847. NMM AAA 5968.
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67. Two-handled cup with rope-twist borders and handles (1905); the inscriptions read: 'Lord Nelson / Born 1758 Died 1805', 'England expects every man will do his duty, 'Doulton & Co Ltd, Lambeth'. NMM AAA 5075.
68. Will's Cigarettes, Nelson Series (1905).
69. *Palermo Pier. Newcome Victorious*, print from John Mitford, *The Adventures of Johnny Newcome in the Navy* (London: published for the author and sold by Sherwood, Neely, and Jones et al, 1819), opp. p. 170. NMM PAI 5352. The portrayal of Sir William Hamilton is copied from James Gillray's caricature *A Cognoscenti contemplating ye Geauties of ye Antique* (London: H. Humphrey, 11 February 1801) ridiculing Sir William Hamilton as the betrayed husband

- (with portraits of 'Mark Antony', in naval uniform, and 'Cleopatra' with a bottle of 'Gin' in hand, hanging on the wall).
70. Nelson's undress uniform coat, worn at the battle of Trafalgar. from a postcard published by the NMM.
 71. Wax statue of Nelson by Madame Tussaud's from 1970s. By courtesy of Madame Tussaud's; for a death scene by Madame Tussaud's see plate 33.
 72. Nelson in a French comic from Mitton, Jean-Yves (Scénario) et Molinari (Dessins) et Sopphe Balland (Couleurs), *Les Survivants de l'Atlantique. Livre cinquième. Tempête sur Trafalgar* (Géronimo/Mitton/Molinari : Toulon, 1997), p. 46.
 73. *Admiral Lord Nelson* (design for the poster of the Nelson Exhibition at the NMM, opened 1995) from a postcard published by the NMM.
 74. *The Anniversary of Trafalgar*, from *The Daily Mirror*. This caricature shows Nelson looking up Sir John Fisher on his first day as First Sea Lord on 21 October 1904 (the day of the anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar). Below it reads: 'Nelson (in Trafalgar Square): - "I was on my way down to lend them a hand myself, but if Jacky Fisher's taking on the job there's no need for me to be nervous. I'll get back on my pedestal."' from R. H. Bacon, *The Life of Lord Fisher of Kilverstone. Admiral of the Fleet* (2 vols., London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), ii, opp. 64.
 75. '*England erwartet, daß jeder Europäer seine Pflicht tut!*' ('England expects that every European does his duty'). The inscription on the piece of paper on the table in front of the representatives of the nations of Europe reads: 'EC[European Community]-sanctions against Argentina'. This caricature of Margaret Thatcher's demand for support was published in the German daily *Handelsblatt* at the time of the Falklands Islands War, 1982.
 76. Tony Blair depicted as Nelson in a caricature, accompanying a political commentary in *The Economist*, 29 September 2001, entitled 'Britain debates the morality of terror, reaching no clear answer'.
 77. '*Ban Disabled from the Forces*'. Caricature from *The Times*, 21 December 2000.
 78. '*Kiss me and tell, Hardy*'. Caricature from *Private Eye*, no. 1067 (15-28 November 2002), 5.
 79. Contemporary advertisement for 'Nelson's Revenge Premium Ale'.
 80. Contemporary advertisement for 'Admiral' Insurance.



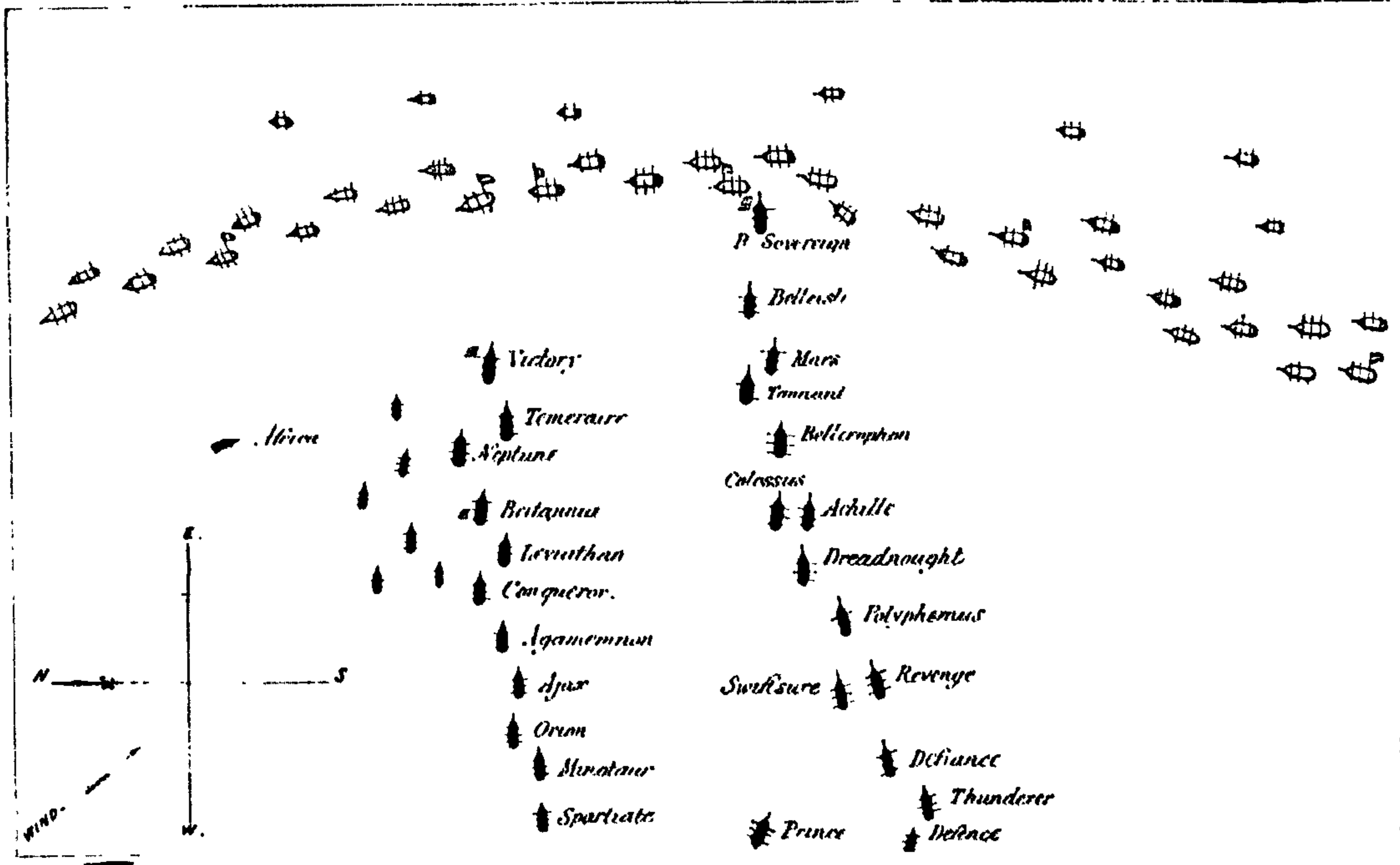
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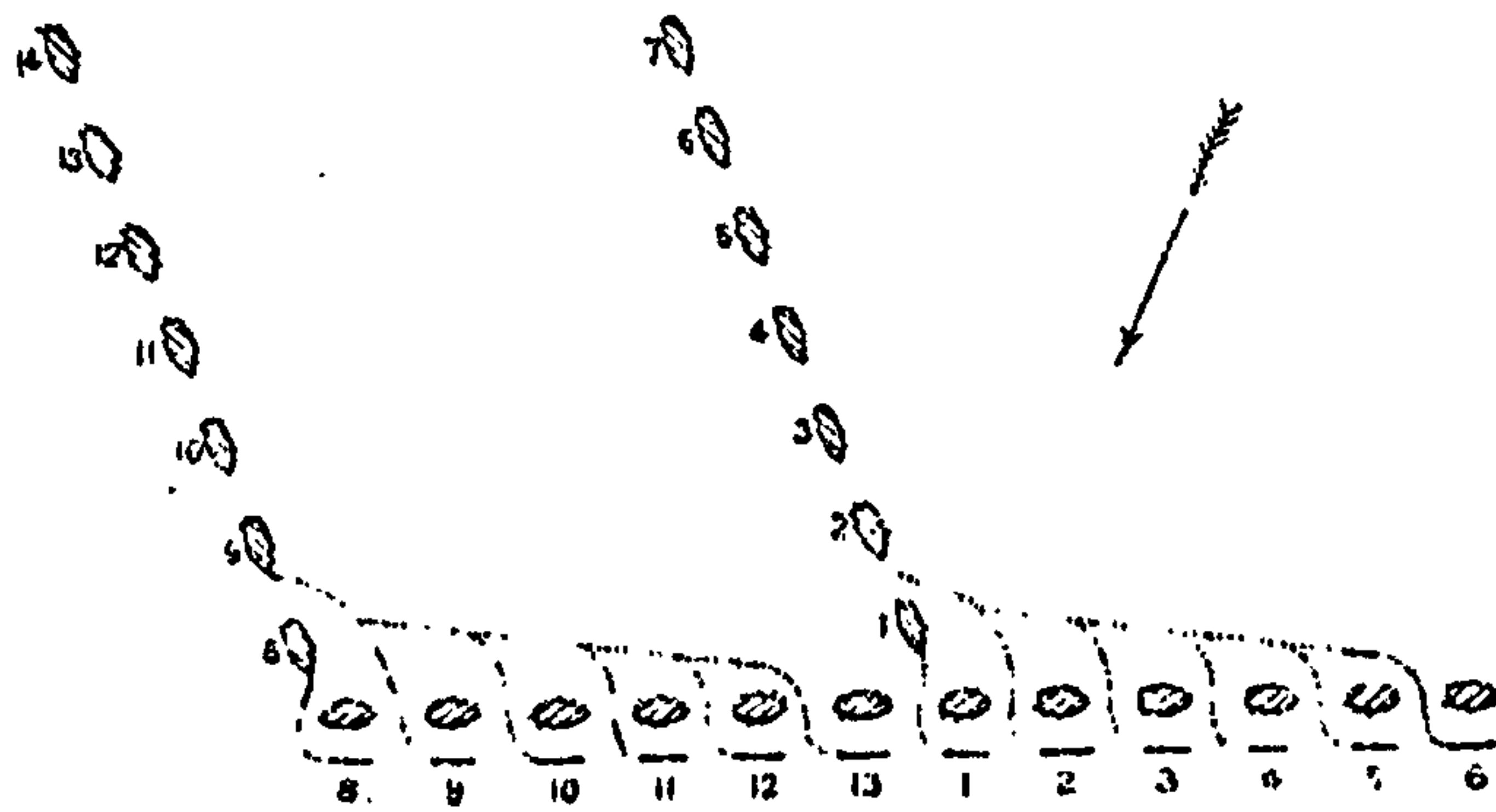
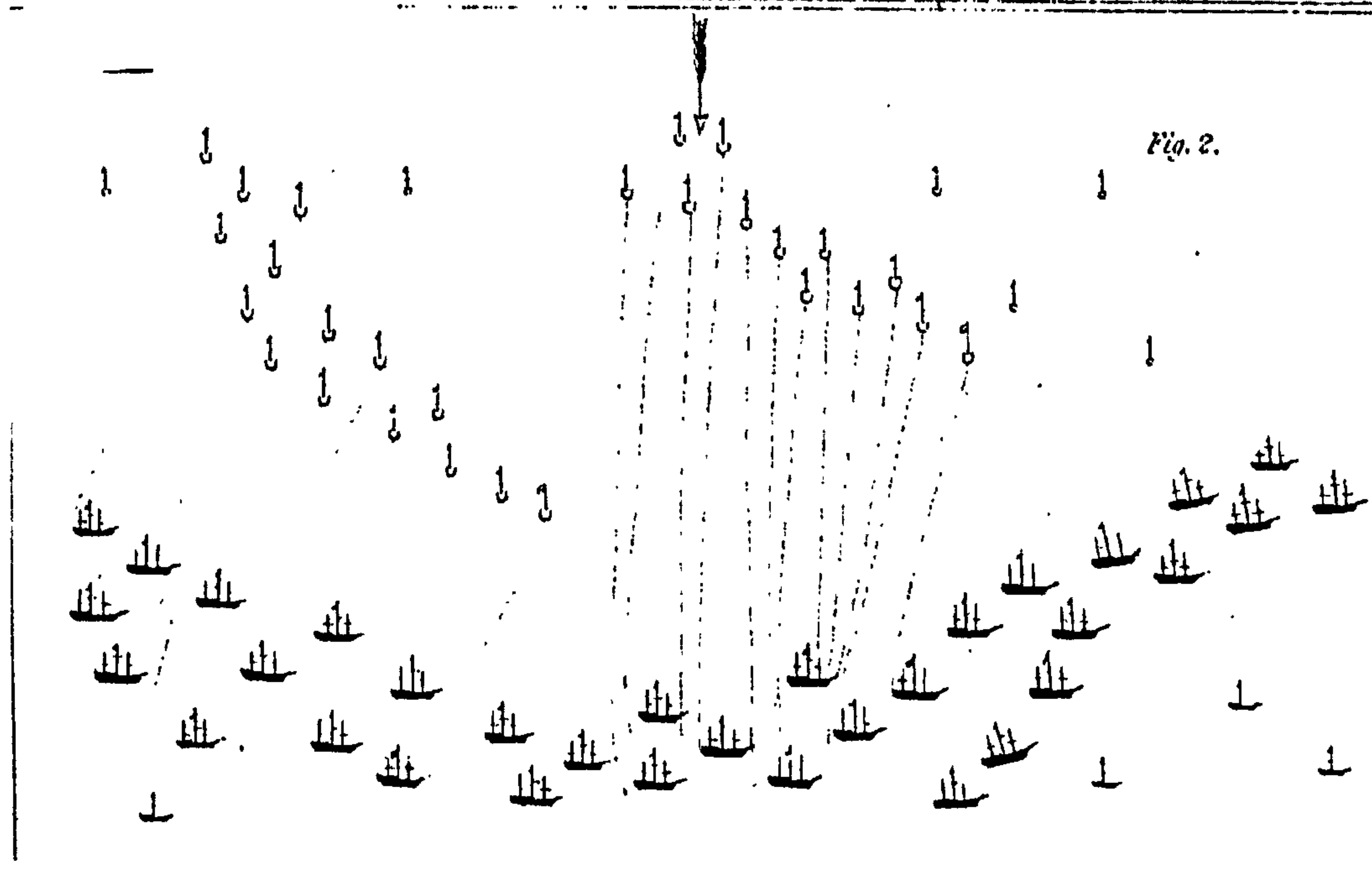
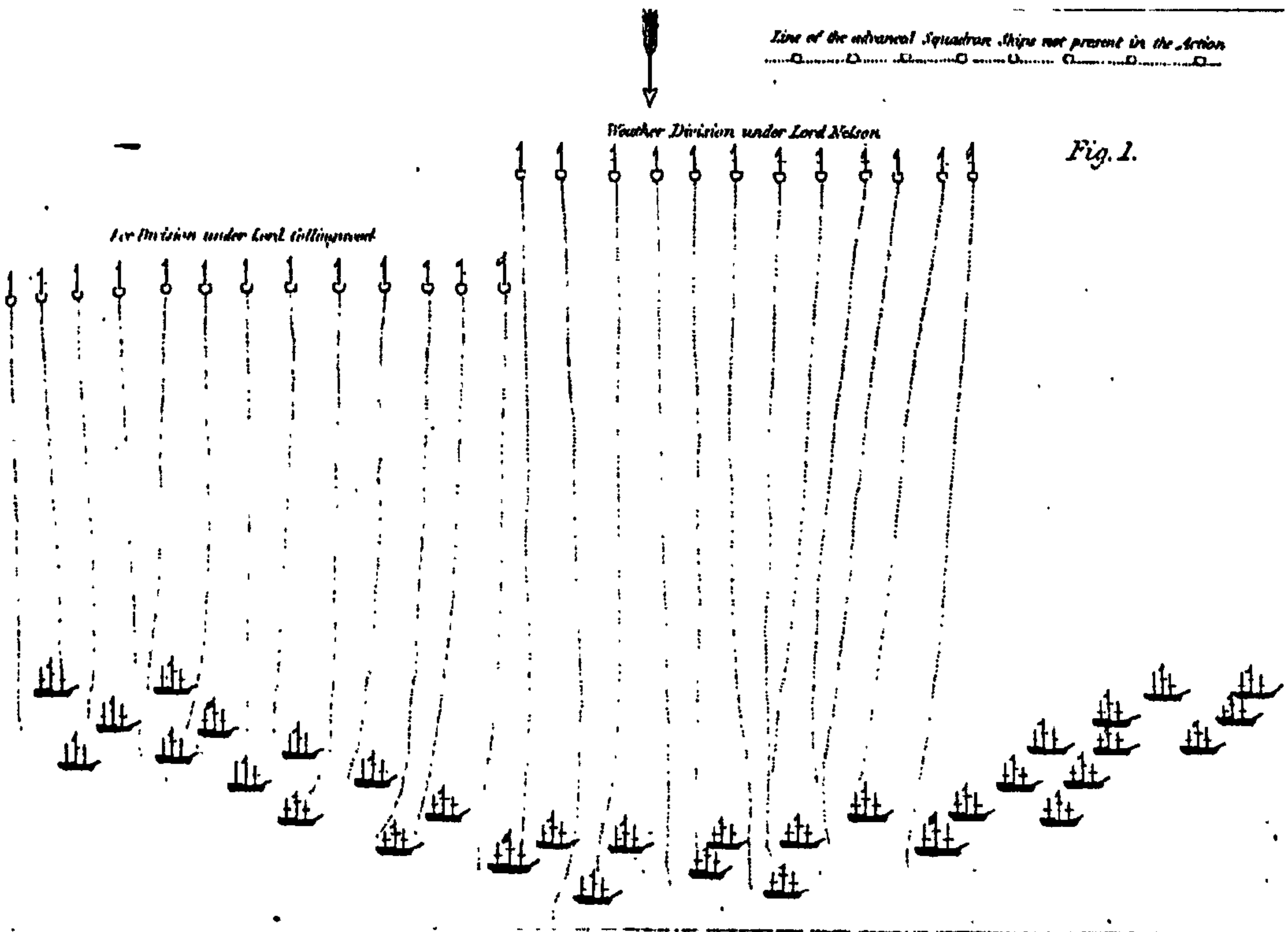
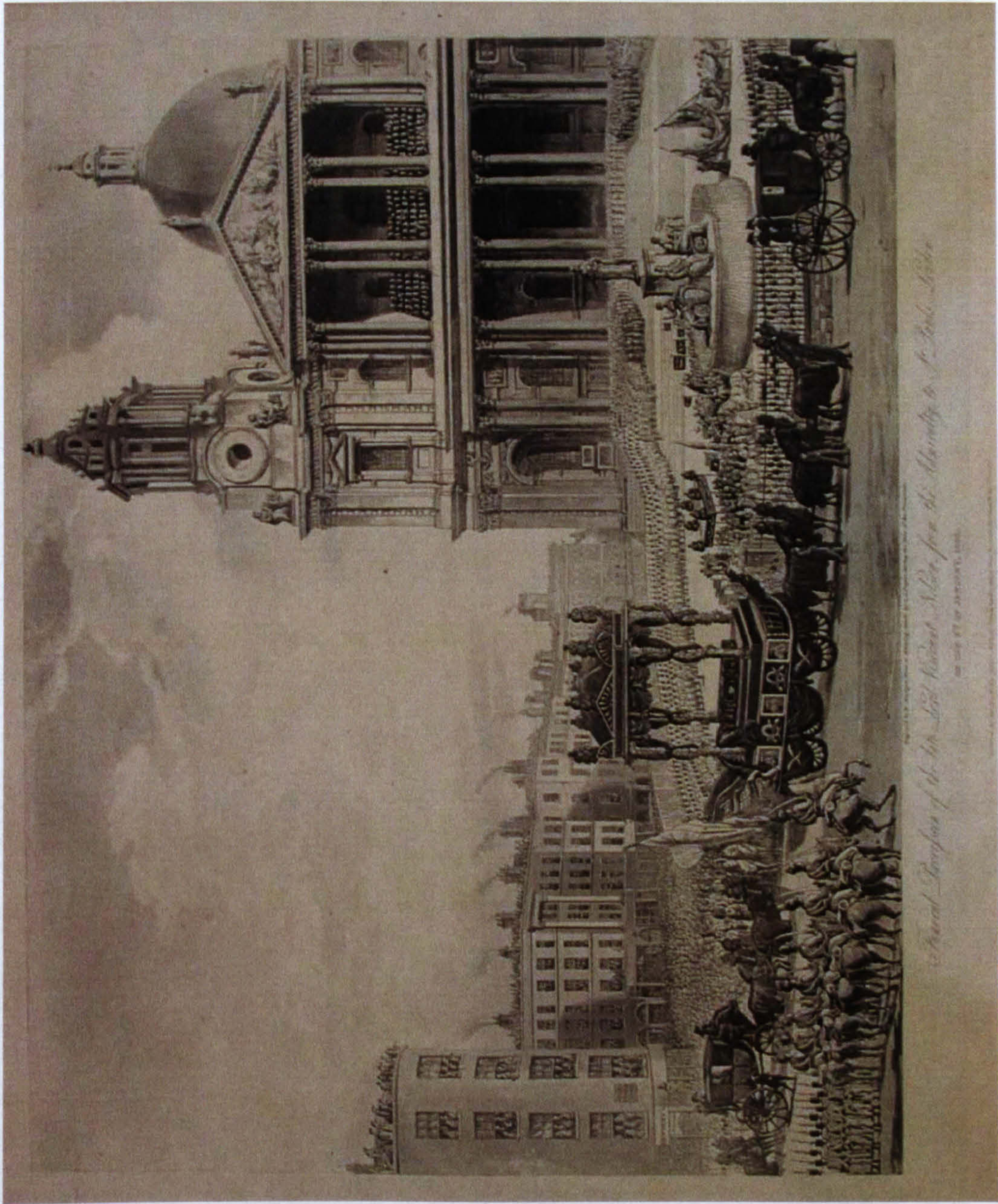


DIAGRAM OF THE TRAFALGAR SIGNAL
From the *Signal Book* of 1816

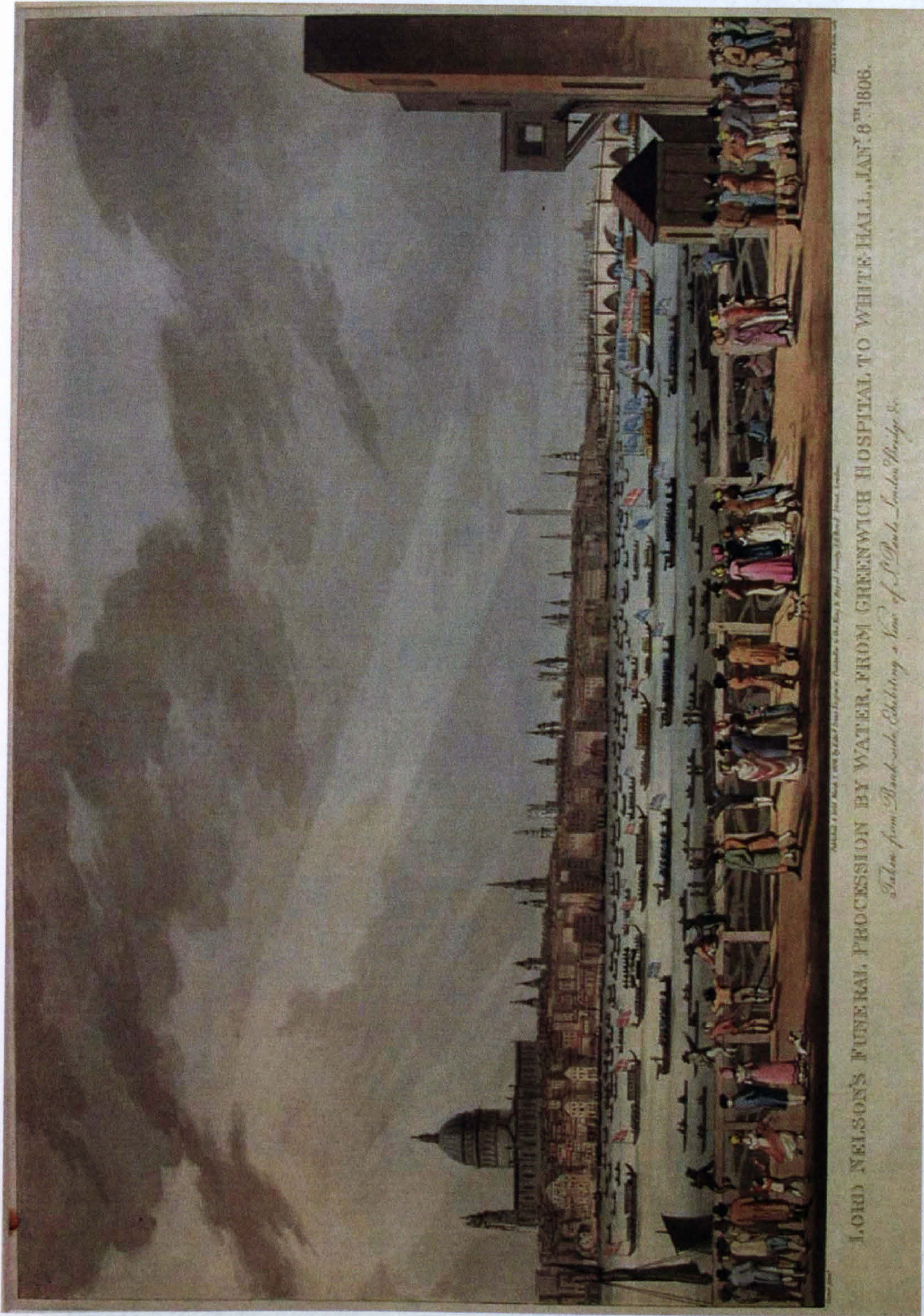
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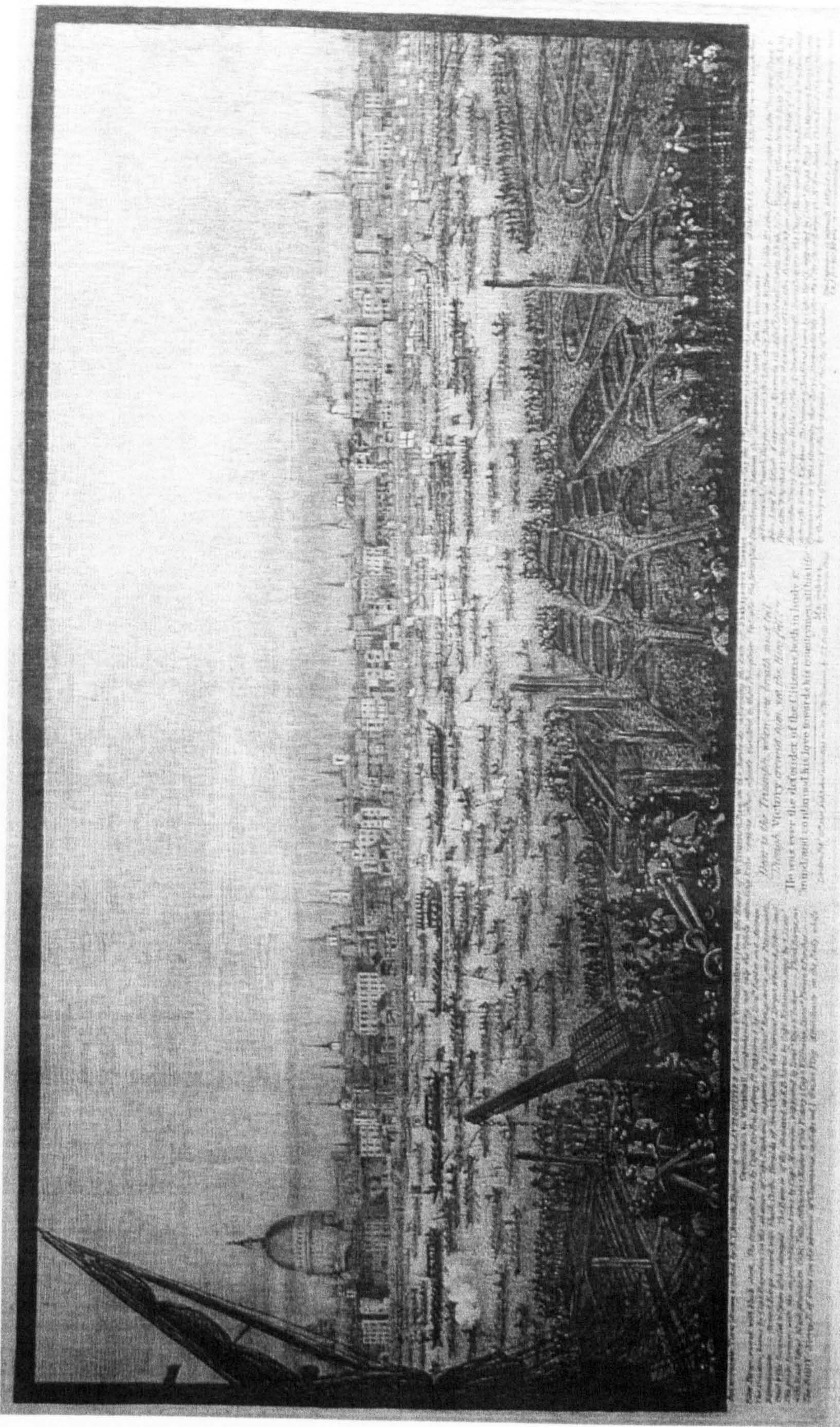
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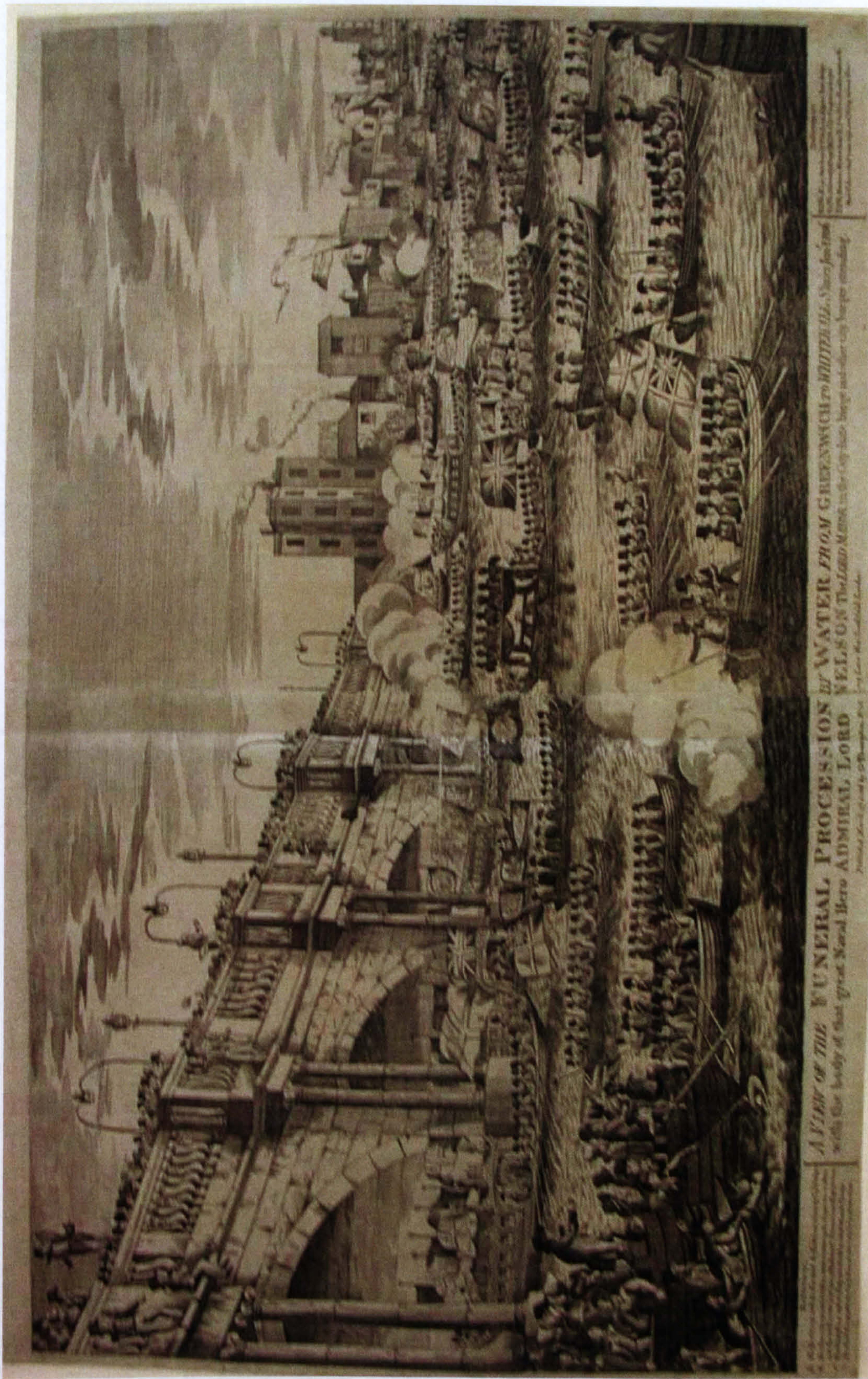
7. *Funeral Procession of the late Lord Viscount Nelson from the Admiralty, to St. Paul's, London, on the 9th of January 1806*, engraved by M. Merigot, from a drawing made by C. A. Pugin during the time of the procession ([n. pub., n. pl., n. d.]). NMM PAH 7329.



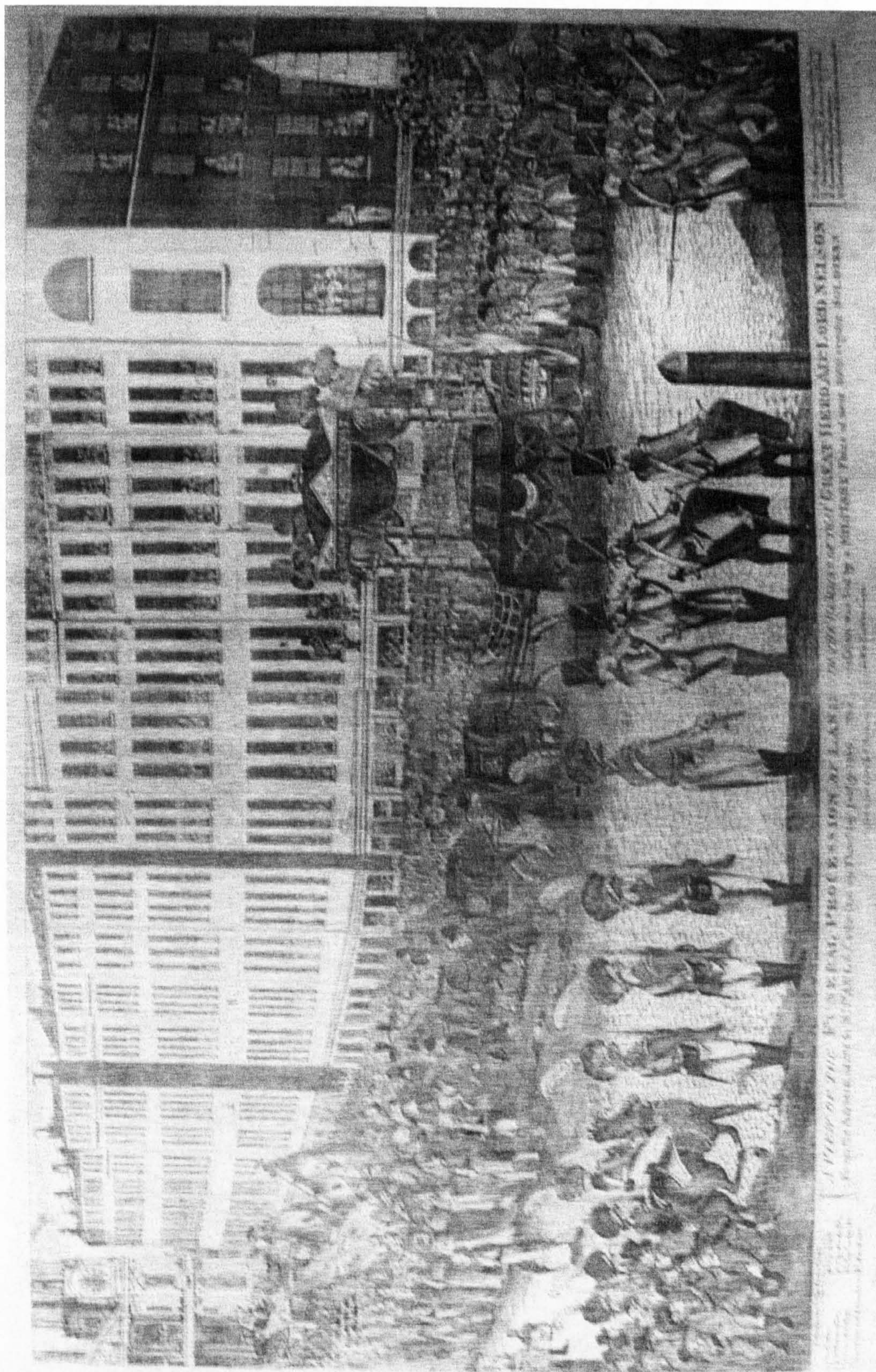
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9. View (drawn & etched by J. T. Smith, ...) from the House of W. Tunnard, Esq. On the Bankside adjoining the site of Shakespeare's Theatre on Wednesday the 8th January 1806, when the remains of the great Admiral Lord Nelson were conveyed from Greenwich to Whitehall ... (London: J. T. Smith, 15 February 1806). NMM PAF4378.



10. A View of the Funeral Procession by Water from Greenwich to Whitehall Stairs Jan^y 8, 1806, with the body of that great Naval Hero Admiral Lord Nelson ... (London: G. Thompson, 27 March 1806). NMM PAH7325.



11. A View of the Funeral Procession by Land with the Remains of that Great Hero Ad Lord Nelson, From the Admiralty to S' Pauls Cathedral on Thursday Jan^y 9 1806. The Procession was led by a Military Force of near 8000 regular Soldiers (London: G. Thompson, 27 June 1806) [Nelson's funeral], engraved by G. Thompson (London: [G. Thompson], 27 June 1806). Guildhall Library, Corporation of London, L22.83. The original of this print is immense in size, about 65cm x 1m.



14. A Monumental Tribute of Respect to the Memory of Admiral Lord Nelson who in the moment of Victory gloriously fell fighting for his Country on the 21 Oct 1805 (London: W. B. Walker, Fox & Knot, 20 January 1806). This print was also used for glass pictures. NMM PAF 4356.



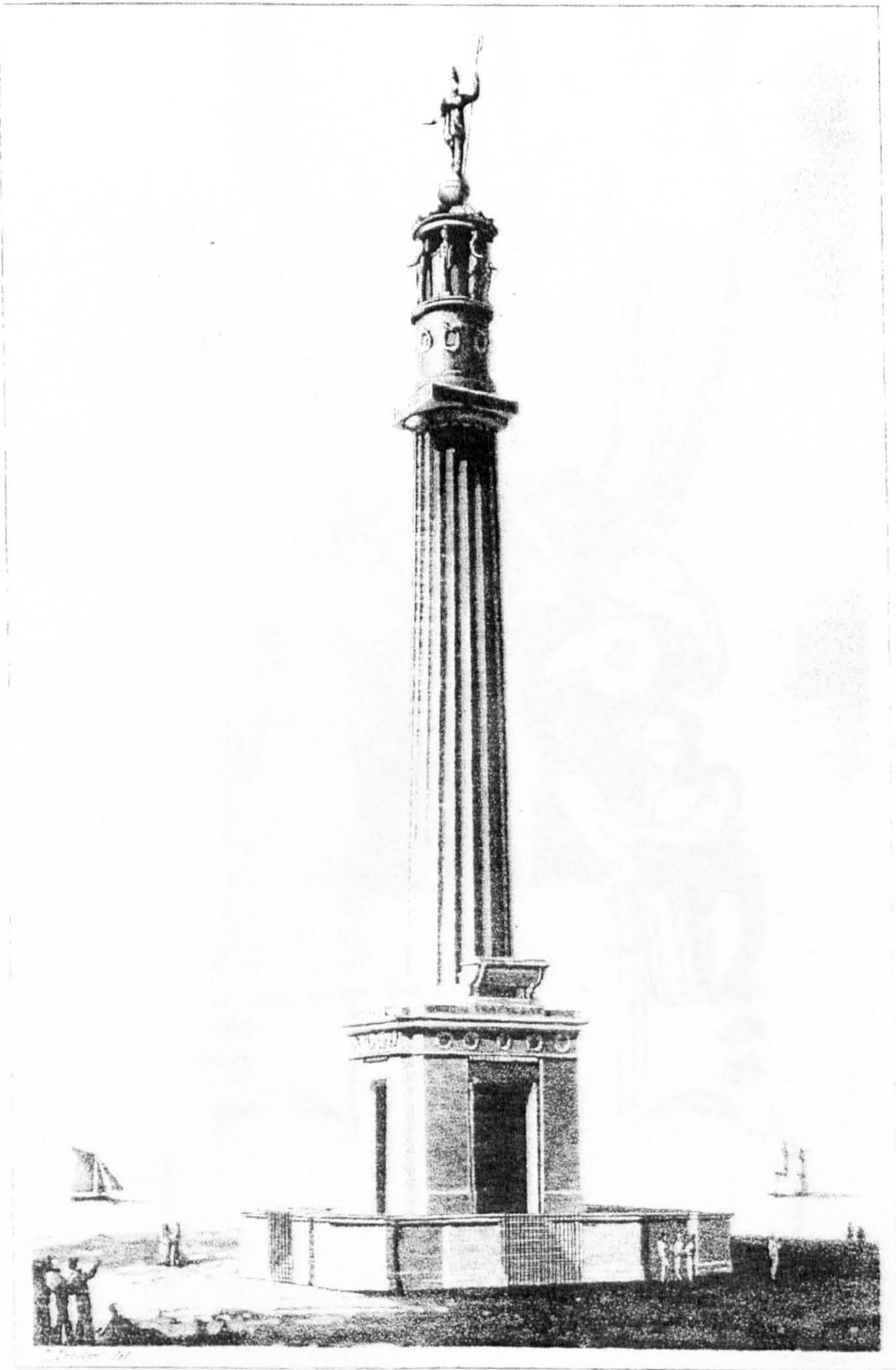
15. [mourning scene accompanying poem no. 163]. Drawn by W. W. Craig, Designed by Mr. Fox [author of the accompanying poem], Engraved by A. Cardon (London: Miles, 1806). NMM PAF 4351.



16. Earthenware mug, transfer-printed in black with a monument to Nelson. The inscriptions read: 'The ever to be lamented Lord Viscount Nelson. Born Sep^r 29 1758' (above portrait), 'Fell in the glorious Cause of his Country in the Memorable Battle of Trafalgar 21 October 1805 Aged 47' (below portrait), 'Motto. Palmam qui meruit ferat. Translation. Let him bear away the Palm who has deserved it' (on base of monument), 'Remember whilst his mortal past has rest / The immortal lives in every Briton's breast / Tho short his span of life, recording fame / Inscribes a deathless Volume to his name' (on the left side of the image), 'Mourn not for me, tis vain, chase grief away / Compleat my work and crown the glorious day, / Behold tis done his parting spirit flew / And lightning rests, brave Collingwood with you' (on the right side of the image), 'England expects that every man will do his duty' [the correct version] (below the image). NMM AAA 4930. The transfer-print on this mug was also published as a separate print (London: Laugrie & Whittle, 16 December 1805), although with a longer poem. It is illustrated in Lily Lambert McCarthy, *Remembering Nelson* ([Portsmouth]: privately published, 1995), p. 145, no. 135.

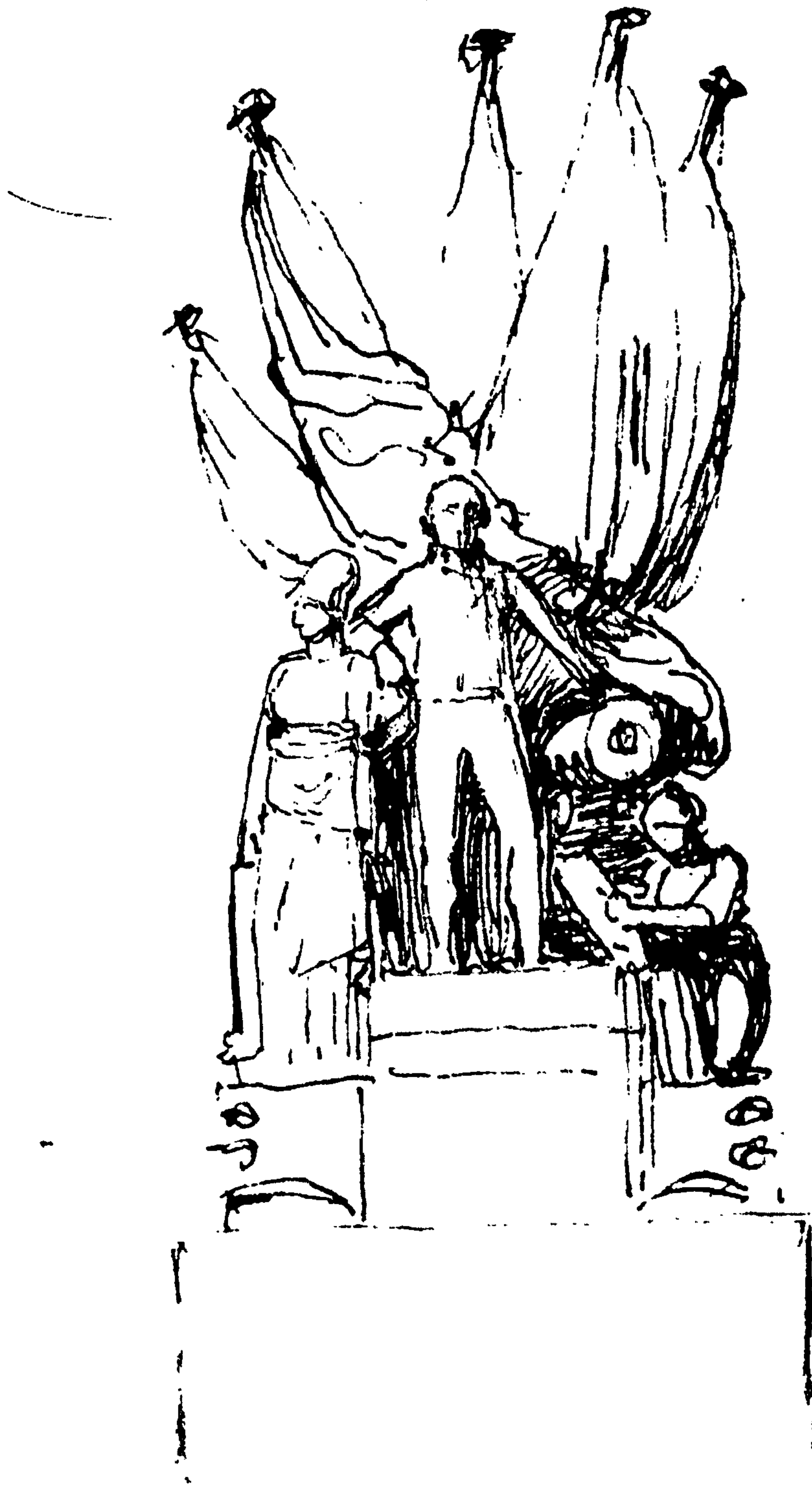


17. *Nelson's Pillar, Sackville-Street, Dublin* by G. Petrie and R. Winkles (London: Fisher Son & Co, 1829). NMM PAD 3914.

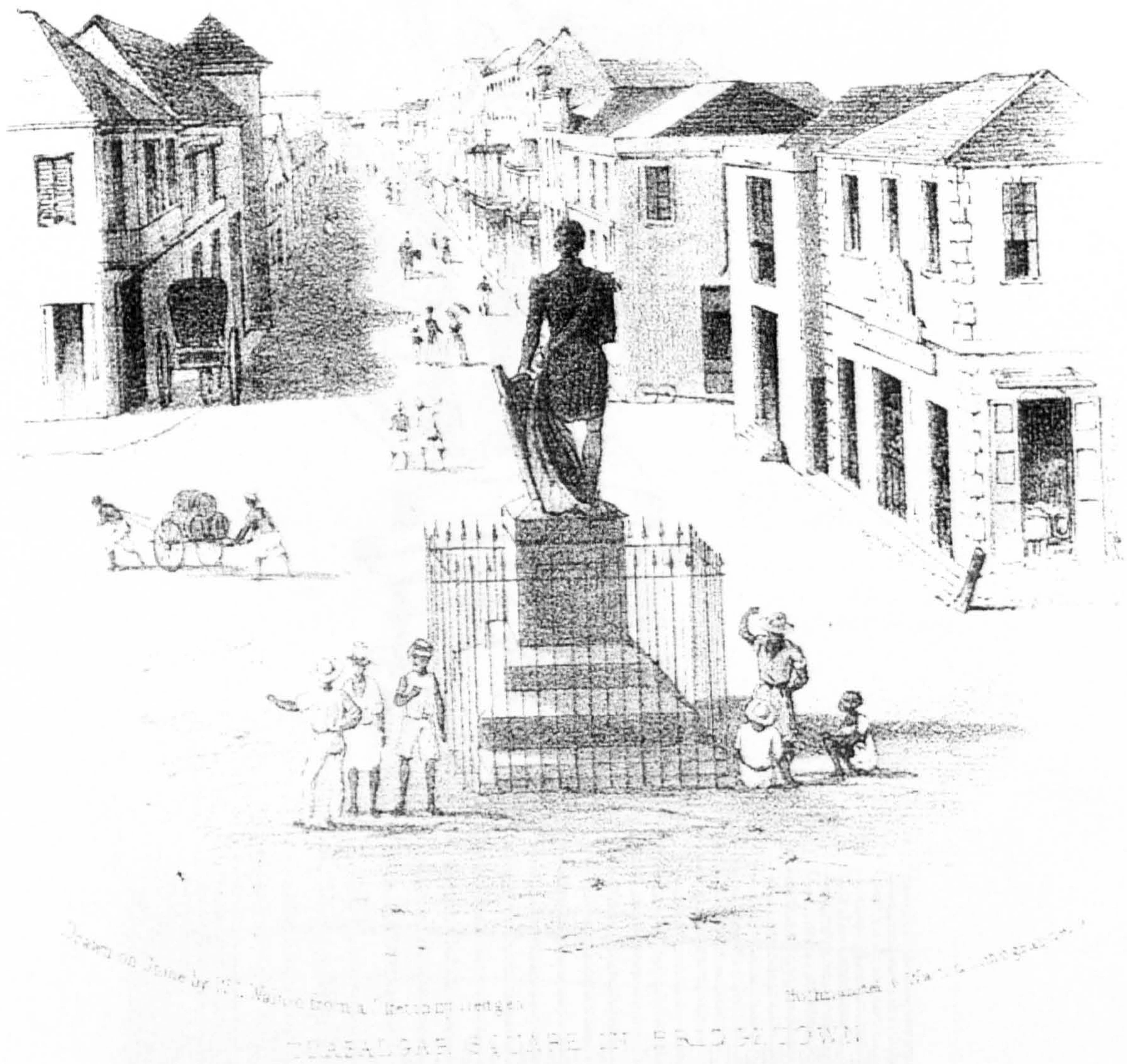


NELSON'S COLUMN.

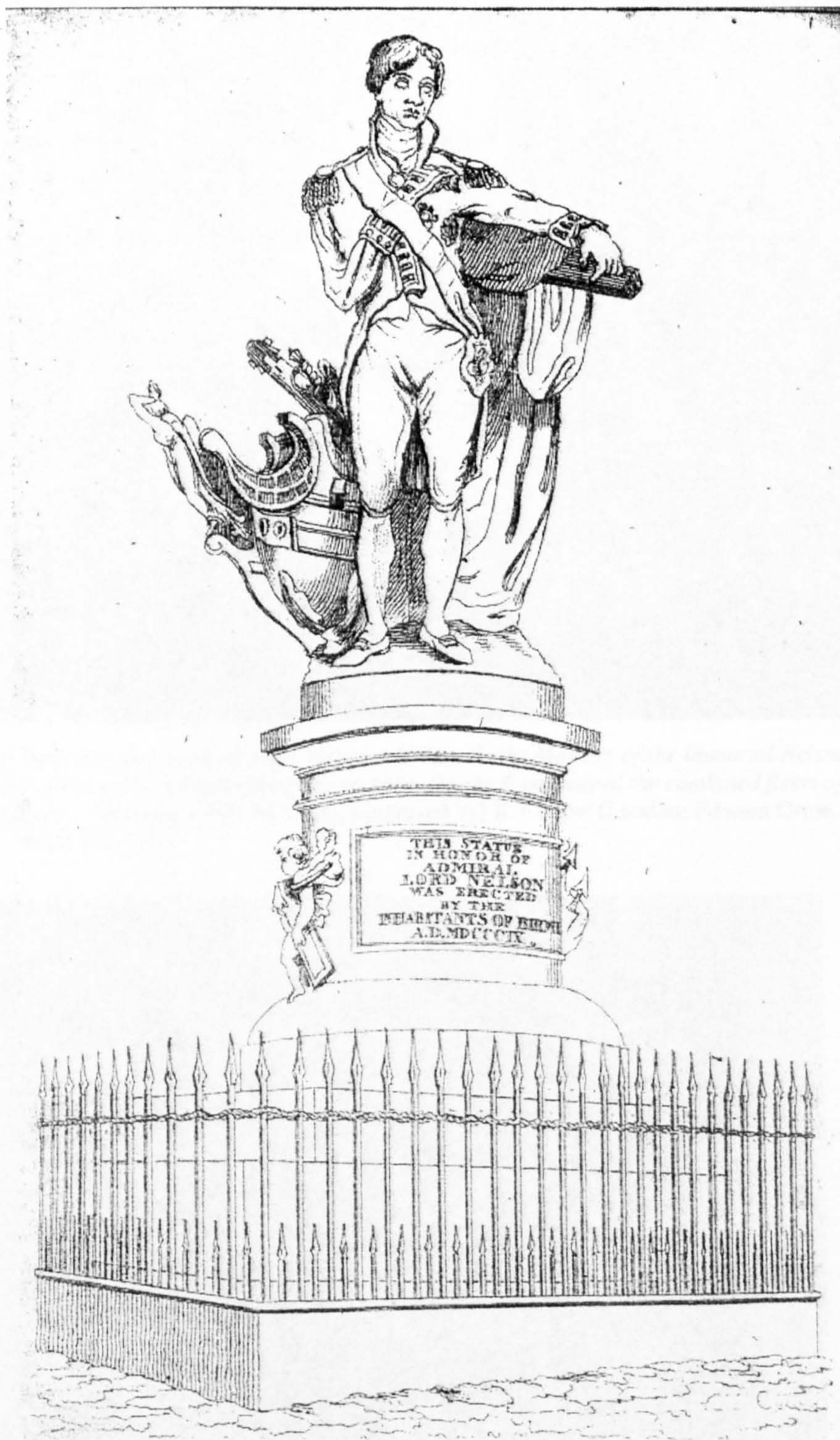
18. *Nelson's Column* by J. Preston, del., and L. Clark, sculp. ([no publishing details given]). This print shows Nelson's Column near (Great) Yarmouth by Wilkins in its ideal shape (the sarcophagus was never executed). NMM PAD 3913.



19. Flaxman's sketch for a Nelson Monument shows Nelson 'in his perfect figure', representing Nelson with two arms, ca. 1806. NMM PAF 4389.



20. Picture of Nelson monument in Barbados from: Robert Herrmann Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1848), frontispiece.



21. *Statue to the Memory of Admiral Lord Nelson, at Birmingham* (Gentleman's Magazine, May 1812, Pl. II, p. 217). NMM PAD3899.



22. *Battle of Trafalgar and Death of Lord Viscount Nelson To the Memory of the Immortal Nelson, and to the Honour of our Brave Countrymen, who so nobly fought & conquered the combined fleets of France and Spain ...* [painted by] W. M. Craig, [engraved by] R. Cooper (London: Edward Orme, 1 June 1806). NMM PAI 5451.



23. *Death of Lord Nelson* ([no publishing details given]). NMM PAD 5740.



24. *The Death of A^d L^d Nelson* ([no publication details given]). This print was also used for glass pictures. NMM PAD 4005.

The Death & Victory of A^d L^d Nelson ([no publication details given, but a similar print, NMM PAD 3964, was published London, J. Henson, 12 December 1805]). This print was also used for glass pictures. NMM PAD 3964.



The Noble Admiral Lord Nelson, falling in the Arms of Victory, by a Mortal wound rec^d from a Musket ball in the left Breast in the memorable Battle of the 21 of Oct' 1805, at Cape Trafalgar, on board the Ship Victory - his Brave Captⁿ Hardy telling his Lordship that 15 French & Spanish Ships had struck there [sic] Colours - An in all 19 of the Combined Fleets struck to our Brave Tars (London: P. Patriarcha, 11 March 1806). NMM PAF 4352.

25. The Noble Admiral Lord Nelson, falling in the Arms of Victory, by a Mortal wound rec^d from a Musket ball in the left Breast in the memorable Battle of the 21 of Oct' 1805 at Cape Trafalgar on board the Ship Victory – his Brave Captⁿ Hardy telling his Lordship that 15 French & Spanish Ships had struck there [sic] Colours – An in all 19 of the Combined Fleets struck to our Brave Tars (London: P. Patriarcha, 11 March 1806). NMM PAF 4352.



The DEATH & VICTORY of A^d L^d NELSON.

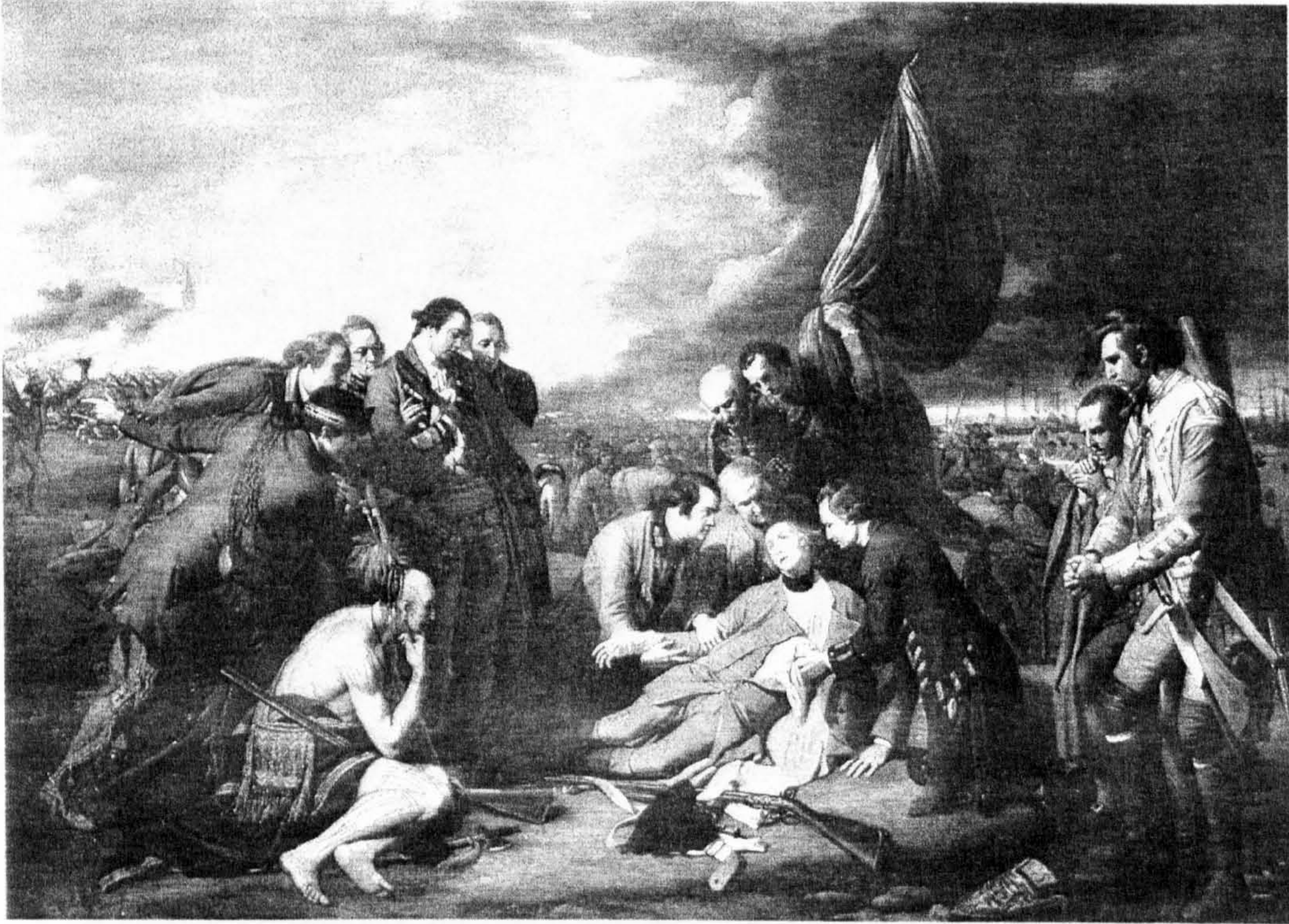
*His wounds hid in this eye page
 His name descend to every age
 Pub. Am. 1805. by J. Hinton, 12 Dec. 1805. No. 11. Strand. London.*

26. The Death & Victory of A^d L^d Nelson ([no publication details given, but a similar print, NMM PAD 3964, was published: London, I. Hinton, 12 December 1805]). This print was also used for glass pictures. NMM PAD 3964.



The Death of ADMIRAL LORD NELSON in the moment of Victory
 This engraving for the Memorial intended by the City of London, is a monument to the glorious Death of the man
 Nelson, who with every weapon of a great warrior, and the true spirit of a great hero, fell in the
 hour of his greatest glory.

27. *The Death of Admiral Lord Nelson in the moment of Victory* by James Gillray (London: H. Humphrey, 23 December 1805) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 218.



28. *The Death of General Wolfe* by Benjamin West from Charles Mitchell, 'Benjamin West's *Death of Nelson*', *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard & Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), pp. 265-73, and illustrations XXXVIII, XXXVIII (fig. 3).



29 *The Death of Nelson* [painted by] Benjamin West and [engraved by] James Heath (London: [n. pub.], 1 May 1811). NMM PAI 5448.



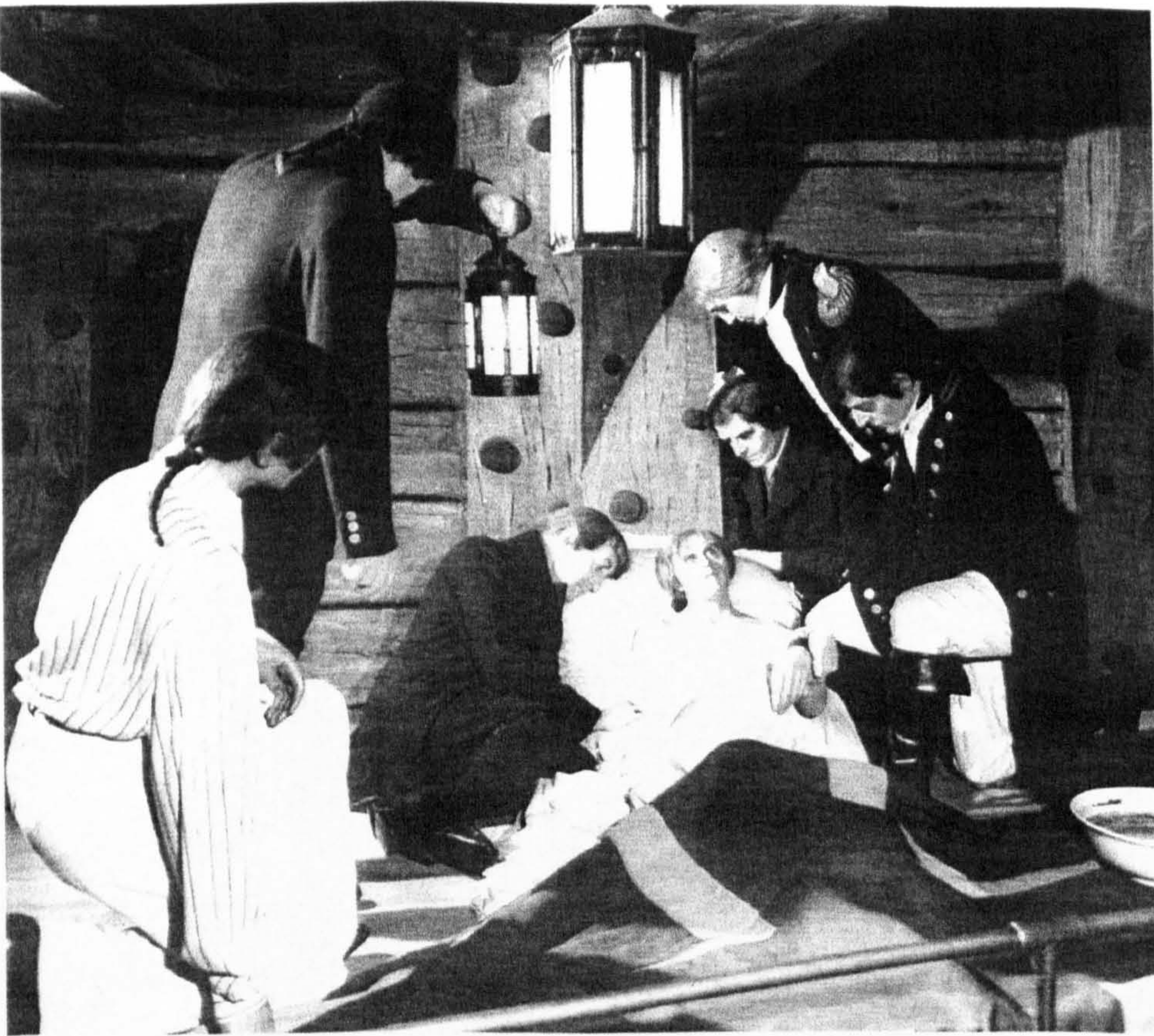
30. [cheap print, copied from West's painting] ([no publishing details]). By copying directly from the print to the plate for his print, the artist reversed the picture, so that Nelson's left, instead of his right, arm is missing. NMM PAD 4043.



31. *The Death of Lord Nelson* Painted by A. Devis, Engraved by W. Bromley, Dedicated to the British Navy (London: Boydell & Company, 2 March 1812). NMM PAI 7637.



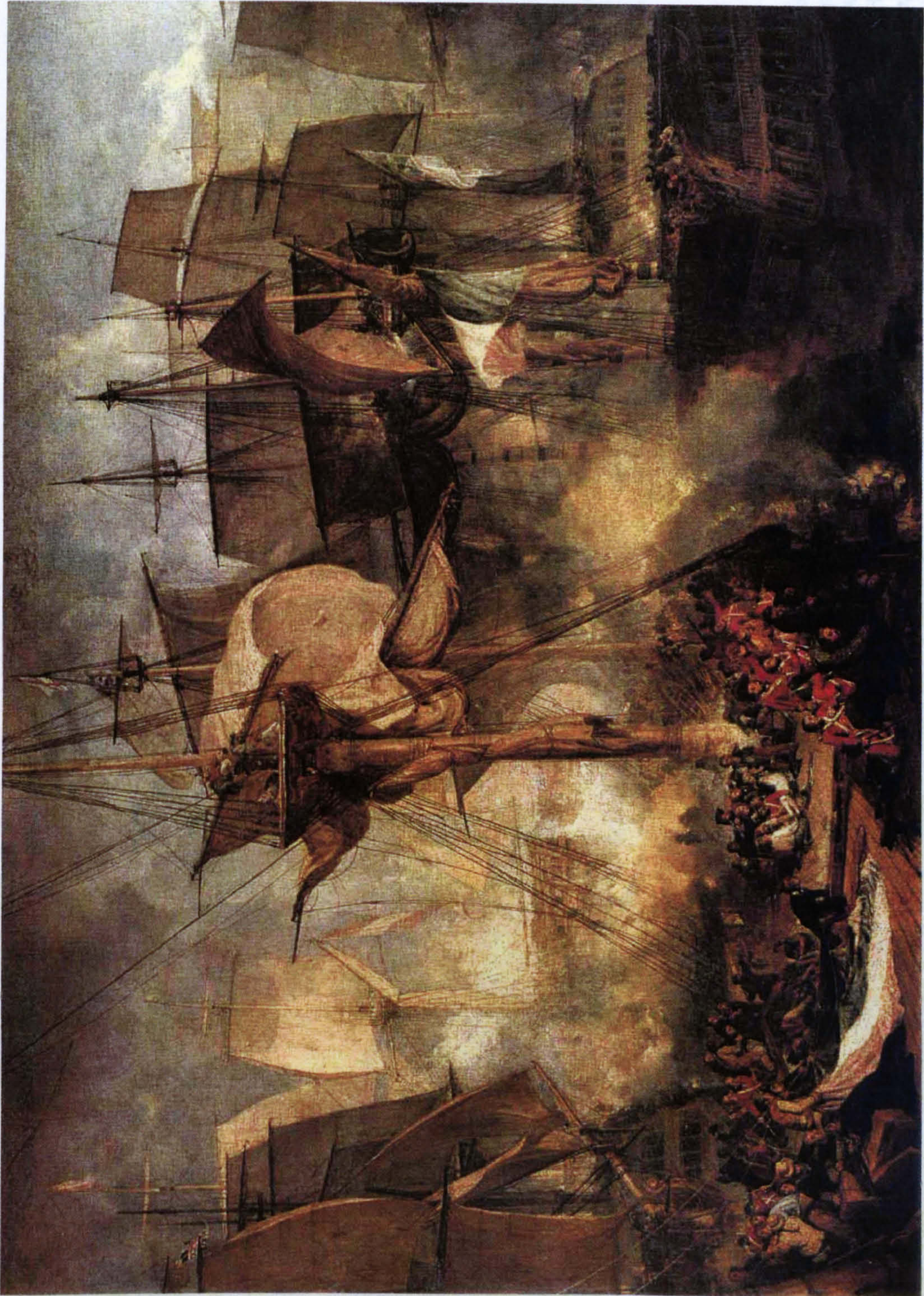
32 *Death of Lord Nelson* (London: J. & J. Cundee, 1814). This relatively cheap print is inspired by the way in which Devis depicted the scene of Nelson's death. NMM PAD 4016.



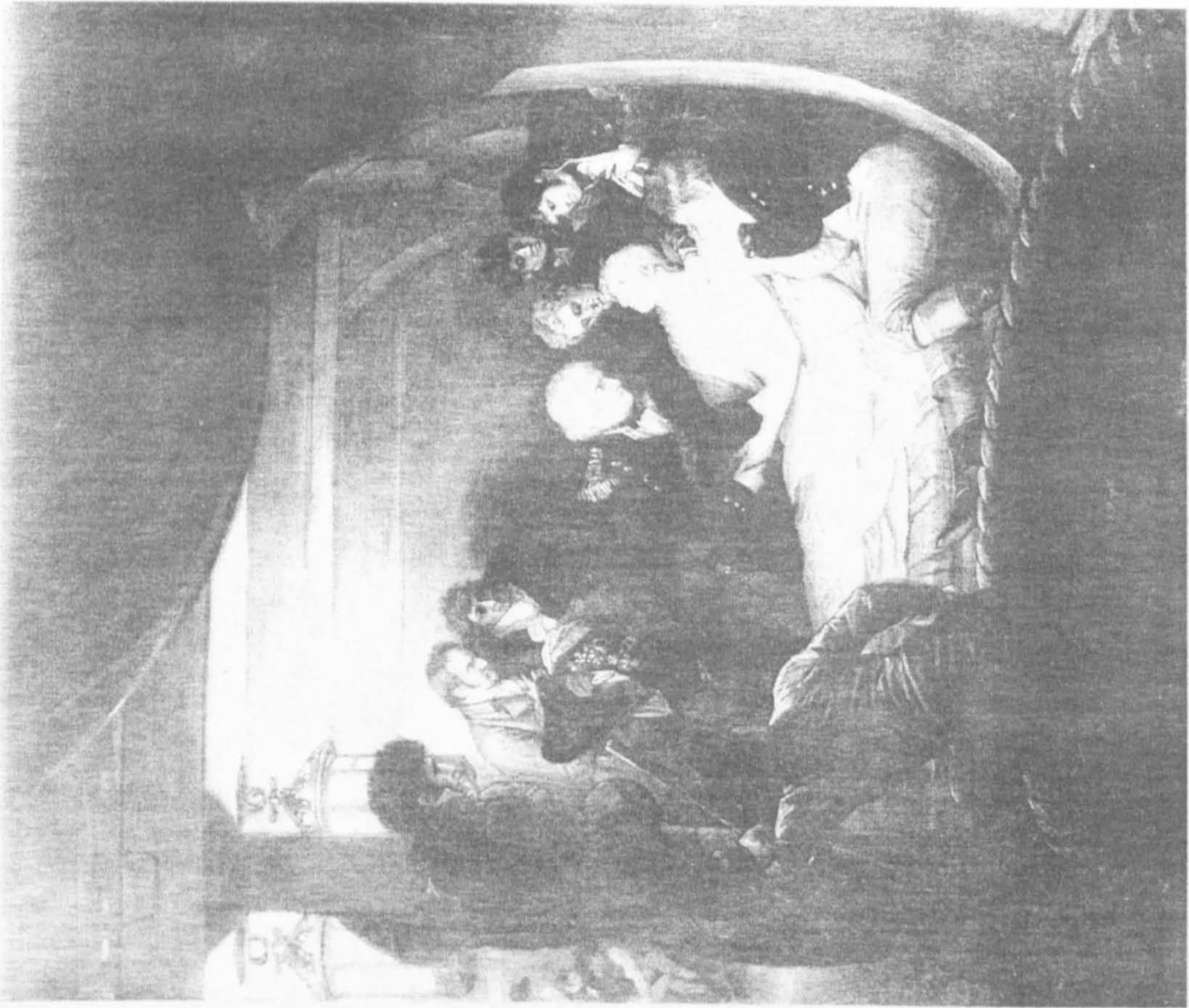
33. The scene of Nelson's death (inspired by Devis' depiction) was displayed at Madame Tussaud's from 1967 to 1990 (see: *The Nelson Dispatch*, 3 (1990), 204). By courtesy of Madame Tussaud's. For a wax statue of Nelson see plate 72.



34. Scene of Nelson's death (inspired by Devis' depiction) from the film *The Divine Lady* with Victor Varconi as Nelson (1929) from Clive Hirschhorn, *The Warner Bros. Story* (London: Octopus Books, 1979, reprint 1980), p. 71.



35. *The Battle of Trafalgar, as seen from the Mizzen Starboard Shrouds of the Victory* by J. M. W. Turner (1806, reworked 1808) from Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll, *The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner* (2 vols., [1] Text and [2] Plates, revised edition, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), [2] Plates, plate 68.



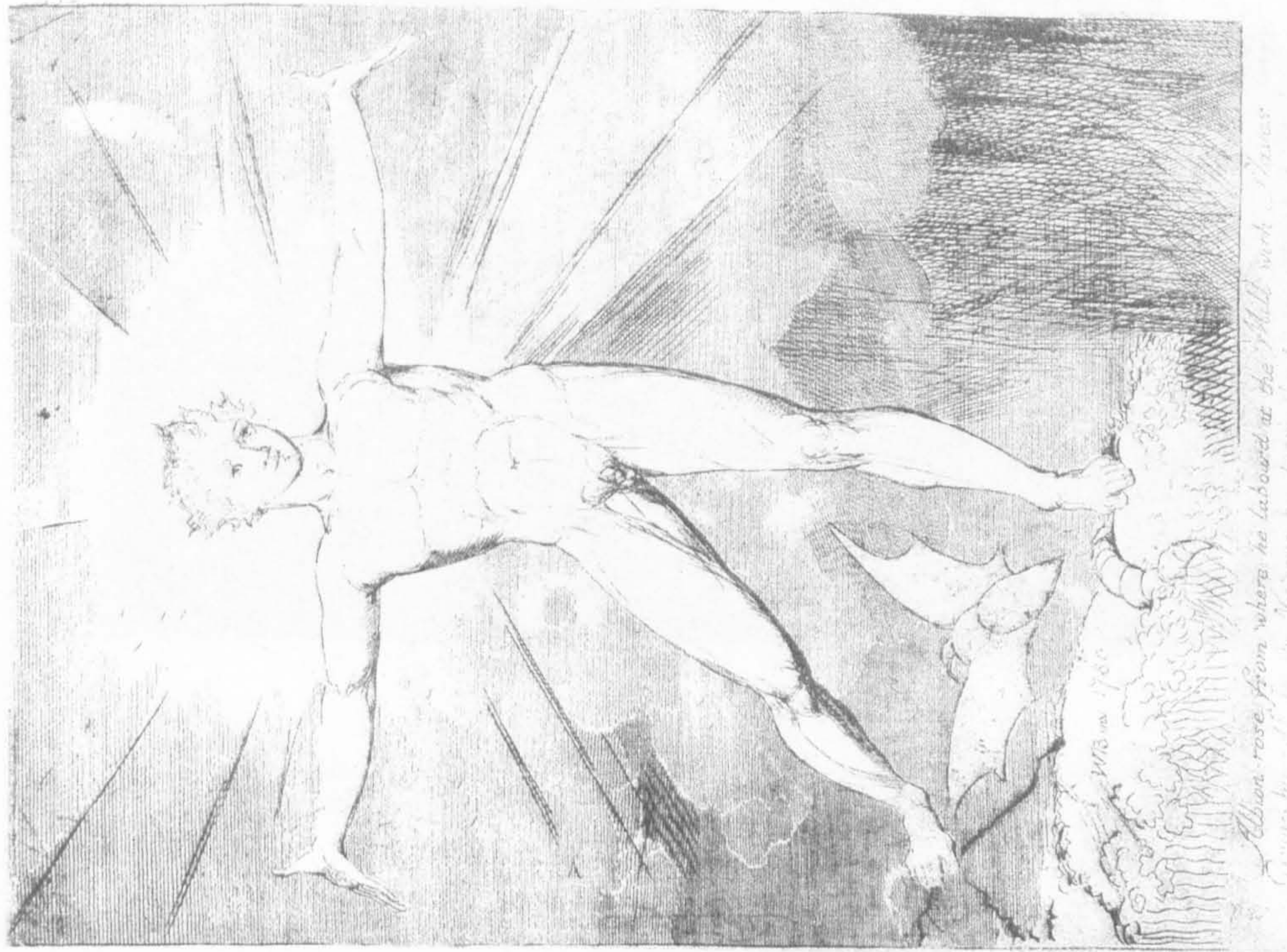
36. *The Death of Nelson* (for the biography by Clarke & M'Arthur) by Benjamin West from: Charles Mitchell, 'Benjamin West's *Death of Nelson*', *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard & Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), pp. 265-73, and illustrations XXXVIII [hereafter: Mitchell], XXXVIII (fig. 5).



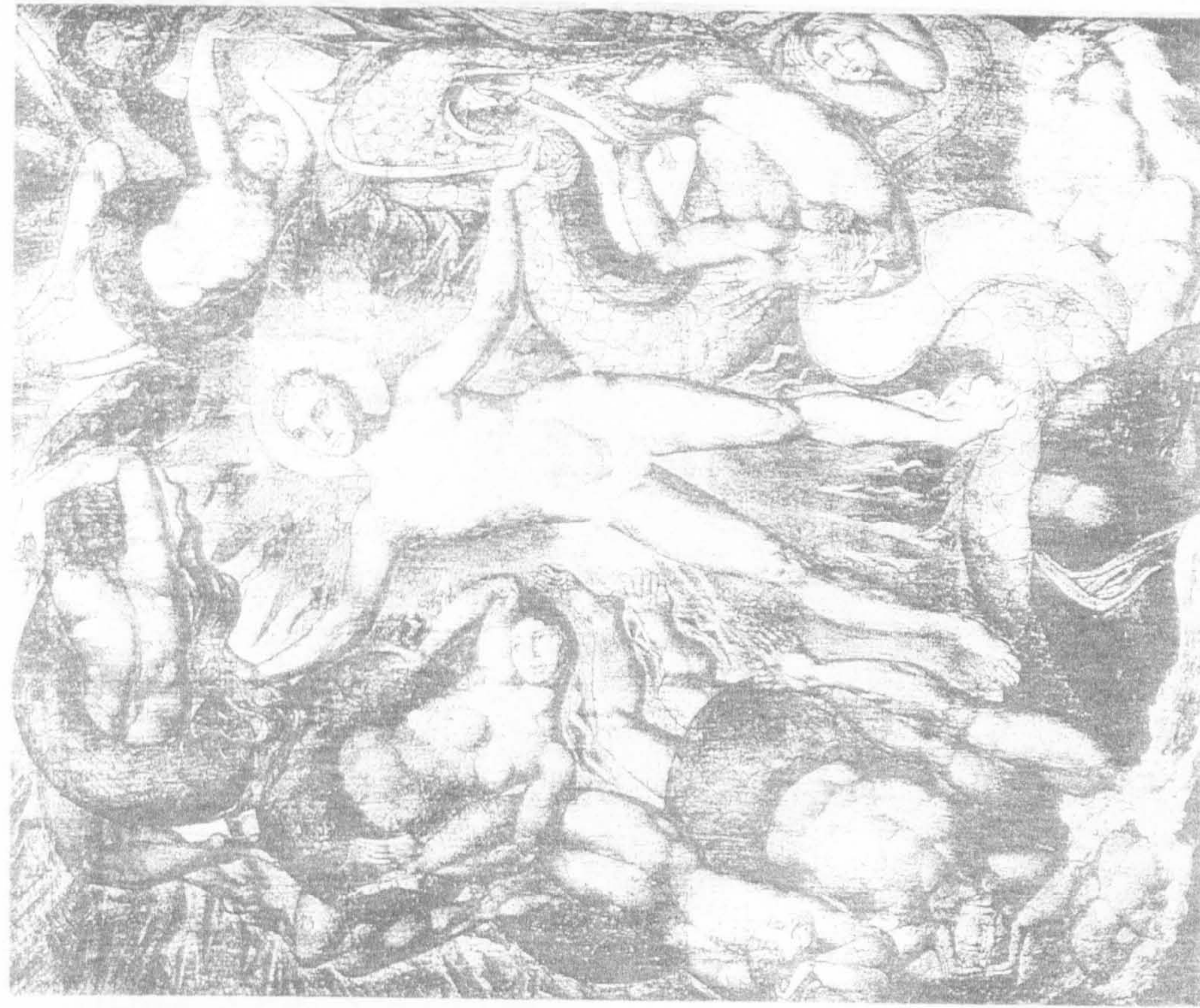
37. *The Immortality of Nelson* by Benjamin West from *The Nelson Companion*, ed. Colin White (Annapolis, Maryland: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995), colour plate no. 1, between pp. 108 and 109.



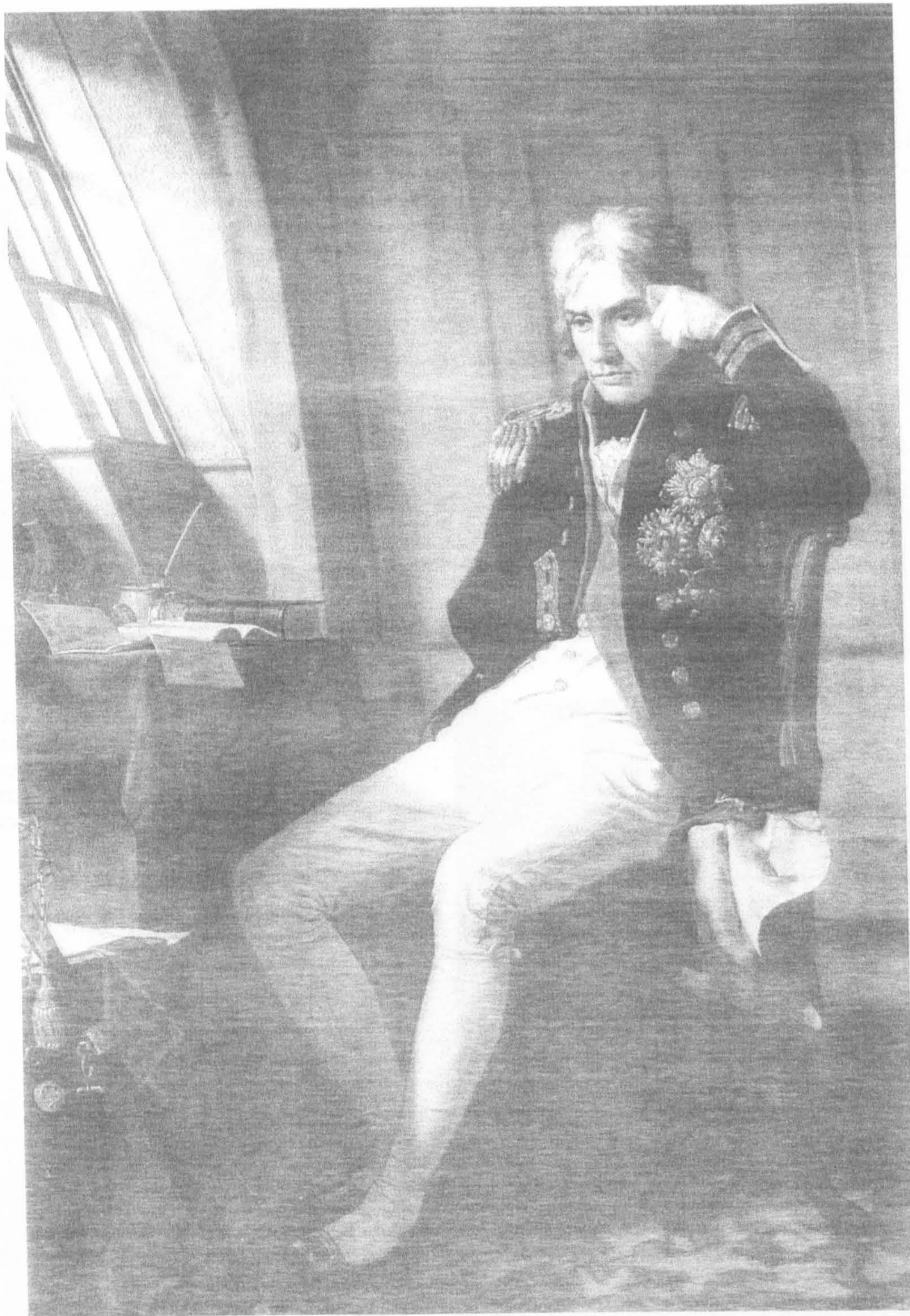
38. *The Immortality of Nelson*, executed in Coade Stone, by Benjamin West, pediment in west wing of Greenwich Hospital.



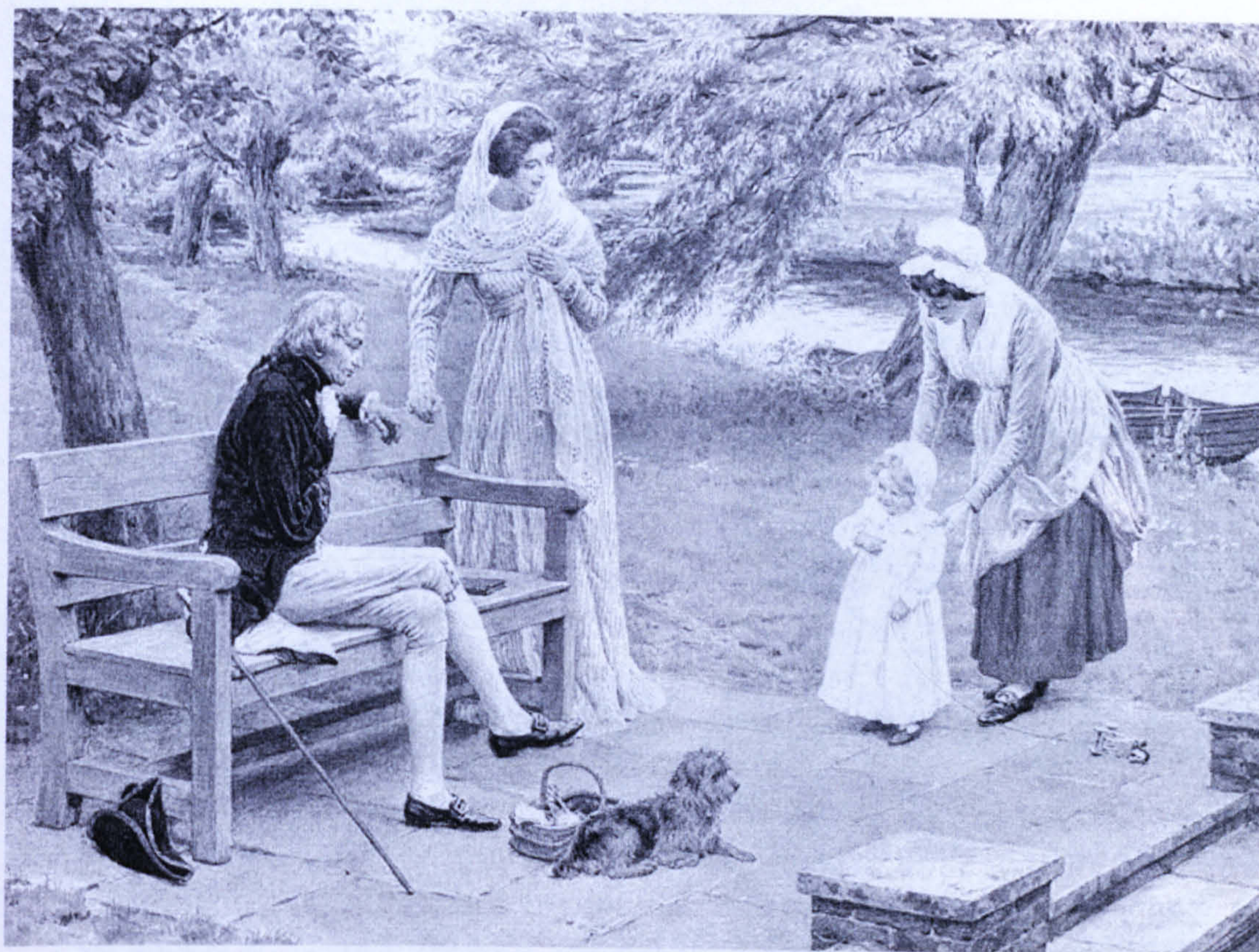
39 Albion rose from where he laboured at the Mill with Slaves by William Blake (1780) from David V. Erdman, *Blake. Prophet against Empire. A Poet's Interpretation of the History of His Own Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), opp. p. 204.



40. The Spiritual form of Nelson guiding Leviathan, in whose wrathings are infolded the Nations of the Earth by William Blake (1809) from David V. Erdman, *Blake. Prophet against Empire. A Poet's Interpretation of the History of His Own Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), opp. p. 204.



41. *Nelson* by Charles Lucy, 1853, from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 274.



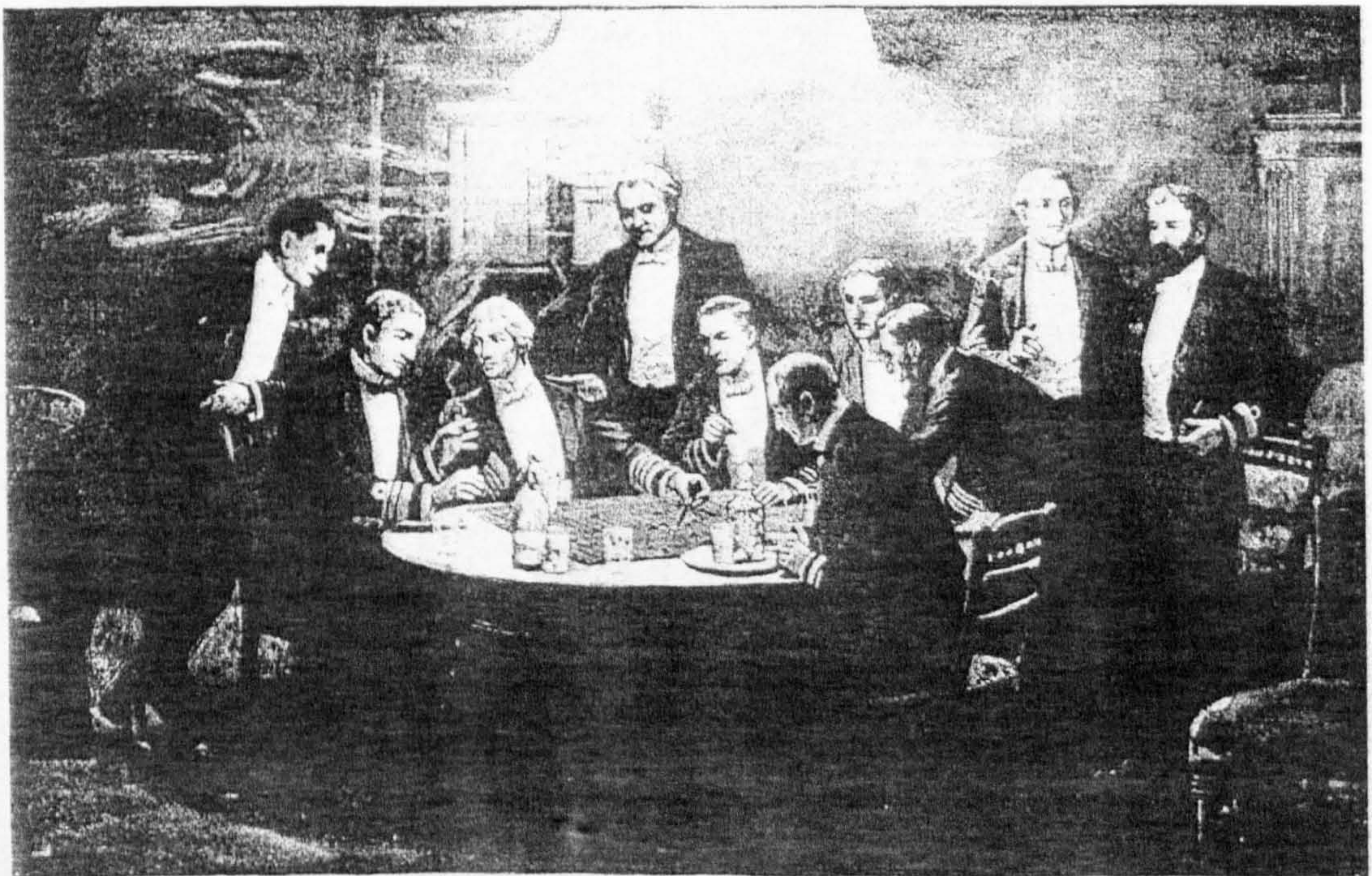
42. *Happy Days at Merton* by Frank Dadd from *The Nelson Companion*, ed. Colin White (Annapolis, Maryland: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995), p. 26.



43. *Saluting the Admiral* by Alfred [sic!, other sources state: Albert] Holden from *The Nelson Companion*, ed. Colin White (Annapolis, Maryland: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995), colour plate no. 13, between pp. 108 and 109.



44. Lord Nelson explaining to the Officers the Plan of Attack previous to the Battle of Trafalgar (London: Edward Orme, 9 January 1806) from Roy Hattersley, *Nelson* (London: Book Club Edition, 1974), pp. 162-163.



45. 'Lord Nelson explaining methods of attack', published in William Laird Clowes and Alan Hughes Burgoyne, *Trafalgar Refought* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, [1905]), p. 153.



46. *Nelson* by John Francis Rigaud (of 1777-1781) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 18.



47 *Nelson* by Abbott (Kilgraston sketch of 1797) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 39.



48. *Nelson* by Abbott (of 1797), Lady Nelson's, from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 30.



49. *Nelson* by Abbott (of 1799) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 31.



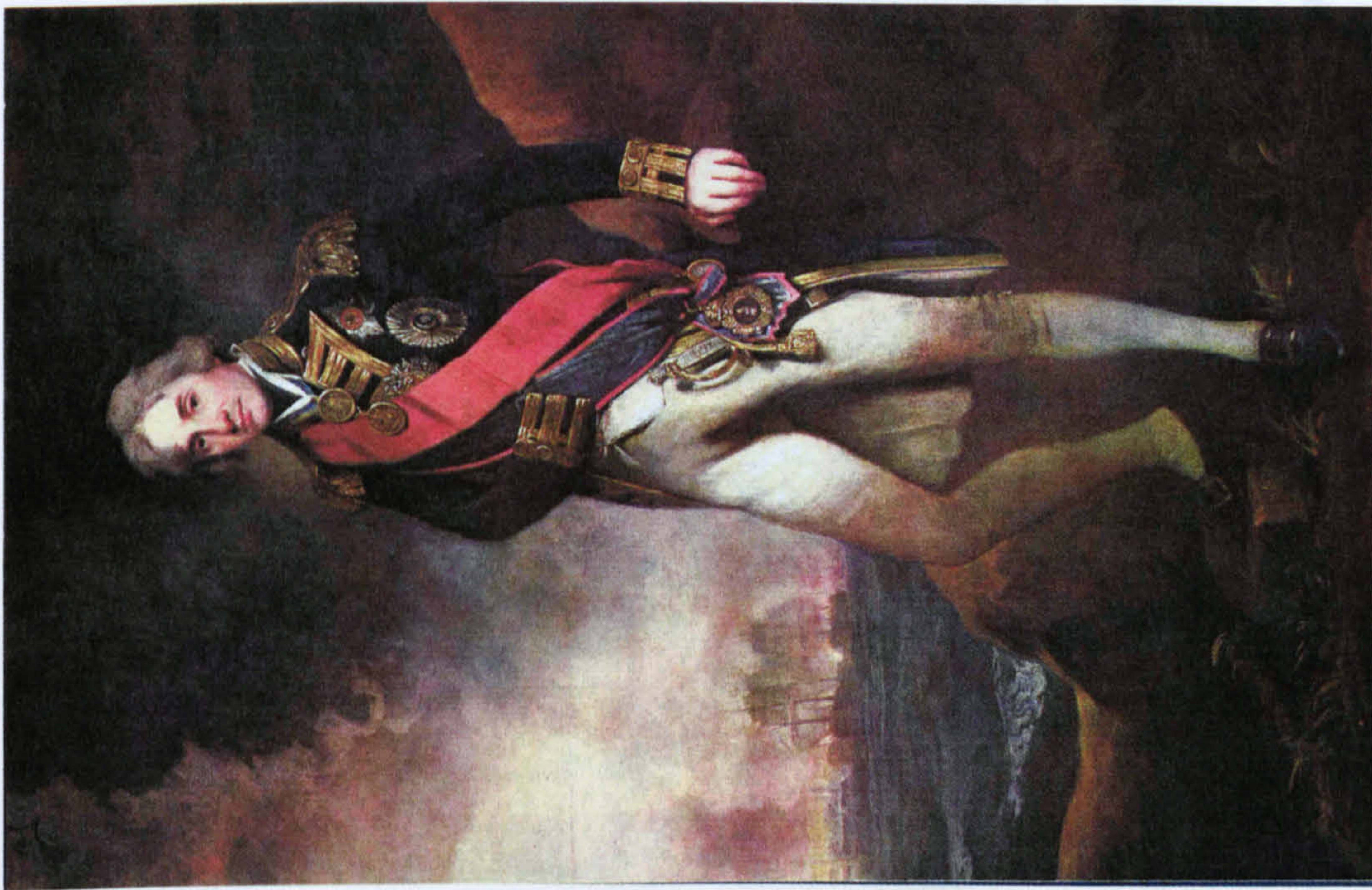
50. Oil sketch of *Nelson* by William Beechey (1800) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 122.



51. Oil sketch of *Nelson* by Hoppner (1800) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 126.



52. *Nelson* by William Beechey (1800-1) from Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), p. 123.



53. *Nelson* by Hoppner (1800-1) from Roy Hattersley, *Nelson* (London: Book Club Edition, 1974), opp. titlepage.



54. A French portrayal of Nelson by Grevedon (1826). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Le Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, no. D 224935.



55 Nelson in a Spanish portrayal after Heinrich Füger's portrait of Nelson in civilian dress (pictured in Richard Walker, *The Nelson Portraits. An Iconography of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Vice-Admiral of the White* ([Portsmouth]: Royal Naval Museum, 1998), frontispiece). This image was first published in an illustrated edition of Benito Pérez Galdós' novel *Trafalgar*, next to a portrait of the highest ranking Spanish admiral at the battle of Trafalgar: Gravina (Benito Pérez Galdós, *Episodios Nacionales – tomo I. Trafalgar. La corte de Carlos IV* edición ilustrada por D. Enrique y D. Arturo Mérida, Madrid: 1881, p. 78). This reproduction is from Enrique Giménez López, *El fin del Antiguo Régimen. El Reinado de Carlos IV* (series 'Historia de España', Madrid: Historia 16, Temas de hoy, [c. 2000]), p. 89.



56. Jugs moulded in relief with profile figures of 'Admiral Nelson' on one side and 'Captain Berry' in the other, produced after the battle of the Nile (where Berry was Nelson's flag-captain). The jug on the left is adapted to the occasion after the battle of Trafalgar by painting 'Adm'l Collingwood' over the relief lettering of 'Captain Berry'. NMM AAA 5140 and 135.



57. Brown transfer-printed earthenware mug and jug; NMM AAA 4902 (mug) and 4904 (jug).



58. Creamware mug and jug, transfer-printed with a portrait of Nelson after the engraving by Chapman, after a painting by Abbott. NMM AAA 4806 (mug) and 4826 (jug).



59. Blue transfer-printed earthenware bowl. The inscriptions read: 'Shew me my Country's Foes, / The Hero Cry'd; / He saw - He fought [sic] - He conquered' (above picture), 'Dear to his Country, / shall his Mem'ry live; / But sorrow drowns the Joy, / His Deeds should give' (below picture). NMM AAA 4847.



60 Jasper vases with white applied reliefs of Nelson on one side and a mourning female figure on the other side. NMM AAA 5055 (showing Nelson) and AAA 5056 (showing mourning female figure).



61. Terracotta moulded jardinière with two dolphin-head lugs and on one side in relief a three-quarter-length portrait of Nelson, c. 1815. NMM AAA 5031. In Lily Lambert McCarthy, *Remembering Nelson* ([Portsmouth]: privately published, 1995), p. 189, no. 224, and John and Jennifer May, *Commemorative Pottery 1780-1900. A Guide for Collectors* (London: Heinemann, 1972), p. 100 (no. o) this item is described as a 'Wine Cooler'.



62. Brown stoneware jugs in form of Nelson's head, shoulders and hat with rope twist handles, produced by 'Doulton & Watts. Lambeth Pottery. London' (inscription on base). NMM AAA 5010 (large), 5003 (medium) and 5015 (small).



63. Staffordshire 'Death of Nelson' group with William Beatty, the *Victory's* surgeon, offering a cup to drink to Nelson and Captain Hardy, whose epaulettes that mark him as an officer (as Nelson's) are painted over in blue, holding Nelson's hand and supporting him with his right arm, the hand of which is visible on Nelson's right shoulder. This item was produced in the 1840s. NMM AAA 6012.



64. Stephengraph (silk machine embroidered picture) of 'The Death of Nelson' after Daniel Maclise's painting. NMM PAI 5444.



65. Parian ware bust of Nelson after Flaxman, introduced after 1847.
NMM AAA 5968.



66. Stoneware glazed jug (1905)



67. Two-handled cup with rope-twist borders and handles (1905); the inscriptions read: 'Lord Nelson / Born 1758 Died 1805', 'England expects every man will do his duty, 'Doulton & Co Ltd, Lambeth'. NMM AAA 5075.

66. Stoneware glazed jug (Royal Doulton, Lambeth). The inscription reads: 'Nelson and his captains'. Admiral Collingwood, Nelson's second-in-command at the battle of Trafalgar, is pictured on the left and Captain Hardy on the right. By courtesy of George Jeffreys, Newhouse, Redlynch, Wiltshire.



68. Will's Cigarettes, Nelson Series (1905).

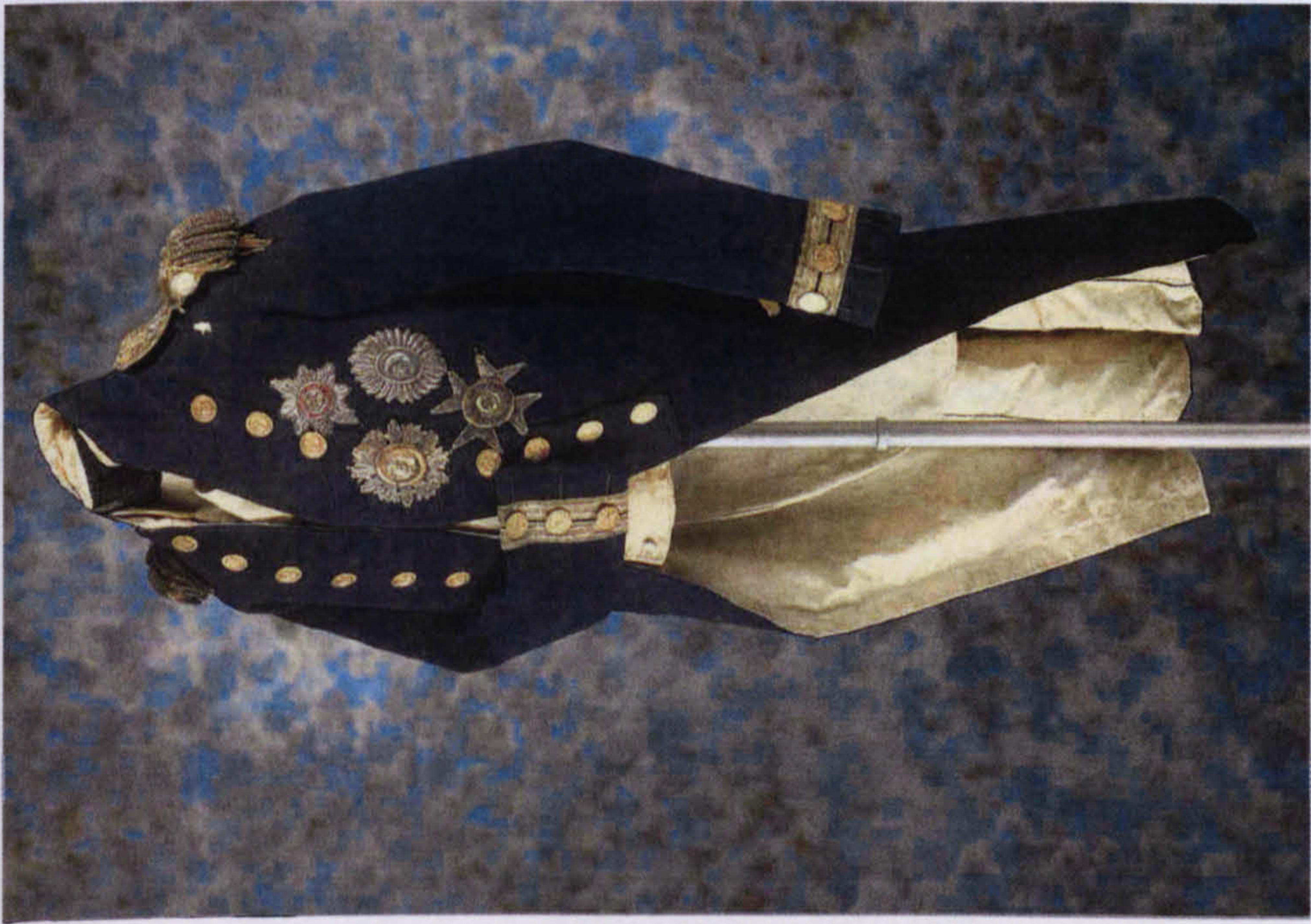
68. Will's Cigarettes, Nelson Series (1905). The Admiralty of London, London, published by Will's Cigarettes, London, 1905. The portrait of Sir William Hamilton (Governor of the Bank of England) is copied from James Gillray's A Congress of Commissioners indicating Sir William Hamilton at the height of his power (London, 11 February 1804).



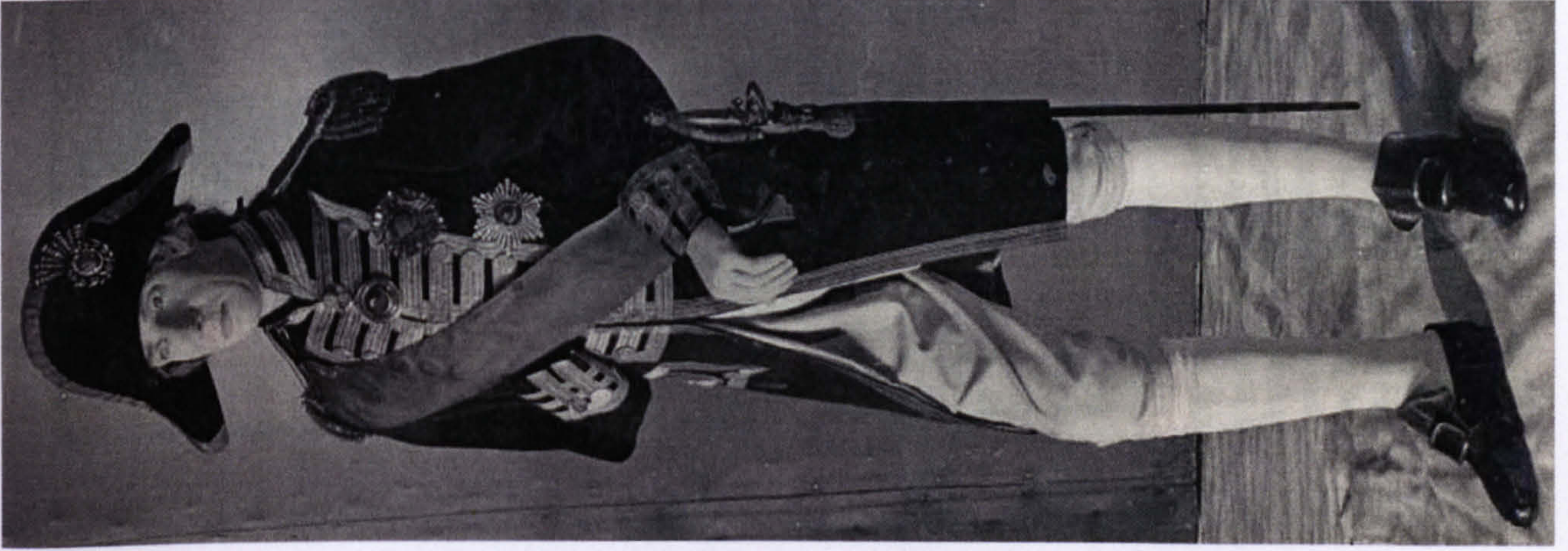
69. *Palermo Pier. Newcome Victorious*, print from John Mitford, *The Adventures of Johnny Newcome in the Navy* (London: published for the author and sold by Sherwood, Neely, and Jones *et al*, 1819), opp. p. 170. NMM PAI 5352. The portrayal of Sir William Hamilton (behind Nelson) is copied from James Gillray's *A Cognoscenti contemplating ye Beauties of ye Antique* (London: H. Humphrey, 11 February 1801), ridiculing Sir William Hamilton as the betrayed husband.



70. Nelson's death in a French comic from Mitton, Jean-Yves (Scénario) et Molinari (Dessins) et Sopphe Balland (Couleurs), *Les Survivants de l'Atlantique. Livre cinquième. Tempête sur Trafalgar* (Géronimo/Mitton/Molinari : Toulon, 1997), p. 46.



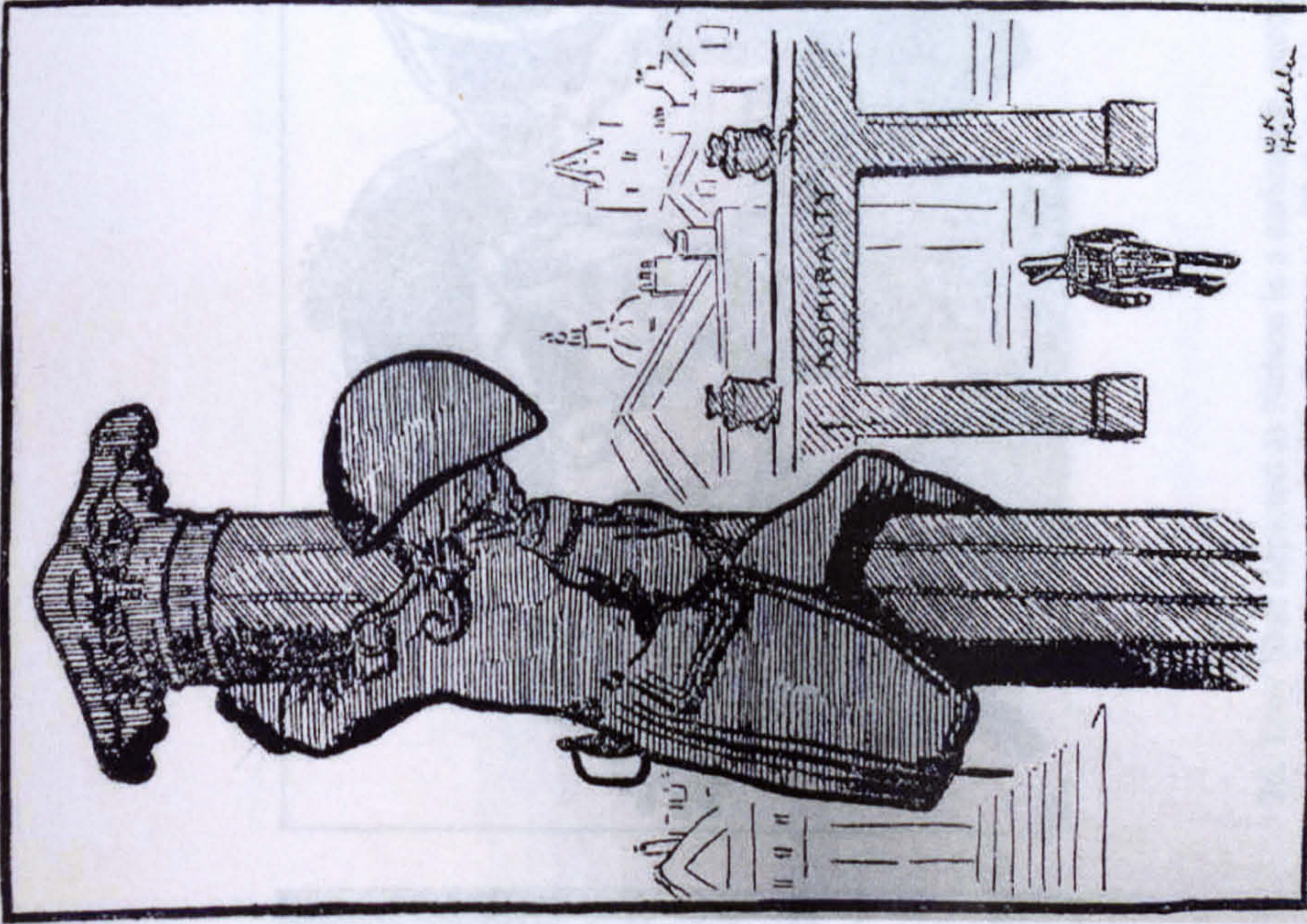
71. Nelson's undress uniform coat, worn at the battle of Trafalgar. from a postcard published by the NMM.



72. Wax statue of Nelson by Madame Tussaud's from 1970s. By courtesy of Madame Tussaud's; for a death scene by Madame Tussaud's see plate 33.



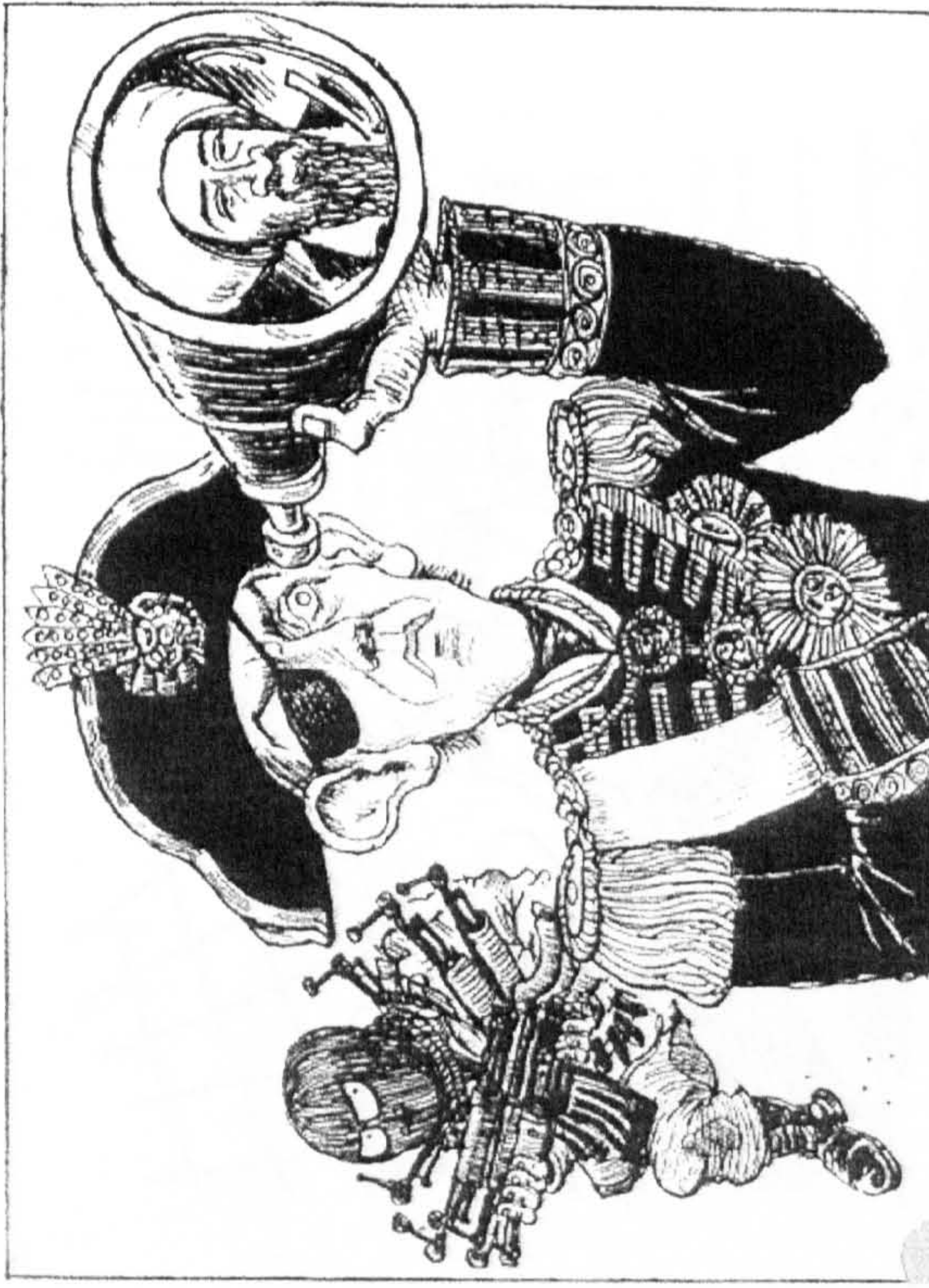
73. Admiral Lord Nelson (design for the poster of the Nelson Exhibition at the NMM, opened 1995) from a postcard published by the NMM.



74. The Anniversary of Trafalgar, from *The Daily Mirror*. This caricature shows Nelson looking up Sir John Fisher on his first day as First Sea Lord on 21 October 1904 (the day of the anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar). Below it reads: 'Nelson (in Trafalgar Square): - "I was on my way down to lend them a hand myself, but if Jacky Fisher's taking on the job there's no need for me to be nervous. I'll get back on my pedestal."' , from R. H. Bacon, *The Life of Lord Fisher of Kilverstone. Admiral of the Fleet* (2 vols., London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), ii, opp. 64.



75. 'England erwartet, daß jeder Europäer seine Pflicht tut!' ('England expects that every European does his duty'). The inscription on the piece of paper on the table in front of the representatives of the nations of Europe reads: 'EC[European Community]-sanctions against Argentina'. This caricature of Margaret Thatcher's demand for support was published in the German daily *Handelsblatt* at the time of the Falklands Islands War, 1982.



76. Tony Blair depicted as Nelson in a caricature, accompanying a political commentary in *The Economist*, 29 September 2001, entitled 'Britain debates the morality of terror, reaching no clear answer'.

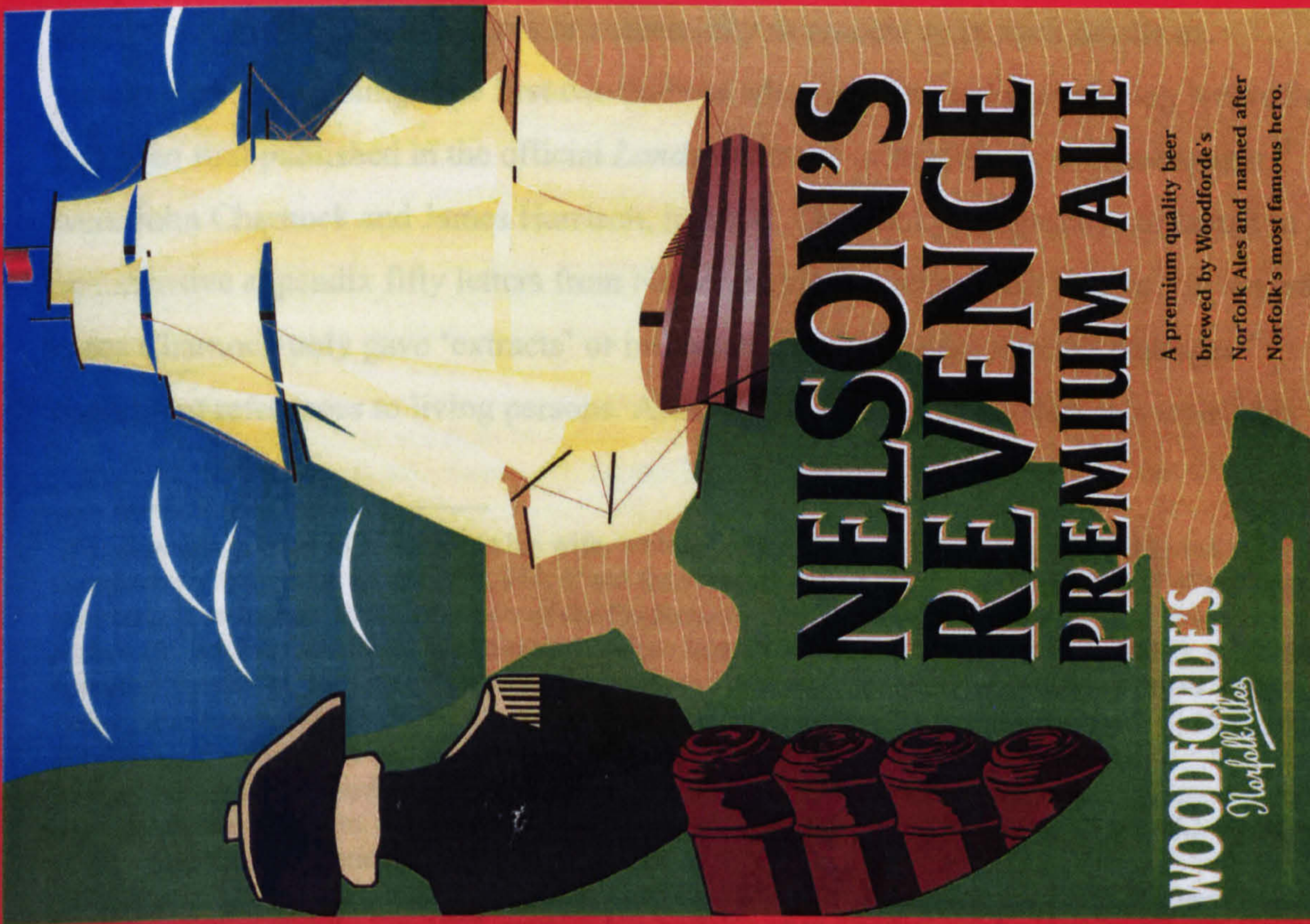


77. 'Ban Disabled from the Forces'. Caricature from *The Times*, 21 December 2000.



"Kiss me and tell, Hardy"

78. 'Kiss me and tell, Hardy'. Caricature from *Private Eye*, no. 1067 (15-28 November 2002), 5.



ADMIRAL

Cheaper Car Insurance

0800 600 800

80. Contemporary advertisement for 'Admiral' Insurance.

79. Contemporary advertisement for 'Nelson's Revenge Premium Ale'.

APPENDIX B

Nelson's Letters in Print

Authors dealing with Nelson have often relied and still rely on printed versions of Nelson's letters and in some cases they have had no choice, because the originals have been lost. Printed sources also have the advantage of usually being more accessible than the original letters which are scattered over different collections, in locations all over the world. It is therefore important to know how reliably biographers and editors have reproduced Nelson's letters. In the following pages the printed sources for Nelson's letters will be examined in the chronological order of their publication in order to understand how the appearance of (versions of) Nelson's letters influenced the image of Nelson, as it was presented in biographies of him.

The earliest sources for letters of Nelson were biographies of him. Their authors usually inserted passages of Nelson's letters into the texts of their books without any claim to or proof of completeness or authenticity in content or in such details as punctuation and spelling. The first two authors who went beyond reproducing letters that had been first published in the official *London Gazette* or in journals and newspapers¹ were John Charnock and James Harrison, in 1806. Charnock's biography contained in an extensive appendix fifty letters from Nelson to his former captain Locker.² In several cases Charnock only gave 'extracts' or indicated that there were missing passages containing references to living persons. Although he also polished Nelson's style,³ his

¹ For example: a letter of Nelson's to his wife, written before the battle of the Nile was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxix (1799), 344; it was then reproduced in *The Times*, 23 March 1799 and later for example in Joshua White, *Memoirs of the Professional Life of the late Most Noble Lord Horatio Nelson* (3rd edition, considerably enlarged, London: James Cundee, 1806) [hereafter: J. White], p. 92, the complete version of this letter, dated 24 May 1798, can now be found in *Nelson's Letters to His Wife and Other Documents. 1785-1831*, ed. George P. B. Naish ([n. pl.]: Navy Records Society, vol. C, 1958), pp. 396-397.

² John Charnock, *Biographical Memoirs of Lord Viscount Nelson, &c &c &c with observations, critical and explanatory* (London: Hatchard & Black and Parry, Symonds, 1806) [hereafter: Charnock], the pages of the appendix are separately numbered, pp. 1-68.

³ *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, ed. Nicholas Harris Nicolas (7 vols., London: Chatham Publishing, 1997, reprint of first edition 1844-1846) [hereafter: Nicolas], i, vii, condemns this in strong terms: 'in no one instance had those Letters been accurately printed by Charnock'.

collection allowed an important insight into the early years of Nelson's career and for the first time addressed Nelson's disobedience in the West Indies.⁴ Unlike Charnock, who relied only on his friend Locker's collection, Harrison had access to a wealth of Nelson's papers at Merton, particularly letter-books. As he used Nelson's letters merely as material for his biography, he either quoted extracts from letters in the text or he used some of Nelson's words in his own descriptions of events.⁵ Nevertheless, whenever he quoted, he remained true to Nelson's original wording.⁶ Since Harrison was writing for Lady Hamilton, it is remarkable that he used only one letter that Nelson had addressed to her. That one letter had been published in the newspaper, and Harrison used it without any mention of the addressee.⁷

The first biography based on a great number of manuscript sources was the two volume work by Clarke and M'Arthur, published in 1809. Like Charnock and Harrison, Clarke and M'Arthur incorporated Nelson's letters into their text. In their eagerness to produce the most detailed, if the not most elegant, biography of Nelson, they also treated the letters at their disposal more cavalierly than any of their predecessors. They did not

⁴ Charnock, particularly pp. 32-35 in the appendix.

⁵ James Harrison, *The Life of the Right Honourable Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson* (2 vols., [London]: C. Chapple, 1806) [hereafter: Harrison]. Great parts of the book that deal with the period up to 1801 are based on letter-books (the later letter-books appear to have been in the hands of Nelson's brother and heir to the title): i, 182-90, 301-14, ii, 48-64, 147-62, 166-214 (letters from Nelson; evidence for the use of letter-books, the letter ii, 57-58, is quoted by Nicolas iii, 292, as 'from letter-book'). An example for the incorporation of Nelson's words into the narrative of the biography is, i, 84 (Nelson's words from letter about his disobedience in the West Indies, from Charnock, whose biography was published only 17 days before Harrison's – see *The Times*, 8 and 25 January 1806).

⁶ Nicolas, i, vii, acknowledged this and on ii, 384, he preferred giving the wording of Harrison to giving that of James Stanier Clarke and John M'Arthur, *The Life of Admiral Lord Nelson, K. B. from his Lordship's Manuscripts* (2 vols., London: T. Cadell and W. Davies and W. Miller, 1809) [hereafter: Clarke and M'Arthur].

⁷ Harrison, ii, 476-77. Lloyd and White, published one of Nelson's last letters to Lady Hamilton in a fuller version than it has ever appeared in print again: Frederick Lloyd, *An Accurate and Impartial Life of the Late Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronte in Sicily* (Omskirk: [n. pub.] Printed by J. Fowler, 1806), p. 190; and J. White, p. 317. This letter has been given in a shortened version by Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B. Duke of Bronté etc. etc. etc.* (2 vols., London: T. and W. Boone, 1849), ii, 510-511. Since it appears unlikely that Lady Hamilton should have furthered just these two biographers with the letter in question, it may be that they copied from a newspaper that I have not consulted; *The Diaries and Correspondence of the Right Hon. George Rose: Containing Original Letters of the Most Distinguished Statesmen of His Day*, ed. Leveson Vernon Harcourt (2 vols., Richard Bentley: London, 1860), pp. 244-245, shows that Lady Hamilton denies giving letters to the press.

merely select some passages, add punctuation and change spelling, but actually reworded the great majority of Nelson's letters, which they used, presumably in order to improve on his own very vivid and direct style. If convenience made it appear desirable, they did not shrink from combining letters into a single quotation; they managed to join passages from four different letters in one paragraph.⁸ They had so many of letters at their disposal that they did not bother about letters that had already appeared in print, such as those given in Harrison.

This array of badly arranged and only vaguely authentic letters of Nelson was then supplemented by sixty letters from Nelson to Lady Hamilton, published anonymously in 1814, most probably by Harrison.⁹ Shocking as their contents were to contemporaries, they form the first serious edition of Nelson letters. The letters were published without any editorial comments or notes on their contents. The actual texts of Nelson's letters are edited in the loose fashion of the day, that is with added punctuation as well as with some minor changes in orthography and capitalization¹⁰, and they contain a few marked omissions, but otherwise they accurately convey what Nelson wrote.¹¹

The scandal aroused by the publication of these letters to Lady Hamilton¹² prevented any new edition of Nelson's letters appearing until the mid-1840s. The few biographies that appeared in the meantime, relied exclusively on what had been

⁸ Clarke and M'Arthur, ii, 328, contains parts from letters given in Nicolas, iv, 216, 218, v, 261 and 305.

⁹ K. F. Lindsay-MacDougall, 'Nelson manuscripts at the National Maritime Museum', *Mariner's Mirror* 41 (1955), 227-32 [hereafter: Lindsay-MacDougall], 228 quotes Lady Hamilton as having written after the publication by Lovewell to a friend: 'I have begged of Sir William Scott to speak to you and the Lord Chancellor to lay an injunction on the scoundrels Harrison and Lovell for the stolen letters'. On p. 229 there is a quotation from her daughter Horatia remembering in later life that Lady Hamilton allowed Harrison in 1809 to take a whole box of Nelson's letters home to read.

¹⁰ It was very common (not only in Nelson's letters) to abbreviate, for example Admiralty to Ad^y, and to arbitrarily capitalize words. Usually abbreviations and numbers (7, 1000, and so on) were given in full words.

¹¹ *The letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton with a Supplement of Interesting Letters by Distinguished Characters*, ed. [Anon.] (2 vols., London: Thomas Lovewell & Co., 1814) [hereafter: 1814-letters], in their majority can be compared with the originals in the *Phillipps Collection*, held at the National Maritime Museum; only letters VIII, IX and XXIV have been lost.

¹² See chapter II 1.

published so far (including the letters to Lady Hamilton).¹³ In the years 1844 to 1846 Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas published his seven-volume edition of *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*. Compared to earlier forms of publication of Nelson's letter this work is a scholarly gem. Each volume begins with a detailed table of contents, followed by an *Analysis of the Life of Nelson* for the period covered by the volume. The main body of the text consists of Nelson's letters, arranged in strict chronological order and complemented by extensive footnotes. These notes contain information about the persons mentioned in them, letters to which Nelson is replying or referring, and other useful information. At the end of the last volume Nicolas provided an *index nominum*, the originally planned *index rerum*¹⁴ having been abandoned. As to his treatment of Nelson's letters themselves, Nicolas, as with earlier editors altered the punctuation, capitalisation and orthography, but otherwise he mainly printed the letters as they were written.¹⁵

The only major flaws in Nicolas' edition of Nelson's letters are their lack of completeness and the fact that in places he had to rely on unreliable printed texts rather than the original manuscript letters. In the majority of cases, Nicolas cannot be blamed for the missing letters, because he simply did not have access to some of the sources, most notably Nelson's letters to his wife and those to the Duke of Clarence (formerly Prince William, afterwards William IV). In his preface to the first volume Nicolas complained of the lack of cooperation of some people in possession of letters of Nelson,

¹³ The 1814-letters were used in the edition of 1831 of Robert Southey, *The Life of Nelson* (London: John Murray, 1831), pp. 193, 283, 285 and 290-306; [Anon., 'The Old Sailor', Mathew Henry Barker], *The Life of Nelson, Revised and Illustrated with Original Anecdotes, Notes &c.* (London: Frederic Shoberl, Jun^r, 1836), pp. 258, 295, 329 and 349; [Anon.], *The Life of Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson, Baron of the Nile, Duke of Bronte, &c* (London: Foster and Hextall, [1840]), p. 84; G. Thompson, *The Life of the Right Honourable Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson, Baron of the Nile, &c. &c.* (London: J. S. Pratt, 1843), p. 216.

¹⁴ Nicolas, i, xxix: 'Complete Indexes will be given in the last Volume of the Work'.

¹⁵ There seem to be some exceptions, as for example Nicolas, i, 104, where a word is shortened to 'd--d', that Clarke and M'Arthur, i, 64 gave as 'damned'; Nicolas, iii, 355, gives a letter as from 'Autograph in the Nelson Papers' which is wrongly copied from the original (BL Add MSS 34,902, f. 164): the word 'dear' is left out in front of 'Commander-in-Chief' and 'ill' is replaced by 'unwell'. Henry Newbolt, *The Year of Trafalgar. Being an Account of the Battle and of the Events which led up to it* (London: John Murray, 1905), p. 77, has pointed out that Nicolas' 'extracts from the Logs of the Ships engaged [in the battle of Trafalgar] ... differ continually from the originals preserved among the official papers in the Record Office'.

in particular the widows of James Stanier Clarke and John M'Arthur.¹⁶ Clarke and M'Arthur had held on to borrowed letters, which Nicolas could now not see, and so he could only reprint the versions which had appeared in Clarke and M'Arthur's biography. This was particularly unsatisfactory, since Nicolas himself had noticed that 'scarcely in any one of the numerous instances in which the Editor of this Work has had the opportunity of comparing the extracts printed by Clarke and M'Arthur with the original Letters or Papers, do those extracts entirely agree with the originals'.¹⁷ When Clarke and M'Arthur's version of Nelson letters appeared particularly suspect Nicolas did not copy them, as in the case of Nelson pleading after five years ashore: 'Or their Lordships [of the Admiralty] should be pleased to appoint me to a cockle boat, I shall feel grateful'.¹⁸ As Nicolas' work on the edition progressed, he seems to have become ever more suspicious of what Clarke and M'Arthur claimed to be the contents of Nelson's letters and the number of letters that he omits in his edition increases towards the end of his edition.¹⁹

Even Nicolas himself, however, was guilty of suppressing letters. He confessed this openly in the preface to the first volume with regards to Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton, published in 1814: 'every letter which fell into his [Nicolas'] hands, (except those addressed to the object of a passion as romantic as it was criminal,) ... might see the light, with no other suppressions, than of three or four lines of postscripts, relating to private expenses, and no other alterations, than the occasional correction of a loose

¹⁶ Nicolas, i, xix.

¹⁷ Nicolas, i, viii-ix.

¹⁸ According to Clarke and M'Arthur, i, 121, Nelson wrote this on 5 December 1792.

¹⁹ The letters omitted in Nicolas can be found in Clarke and M'Arthur, i, 121, 289, 325, ii, 25, 28, 31, 143-44, 152, 220, 221, 321, 337, 338, 348, 357, 357-58, 358, 359 [different from version in letter-book that Nicolas gives], 362 [Nelson to Ball with ending that is not in Nicolas: 'I do most earnestly desire that you will not fail saying any thing to me that you please. I can never take it amiss. ...'], 369 [two letters], 390, 391-392, 392, 398, 399, 407, 431. In several of these cases the contents given by Clarke and M'Arthur appear fairly authentic and indeed noteworthy. Nicolas also forgot to copy the ends of the very interesting accounts by Ferguson (Clarke and M'Arthur, ii, 283) and Stewart (Clarke and M'Arthur, ii, 289-290), although he claims, iv, 299, to give 'the entire Narrative' of Stewart (Stewart's narrative is scattered in notes in Nicolas, iv, 299-304, 307-12, 325-27, 352, Ferguson's is in between, iv, 312-313). Nicolas also misses to copy a letter from Harrison, i, 127. In his treatment of Clarke and M'Arthur's extracts which in some cases may well have been written in continuation, Nicolas also becomes more generous as his edition progresses in adding salutations; compare for example: Clarke and M'Arthur ii, 294-295, to Nicolas, iv, 430, 432-33, 434, 435, 438 (all to Earl St. Vincent).

orthography'.²⁰ Nicolas went further than he admitted. He cut out more text than he indicated by dots in the text and he even left out parts despite his claim that: 'the entire letter will now be given'.²¹ When he started his edition of Nelson's letters, Nicolas probably did not know how many more of Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton existed than those already published and it is impossible to say how many of these letters he saw. In the end, he included six fairly harmless ones in his collection that had not been published before, three in the possessions of Colonel Davison, Earl Nelson and a Mrs. Smith and three which he had acquired himself.²² Before the publication of the third volume, however, Nicolas found proof that the letters, published in 1814, were authentic. He had been allowed access to the collection of John Wilson Croker, then the owner of the originals of Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton that had been published in 1814.²³ Nevertheless, Nicolas published many of them incompletely and merely stated they were copied 'from "Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton"', thereby keeping alive doubts about their authenticity.²⁴

When Thomas Joseph Pettigrew wrote his *Memoirs of the Life of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson* he showed less restraint in publishing letters from Nelson to Lady Hamilton. His whole book was largely based on these. No author seems to have had more letters of Nelson to Lady Hamilton at his disposal. From the fact that he transcribed some words differently from the way they are given in the letters published

²⁰ Nicolas, i, xiv; similarly i, x, about the 1814-letters: 'Such parts of those letters as are unobjectionable will be found in this Collection'; in the preface to the last volume Nicolas, vii, xv, stated: 'the Editor congratulates himself that (with the exception of the Letters to Lady Hamilton, which had been before printed, and of which, however, the greater part is inserted,) he has been able to carry his plan into full effect, namely, to give all the Letters which fell into his hands, exactly as they were written'. Nicolas appears to have struggled how to decide which letters to allow into his collection and which not. In vol. iv he lists one letter 'To Lady Hamilton' in the table of contents for p. 287, which then does not appear on that page.

²¹ Compare Nicolas, iv, 514, with 1814-letters, i, 91; and Nicolas, vii, 378, with 1814-letters, i, 135.

²² Nicolas, v, 206; vi, 441; vii, 132, clxiii, clxxxii and clxxxiii.

²³ Nicolas, iii, xii (preface), thanks John Wilson Croker for having allowed him access to his collection. Lindsay-MacDougall, 228, states that John Wilson Croker was owner of the 1814-letters from 1817 (when they were sold as a result of the bankruptcy of their publisher, Lovewell) until his death in 1857.

²⁴ Nicolas, iii, 361; Nicolas, vii, 377, even explicitly doubted the authenticity of one of the letters. Lindsay-MacDougall, 229, gives evidence that Nicolas's possible motive may have been to protect Nelson's daughter Horatia (then Mrs. Ward) from possible unpleasant disclosures.

in 1814, one can assume that he had the originals in front of him.²⁵ It may be worth noting that Pettigrew did not use all the letters, printed in the anonymous edition of 1814, but he did make generous use of a much greater collection of letters. Among the other letters he used is the last one Nelson wrote to Lady Hamilton and which Nicolas gives as ‘Autograph in the possession of Mrs. Smith’. ‘Mrs. Smith’, according to Nicolas, was ‘the widow of Alderman Smith, who had advanced money to Lady Hamilton in her distress’.²⁶ Mrs. Smith also possessed the coat which Nelson wore at the battle of Trafalgar and in which he was mortally wounded; she sold it in the early 1840s. In connection with this sale a ‘curiosity dealer’, who claimed to have brought it onto the market, hinted at having access to Nelson’s letters, as well.²⁷ It appears that Mrs. Smith possessed more letters than merely the very important last letter that Nelson ever wrote. This very letter, as one of ‘about 300 letters written by Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton’ was sold in separate lots in 1853 by ‘Southeby and Wilkinson’.²⁸ The ‘Smith Collection’ was thus scattered, and it seemed unlikely that the gap Nicolas had so deliberately left would be soon filled.

For some decades only Pettigrew’s work provided knowledge of the contents of Nelson’s letters to Lady Hamilton beyond what had been published in 1814. Although Pettigrew’s biography of Nelson provides the most comprehensive collection of letters of Nelson to Lady Hamilton,²⁹ he showed restraint in matters of completeness and he

²⁵ The most striking example of such a difference in transcription is that he gives ‘shot’ (ii, 506), where the 1814-letters (ii 100) give ‘shock’ in the letter of 1 October 1805: ‘When I came to explain to them the *Nelson touch*, it was like an electric shock/shot’; other examples are: Pettigrew ii, 300 (‘has gone’) – 1814-letters I, 108 (‘is gone’; as in the original); Pettigrew, ii, 324 (‘£2000’) – 1814-letters, I 124 (‘two thousand one hundred pounds’; the original is: ‘2100£’); Pettigrew, ii 337 (‘Dumouriez’) – 1814-letters, i, 135 (‘Dumourier’); Pettigrew, ii, 382 (‘armoisis’) – 1814-letters, ii, 26 (‘armorins’); Pettigrew, ii, 377 and 407 (‘expenses’) – 1814-letters, ii, 10, and ii, 56 (‘expences’, as in the originals); Pettigrew, ii, 462 (‘2nd’) – 1814-letters, ii 87 (‘2d’); Pettigrew also gives Nelson’s signature as ‘Nelson and Bronte’, while the 1814-letters give ‘Nelson & Bronté’, in fact Nelson signed ‘Nelson + Bronte’.

²⁶ Nicolas, vii, 350.

²⁷ Thomas A. Evans, *A Statement of the Means by which the Nelson Coat, Presented by H. R. H. Prince Albert to Greenwich Hospital, was obtained by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, G. C. M. G.* (London: T. A. Evans, 1846), p. 4.

²⁸ *The Times*, 4 April 1853; this article also gave extracts from another letter (of 6 October 1805) that Pettigrew (ii, 510) had used; this other letter is also the letter that was given - with passages that Pettigrew does not give - in 1806 (see fn. 8) and has never turned up again in print.

²⁹ Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B. Duke of Bronté* (2 vols., London: T. and W. Boone, 1849) [hereafter: Pettigrew], used the majority of the 1814-

printed only extracts from the letters in the main body of his biography. While the sheer mass of letters printed in the main text hinted at the nature of Nelson's relationship to Lady Hamilton, Pettigrew kept the most revealing passages to the end, where he presented them in two concentrated 'Supplementary Chapters' about 'Lady Hamilton' and 'Horatia Nelson'.³⁰ He may well have convinced his readers of the erotic character of Nelson's relationship to Lady Hamilton, but the quality of his 'edition' of Nelson's letters suffered as a result. His method of offering extracts from the letters has left later generations not only with incomplete letters, but with distorted versions of the contents of some letters, as in the case of this passage, in which the phrase in square brackets was omitted by Pettigrew: 'I send this through Mr. Falconet at Naples, and as it will be read by the French and many others, I don't chuse to say anything more than I care for all the world knowing [, that I *love you*, more than anything in this world, and next my d^r H^a]. I keep everything packed up, ...'.³¹ While the letters that Pettigrew printed can not be regarded as complete or even characteristic, they are nevertheless true to the original in the actual text that they do reproduce. In the same way as Nicolas, Pettigrew merely changed capitalisation and orthography and added punctuation, while retaining the actual wording of the letters.

When John Knox Laughton started reviving interest in the study of Nelson, he edited a selection of *Letters and Despatches of Horatio, Viscount Nelson* which was meant to focus on Nelson's 'professional life'. As to his sources, Laughton stated that 'with very few exceptions, I found enough for my purpose in Nicolas's seven portly volumes'.³² Given the purpose of his edition, it is not surprising that Laughton found

letters as well as the majority of the letters that were later published in *The Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison (Second Series, 1882-1893) - The Hamilton & Nelson Papers*, (2 vols., [n. pl.]: printed for private circulation, 1893) [hereafter: Morrison] as well as many letters that have never been published anywhere else – for a detailed key to the sources of Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton see Appendix II 1 a [this appendix needs a new name!].

³⁰ Pettigrew, ii, 593-637 and 638-56.

³¹ Compare Pettigrew, ii, 443, with Morrison, ii, 251 (no. 802). 'd^r H^a' stands for 'dear Horatia' and refers to Nelson's and Lady Hamilton's daughter. Similar examples abound.

³² *Letters and Despatches of Horatio, Viscount Nelson, K.B. Duke of Bronte. Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron*, ed. John Knox Laughton (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1886) [hereafter: Laughton (1886)], p. vii.

Harrison's biography 'worthless' and that he judged: 'Pettigrew's bulky work is mainly filled with the story of Nelson's supposed amour with Lady Hamilton, and is better suited for the society of the "School for Scandal" than for the student of naval history'.³³ Not all writers shared Laughton's preoccupation with Nelson's professional life. In 1890 W. Clark Russell noted in his *Selection from the Dispatches and Correspondence of Horatio Nelson*: 'There is very much that is tiresome in the seven stout volumes of dispatches and letters. Sir Harris Nicolas' veneration for Nelson knew no bounds. ... Insipid orders, uninteresting opinions, every commonplace of the service ... page after page of dull, formal, official communications ... But Nelson's unofficial letters – particularly those to his friend Davison, to his wife, and to Lady Hamilton – are full of clever, of exhilarating, of high, and of noble thought. Most of the following extracts are made from this side of his correspondence ... The memory of his tactics, the inspiration of his professional opinions, the example of his seamanship, in a word, can no longer serve the country'.³⁴ Laughton could not stem the tide of interest in Lady Hamilton.

In the 1880s the wealthy collector Alfred Morrison bought a part of the previously dispersed 'Smith Collection'. Joining it with other papers relating to Nelson, Sir William and Lady Hamilton he arranged for it to be edited as the elaborately entitled *Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison (Second Series, 1882-1893) - The Hamilton & Nelson Papers*, and he had it published in two volumes for private circulation in 1893. Although the letters are carefully copied, the editor decided to leave out the introductory and concluding passages, so that it is impossible to say, for example, how Nelson addressed Lady Hamilton: as 'My dear

³³ Laughton (1886), p. viii; Ten years later, when Laughton had to acknowledge the erotic character of Nelson's relationship with Lady Hamilton, he still condemned Harrison in *The Nelson Memorial. Nelson and His Companions in Arms* (London: George Allen, 1896), p. 342: 'Written under the dictation of Lady Hamilton, to whom must be attributed the many false statements with which it abounds. The fustian style is presumably Harrison's'.

³⁴ *Nelson's Words and Deeds. A Selection from the Dispatches and Correspondence of Horatio Nelson*, ed. W. Clark Russell ([London]: Sampson Low, Masston, Searle, & Rivington, 1890), pp. v, vi, vii. This edition gives extracts, often in epigrammatic form (as little, generally applicable wisdoms), from letters arranged according to subject-headings; including doubtful 'oral sources'.

Madam' (22 July and 3 October 1798),³⁵ 'My dear Lady Hamilton' (early 1799 until 4 February 1801),³⁶ 'My dear Mrs. Thomson' (3 February 1801, with variations until 9 April 1801),³⁷ 'My dear Lady' (from 8 February 1801, when Nelson had learned about the birth of his daughter, until 11 February 1801)³⁸, 'My dear amiable friend' (15 February 1801, with variations until 30 June 1801)³⁹ or some variation of 'My dearest Emma' (starting 27 July 1801, after a spell in England with Lady Hamilton and his daughter).⁴⁰

The 1890s also saw the publications of several smaller collections of Nelson's letters: some to Hercules Ross,⁴¹ a number of letters to Nelson's wife which Clarke and M'Arthur had had access to, but which Nicolas could not find for his edition,⁴² and a collection of personal letters to Captain Troubridge disclosing the development of Nelson's difficult relationship with his superior admiral, Sir Hyde Parker, before the battle of Copenhagen.⁴³ The editor of this last collection remarked: 'Letters from Nelson to Troubridge on the subject of Lady Hamilton were many, but these have all been recently destroyed'.⁴⁴

³⁵ Pettigrew, i, 140 and Walter Sichel, *Emma Lady Hamilton. From New and Original Sources and Documents. Together with an Appendix of Notes and New Letters* (3rd ed., revised, Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1907) [hereafter: Sichel], p. 490.

³⁶ 1814-letters, i, 7 and Morrison, ii, 111 (and many letters in between).

³⁷ Pettigrew, ii, 647 and incorporated into text of letter, Morrison, ii, 136; variations include 'my dearly beloved Mrs. T.', within the text of a letter of March 1801, Morrison, ii, 130.

³⁸ 1814-letters, i, 23 and Sichel, p. 520.

³⁹ Pettigrew, i, 425; Nelson had used 'my dear friend' before in the text of a second letter of 11 February 1801, so that Morrison, ii, 113, could not avoid giving it.

⁴⁰ Pettigrew, ii, 131, and subsequent letters; Nelson's last letter to Lady Hamilton starts: 'My dearest beloved Emma, the dear friend of my bosom ...' (Pettigrew, ii, 515).

⁴¹ *Letters from Admiral Lord Nelson to Hercules Ross, Esq., of Rossie, N.B. 1780-1802*, ed. [Anon.] (for private circulation only, [n. pub., n. pl., c. 1891]); this collection contains mostly letters that are in Nicolas (Nicolas, v, 13 and 38 to Ross are *not* in the collection).

⁴² James R. Thursfield, 'New Nelson Manuscripts', *Literature*, 19 and 26 February, 5, 12 and 26 March, 5 and 23 April 1898.

⁴³ *Some Norfolk Worthies*, ed. C. Rachel Jones (London: Jarrold & Sons, 1899) [hereafter: Jones]; the letters had been printed before in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 37 (November 1888), and they were again published with some other letters of Nelson in *Naval Miscellany* vol. 1, ed. John Knox Laughton ([London]: Navy Records Society, vol. 20, 1902) [hereafter: Laughton (1902)], pp. 414-35, with a short introduction on p. 392.

⁴⁴ Jones, p. 18.

The next decades saw further small editions of some letters from Nelson that had not been published in Nicolas as well as selections of already published letters for the general public.⁴⁵ Most editions mostly supplemented Nicolas great work. Gutteridge's volume about *Nelson and the Neapolitan Jacobins* focuses on a specific period in Nelson's life, including British and Italian sources about the defeat of the Neapolitan revolution in 1799.⁴⁶ Laughton's book about *The Barker Collection* merely corrected and added to Nicolas, instead of offering a complete edition in its own right. The letters in the collection were those that M'Arthur had kept, having borrowed them from their real owners, and that after his death found their way into the collection of Matthew Barker, who as 'The Old Sailor' had published the first new biography after the scandal of the publication of some of Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton in 1814.⁴⁷ Gilbert Hudson, in 1917, edited *Nelson's Last Diary. September 13 – October 21, 1805* for which Nicolas had had in part to rely on Beatty's *Authentic Narrative of the Death of Nelson* and on Clarke and M'Arthur.⁴⁸

In 1932 Warren R. Dawson undertook an edition of *The Nelson Collection at Lloyd's*, trying to get as close to the originals as ever possible in a printed version: he did

⁴⁵ Mere selections are: *Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton*, ed. Douglas Sladen (London: The Library Press, [1905]). This collection is mainly based on Nicolas' choices of letters, but also includes others. *The Nelson Touch. Being a little book of the great seaman's wisdom*, ed. Walter Jerrold (London: John Murray, 1918), p. xv: Introduction by H. W. Wilson: 'It has always been my own intention to attempt the preparation of a critical and complete edition of Nelson papers, but the war has intervened to prevent the immediate accomplishment of so vast a task, and now the work must be left to a distant future'; *The Nelson Touch. An Anthology of Lord Nelson's Letters*, ed. Clemence Dane (Winifred Ashton) (London: William Heinemann, 1942); *Nelson's Letters*, ed. Geoffrey Rawson (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1960).

⁴⁶ *Nelson and the Neapolitan Jacobins. Documents Relating to the Suppression of the Jacobin Revolution at Naples. June 1799*, ed. H. C. Gutteridge ([London]: Navy Records Society, vol. xxv, 1903). This work is dealt with in chapter II 4.

⁴⁷ *The Barker Collection. Manuscripts of and relating to Admiral Lord Nelson*, ed. John Knox Laughton (Chiswick Press: London, 1913), pp. 5, 6 about the history of the collection.

⁴⁸ *Nelson's Last Diary. September 13 – October 21, 1805*, edited with introduction and notes by Gilbert Hudson (London: Elkin Mathews, 1917); Nicolas, vii, 33, 139 (referring to 'Autograph or facsimile copy' done by Nelson himself), 50, 53, 97, 122, 126 (relying on Beatty), 126 (adding a line from Clarke and M'Arthur to Beatty's version), 133 (from Beatty and Clarke and M'Arthur), 136 ('autograph'). Beatty's *Narrative* is dealt with in chapter II 6 and analysed also in Appendix II 6 [change name of appendix when fixed!]. Hudson's work was partly corrected by *Nelson's Last Diary. A Facsimile*, ed. Oliver Warner (London: Seeley, Service & Co, 1971).

not change anything (capitalization, punctuation, or spelling)⁴⁹ and kept the lengths of the lines as in the original. Because of this and because some additional words inserted in the original stretched the spaces between lines, his edition is at times slightly awkward to read. Most of the Nelson letters in this collection have been printed before, either in Nicolas or Pettigrew.⁵⁰

Later editions again returned to the traditional way of transcribing letters. A publication entirely dedicated to Nelson letters and related documents is Geoffrey Rawson's *Nelson's Letters from the Leeward Islands*, which contains a considerable number of letters from Nelson's time in the West Indies in the 1780s that have not been published before. This edition also includes a very interesting memoir that a former lieutenant of Nelson's had written for Clarke and M'Arthur, and which these biographers had treated in their usual fashion of shortening and rewording.⁵¹ George P. B. Naish's edition of *Nelson's Letters to his Wife and other Documents 1785-1831* filled another important gap, left by Clarke and M'Arthur's cavalier editing practices.⁵² Further letters of Nelson's that have appeared in print include:⁵³ various letters published in *The Times* (8 December 1877, 6 November 1883, 23 September 1891, 3 September 1892); a letter from Nelson to John Knight, dated 30 September 1805 (*The Mariner's Mirror*, 71 (1985), 479) and a letter from Nelson to Lady Hamilton, dated 29 January [1800], with outspokenly erotic contents (Felix Pryor, 'Nelson the Letter-Writer', in *The Nelson Companion*, ed. Colin White, pp. 153-75, at 155-56).⁵⁴ Partly in order to bring all

⁴⁹ Only the most pedantic scrutiny can find exceptions from the rule: *The Nelson Collection at Lloyd's. A Description of the Nelson Relics and a Transcript of the Autograph Letters and Documents of Nelson and his Circle and of Other Naval Papers of Nelson's Period*, ed. Warren R. Dawson (London: Macmillan, 1932), p. 171, 'obliged' is transcribed from a letter which is given as facsimile and where the word is spelt 'obligd'.

⁵⁰ An exception is the letter mentioned in the previous footnote.

⁵¹ *Nelson's Letters from the Leeward Islands and other Original Documents in the Public Record Office and the British Museum*, ed. Geoffrey Rawson ([n. pl]: The Golden Cockerel Press, 1953).

⁵² *Nelson's Letters to his Wife and other Documents 1785-1831*, ed. George P. B. Naish ([London]: Navy Records Society, vol. C, 1958).

⁵³ Laughton (1886), p. vii, pointed out that some Nelson letters were 'published in the "Athenaeum"' (a journal). I have not traced those and I am sure there are many more such sources.

⁵⁴ Beyond these sources there are obviously many printed primary sources that deal with matters relating to Nelson, though they do not include letters from Nelson himself. Such collections have been mainly published by the Navy Records Society; for example: *The Naval miscellany*, ed. Christopher Lloyd ([London]: Navy Record Society, vol. XCII, 1952) contains a chapter about 'Prince William and

these dispersed sources together, but even more in order to make accessible the hundreds of unpublished Nelson letters, the National Maritime and Royal Naval Museums have embarked on a Nelson-letter project, which aims to publish all Nelson letters that have not been in print before.⁵⁵

The publication of Nelson's letters in so many incomplete and inaccurate editions has distorted our understanding of Nelson and has divorced the man from his context. This can be seen in the reaction to recently discovered Nelson letters that were in the possession of Alexander Davison, Nelson's agent. Among these are several from Nelson's wife, written in 1801, that show how she struggled to regain her husband's affection until she noticed that Davison, instead of trying to assist this endeavour, aided Nelson's relations with Lady Hamilton. Commenting on the discovery that Nelson's wife, Fanny, struggled to regain him in 1801, a biographer of Lady Hamilton commented: 'Hats off to Fanny for surprising us all'.⁵⁶ Had she attentively read Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton, published in 1814, she would not only have known that Fanny Nelson was still trying to win Nelson back as late as 1804, but also how Nelson repulsed her attempts. On 9 April of that year Nelson wrote to Lady Hamilton about a letter he had received from his wife:

I send you a very impertinent letter from that old cat. I have sent her a very dry answer, and told her, I should send the sweetmeats to you. I always hated the old bitch! But, was she young, and as beautiful as an angel, I am engaged; I am all, soul and body, my Emma's: nor would I change her for all this world could give me.⁵⁷

A conscientious reader of the published letters of Nelson would already have known that Lady Nelson went on trying to regain her husband's affections for years after their separation and that, while quite a few of her letters to him have survived (though by no means all), only a handful of Lady Hamilton's letters to Nelson have survived (in

Lieutenant Schomberg 1787-1788', ed. from the Hood Papers by B. McL. Ranft (pp. 267-93). Nelson was involved in this matter and some letters addressed to him are included in the collection.

⁵⁵ Colin White, 'The Nelson Letters Project', *Mariner's Mirror*, 87 (2001), 476-78.

⁵⁶ Flora Fraser in *The Times*, 2 July 2002.

⁵⁷ 1814-letters, ii, 19-20.

contrast to more than four hundred extant letters that he wrote to her). As the neglected passage, quoted above shows, not even Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton have been properly scrutinized. Hence, it is surprising that a recent biographer could remark in consequence of the discovery of the Davison letters: 'there is little new to be learnt about' Lady Hamilton.⁵⁸ The discovery of new manuscripts that throw light on Nelson should not distract us from the less glamorous task of carefully studying the existing letters.

⁵⁸ Terry Coleman in *The Times*, 2 July 2002.

APPENDIX C

Nelson's Letters to Lady Hamilton

A Synopsis of the Versions in Print

The correspondence between Nelson and Lady Hamilton survives mostly in his letters to her, since he destroyed nearly all of her letters to him.¹ No overview of Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton exists. The originals are spread over different, often unknown, sources. Even those letters that have been printed are difficult to find and the printed sources that give them do not necessarily render the exact wording of the letters. The following list of Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton in print is primarily meant as an overview of which sources are available in print and in how far they differ from each other. The list fulfils a second purpose in that it offers access to those letters in print. For this second purpose the texts of the letters are arranged in strictly chronological order. Other collections usually present letters that formed one bodily unit. Nelson often wrote two continuous letters to the same person over a certain period of time in order to be able to send them on different ways home in the hope that at least one of the letters would reach its addressee. For a contextual analysis it matters less, which letter was written on which piece of paper than *when* a letter was written. Whenever a letter that was written over several days or different times of a day is thus torn apart in the list, this will be noted at the end of the letter. Since this list does not aim to be an edition of the letters, only the beginnings of the letters and those passages that vary in the different versions are given. The passages, words or characters that appear only in one edition appear in brackets. In order to differentiate between the different sources, different kinds of brackets have been used: [] or {}. At the end of the treatment of each letter its source will be given, together with an information about how parts are marked that do not appear in the quoted source. The sources for the printed letters are abbreviated and stand for:

1. Harrison: James Harrison, *The Life of the Right Honourable Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson ...* (2 vols., [London]: C. Chapple, 1806).

¹ Exceptions are only a few early letters and the last letters, which did not reach Nelson alive.

2. Morrison: *The Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison (Second Series, 1882-1893) - The Hamilton & Nelson Papers*, (2 vols., [n. pl.]: printed for private circulation, 1893).
Morrison sometimes marks passages that are not in Pettigrew (see below source 4.) by using []. This method is explained: i, 108. When Morrison omits such marks, this is pointed out in the list of letters below. In one case (letter no. 235), I have not been able to find the letter in Pettigrew that supposedly contains an omission.
3. Nicolas: *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, ed. Nicholas Harris Nicolas (7 vols., London: Chatham Publishing, 1997, reprint of first edition 1844-1846).
4. Pettigrew: Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B. Duke of Bronté etc. etc. etc.* (2 vols., T. and W. Boone: London, 1849).
5. Sichel: Walter Sichel, *Emma Lady Hamilton. From New and Original Sources and Documents. Together with an Appendix of Notes and New Letters* (3rd ed., revised, Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1907).
6. *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton: The letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton with a Supplement of Interesting Letters by Distinguished Characters*, ed. [Anon.] (2 vols., London: Thomas Lovewell & Co., 1814).

In a separate little list at the end the manuscript sources for the printed letters will be listed.

1. 22.07.1798 Syracuse 'I am so much distressed at not having had any account of the French Fleet ...' – Morrison, ii, 14 (No. 325).
2. 22.07.1798 [to Sir William and Lady Hamilton] 'My dear Friends, Thanks to your exertions, ...' – Harrison, i, 256.
3. 11.08.1798 'My dear Madam, I may now be able to shew your ladyship the remains of Horatio Nelson, and I trust my mutilations will not cause me to be less welcome. They are the marks of honour. ...' – Pettigrew, i, 140.
4. 13.09.1798 Document: Force of the English and French Fleets at the Battle of the Nile – Morrison, ii, 19 (No. 335).
5. 03.10.1798 'My dear Madam, - the anxiety which you and Sir William Hamilton have always had for the happiness and welfare of their Sicilian Majesties, was also planted [in me] in the five years past. ...' – Sichel, p. 490 (also in: Nicolas, vii, clxiii).

6. **16.10.1798** Naples ‘My dear Madam, I honour and respect you ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 169.
7. **24.10.1798** Vanguard, off Malta ‘My dear Madam, After a long passage, ... as it seems the court of Naples think{s} my presence ...’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter I except {}, Pettigrew, i, 162 not quoting the *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*.
8. **22.11.1798** Thursday, Noon ‘{My dear Madam,}Not being able to get our anchor out of the ground, allows me to say on paper that I am your and Sir William’s affectionate friend. May God Almighty bless and protect you both, is the fervent prayer of your Nelson. P. S. Pray grant me the favor of getting well.’ – Morrison, ii, 27 (No. 355), except {}, Pettigrew, i, 170.
9. **04.12.1798** ‘Whereas I, Horatio Nelson, K. B., Rear-Admiral in His Majesty’s fleet, have belonging to me two gold boxes set with diamonds, one bearing the picture of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; the other, a nearly round box set with diamonds, said to have been sent me by the mother of the Grand Signor, I do hereby ... affectionate friend. ... I declare this as a codicil to my last will and testament, on board his Majesty’s ship Vanguard, this 25 May, 1799, off Maritimo Isle.’ – 25.05.1799 codicil to Nelson’s will – Morrison, ii, 47 (No. 391).
10. **12.05.1799** ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, Accept my sincere thanks for your kind letter. Nobody writes so well: therefore, pray, say not you write ill; ...’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter II.
11. **19.05.1799** Vanguard, Eight o’Clock. Calm. ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, Lieutenant Swiney coming on board, enables me ... I am now perfectly the *great man* - not a creature near me. From my heart, I wish myself the little man again! ...’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter III.
12. **20.05.1799** ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, Many thanks to you and Sir William for your kind notes. ... Mr. Duckworth means to leave me to my fate ...’? – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter IV.
13. **21.05.1799** near Ustica; foul wind ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, The Sparanaro’s leaving me last night prevents my sending you ...’ – Nicolas, vii, clxxxii.
14. **22.05.1799** ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, The wind is as bad as bad can be. ...’ – Nicolas, vii, clxxxiii.
15. **24.05.1799** 8 o’clock ‘Neither of the two Sparanaroes sent to Palermo having joined, I cannot send this for Palermo ...’ – Nicolas, vii, clxxxiii.
16. **26.05.1799** ‘{My dear Lady Hamilton,} Many, many thanks for your letters ...’ – Morrison, ii, 47 (No. 392) except {}, Pettigrew, i, 226.
17. **18.06.1799** ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, Since I sent off the vessel yesterday forenoon, ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 235.
18. **29.01.1800** ‘Separated from all I hold dear in this world ...’ – slightly different versions (concerning capitalization and other details) can be found in: Felix Pryor, ‘Nelson the Letter-Writer’, in *The Nelson Companion*, ed. Colin White (Annapolis, Maryland: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995), pp. 153-75, at pp. 155-56; Edgar Vincent, *Nelson. Love and Fame* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 347-48; Coleman, Terry, *Nelson. The Man and the Legend* (first edition: London: Bloomsbury, 2001; New and Revised Edition: London: Bloomsbury, 2002), pp. 224-225 (incomplete text).

- 19.03.02.1800 ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, Having a Commander in Chief, I cannot come on shore till I have made *my manners* to him. ...’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter V.
- 20.13.02.1800 ‘{My dear Lady Hamilton,} I do not send you any news or opinions as this letter goes by post and may be opened ... princes on the throne. [May the Heavens bless you and make you ever be satisfied that I am’ &c] You will make ...’ – Morrison, ii, 84 (No. 452) except {}, Pettigrew, i, 299 except [].
- 21.18.02.1800 ‘I feel anxious to get up with these ships & shall be unhappy not to take them myself, for first my greatest happiness is to serve my gracious King and Country, & I am envious only of glory; for if it be a sin to covet glory I am the most offending soul alive. *But there I am* in a heavy sea & thick fog - Oh, God! The wind subsided - but I trust to Providence I shall have them.’ – in Emma’s handwriting, endorsed by Sir William: ‘I desired Lady H. to make me a little extract from L^d Nelson’s letter to her, which was a sort of journal. I fear your L^p will scarcely be able to make out her hasty scrawl; but Lord Nelson’s sentiments, expressed in his own words, doe him so much honor that I trust your L^p will excuse the liberty I take in having sent this paper for your lordship’s private perusal. W. H.’ – Morrison, ii, 86 (No. 456).
- 22.18.02.1800 ‘18th in the evening, I have got her - Le Généreux - thank God! 12 out of 13, onely the Guillaume Telle remaining; I am after the others. I have not suffered the French Admiral to contaminate the Foudroyant by setting his foot in her.’ – Morrison, ii, 86 (No. 456), see above.
- 23.20.02.1800 Off La Valette ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, Had you seen the Peer receive me, ... if those other corvettes do not get in. [Pray, make my best regards acceptable to Mrs. Cadogan, Miss Knight, little Mary Re Giovanni, Gibbs, &c. &c. and ever believe me] your truly faithful and affectionate BRONTE NELSON’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter VI, Pettigrew, i, 310 except [].
- 24.25.02.1800 ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, Your letters by Girgenti are not yet come here. ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 312.
- 25.04.03.1800 ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, My health is in such a state, ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 337.
- 26.16.06.1800 Seven o’Clock ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, What a difference - but it was to be - from your house to a boat! ...’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter VII.
- 27.???.11.1800 Saturday Morning ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, It is now six o’clock, and I dread the fatigue of the day, being not of the best spirits, ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 392.
- 28.14.01.1801 Axminster, 8 o’clock ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, We set off from Southampton at eight o’clock this morning, ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 409.
- 29.17.01.1801 Five o’clock. I write through Mr. Nepean that this letter may get to you on Sunday. ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, I am this moment arrived, and truly melancholy. I feel as if no friend was near me. *How different!* We left Axminster ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 410.
- 30.21.01.1801 Plymouth Dock ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, It is a dreadful rainy day, ... Pray tell me all. [I delivered to Mr. ----- Mrs. Thomson’s message and note; he desires me, poor fellow, to say, he is more scrupulous than if Mrs. T. was present. He says he does not write letters at this moment, as the object of his affections may be unwell, and others may open them.]’ – Pettigrew, i, 411 the part in [] appears in the supplementary chapter ‘Horatia Nelson’ in ii, 645.

- 31.24.01.1801 ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, No orders to man my San Josef; ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 414 - ‘Pray tell Mrs. Thomson her kind friend is very uneasy about her, and prays most fervently for her safety.’ – Pettigrew, ii, 645.
- 32.25.01.1801 ‘{My dear Lady Hamilton,} If you’ll believe me, nothing can give me so much pleasure as your ... as that mountain. The Audacious {(Gould)} [, Gould,] will be paid off ... more anxiety than my diner. [Let her go to Briton or where she pleases, I care not; she is a great fool and, thank god! You are not the least bit like her. [[I delivered poor Mrs. T]]homson[[]’s note; her friend is truly thankful for her kindness and your goodness. Who does not admire your benevolent heart. Poor man! He is very anxious, and begs you will, if she is not able, write a line just to comfort him. He appears to me to feel very much her situation; he is so agitated and will be so for {two or three}[2 or 3] days, that he says he cannot write, and that I must send his kind love and affectionate regard]]s.] What dreadful weather ... as I mentioned before, and believe me as ever, [your obliged, attached, & most affectionate friend,]’ &c ‘My brother ...’ – Morrison, ii, 108 (No. 502) except {}, Pettigrew i, 416 except [] the text in [[]] is also in Pettigrew, ii, 645.
- 33.26.01.1801 ‘[[{My dear Lady Hamilton,} when I consider that this day nine months was your birth-day, and that, although we had a gale of wind, yet I was happy, and sung ‘*Come, cheer up, fair Emma,*’ &c. even the thought]]s][[, compared with this day, makes me melancholy. My heart some how is sunk within me. I long to hear you are well.]] [keep up your spirits, all will end well,] [[The dearest friends must part; and we only part, I trust, to meet again.]] [I own I wonder that Sir W^m should have a wish for the Prince of Wales to come under your roof; no good can come from it, but every harm. You are too *beautiful* not to have enemies, and even one visit will stamp you as his *chère amie*, and we know he is dotingly fond of such women as yourself, and is without one (spark?) of honour in those respects, and would leave you to bewail your folly. But, my dear friend, I know you too well not to be convinced you *cannot be seduced* by any prince in Europe. You are, in my opinion, the *pattern of perfection*.] I have no orders, ... giving him a paste. [He would have had a hard matter to get one of mine.] He proposes ... if millions lay in my way. [[Mrs. Thomson’s friend is this moment come into my room; he desires me to thank you for your goodness to his dear friend. He appears almost as miserable as myself. He says you have always been kind to his dear Mrs. T. ; and he hopes you will continue your goodness to her on this trying occasion. I have assured him of your innate worth and affectionate disposition: and {he lives}[believe], as ever and for ever, your {attached and truly affectionate friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.}]]’ – Morrison, ii, 109 (No. 503) except {}, Pettigrew, i, 417 except [] the text in [[]] is in ii, 645.
- 34.27.01.1801 ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, I have got so dreadful a cold in my good eye, ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 417 - he requests her ‘to do everything which was right.’ – Pettigrew, ii, 646.
- 35.28.01.1801 ‘What a fool I was, my dear Lady Hamilton, to direct that your cheering letters should be directed for Brixham! ... so active as myself[!]{.} My eye is very bad ... Mr. Locker, &c. [but you are the only female I write to;]) {,} not to eat ... the film so extended ... What a fuss about my complaints! But being so far from ... leisure to brood over them. [[I have this moment seen Mrs. Thomson’s friend. Poor fellow! he seems {very} uneasy and melancholy. He begs

you to be kind to her;]] [and] [[I have assured him of your readiness to relieve the dear good woman]][: and believe me, for ever, my dear Lady, your faithful, attached, and affectionate,] NELSON [&] {AND} BRONTE' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter VIII except {}, Pettigrew, i, 418 except [] - the text in [[]] is also in Pettigrew, ii, 646, Nicolas, iv, 279, misinterpreting 'the Duke' as Hamilton instead of Queensberry.

36.29.01.1801 'I have this moment, my dear Lady, received your truly kind letter sent to Brixham on Monday ...' – Pettigrew, i, 419 - 'Pray, tell your friend, Mrs. T., that I have delivered her note to her friend; and he desires me to say, through your goodness, how sensible he is of her kindness. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 646.

37.01.02.1801 San Josef, Torbay 'My dear Lady, The San Josef left Plymouth yesterday at 1 o'clock ...' – Pettigrew, i, 420.

38.01.02.1801 'My dear Lady, I believe poor dear M^{rs}. Thomson's friend will go mad with joy. He cries, prays, and performs all tricks, yet dare not shew all or any of his feelings. He has only me to consult with. He swears he will drink your health this day in a bumper; and {d—n}[damn] me if I don't join him, in spite of all the doctors in Europe; for none regard{s} you with truer affection than myself. You are a dear, good creature, and your kindness and attention to poor M^{rs} T. stamps you higher than ever in my mind. I cannot write; I am so agitated by this young man at my elbow. I believe he is foolish: he does nothing but rave about you {and} [&] her. I own I partake of his joy: I cannot write any thing. [The San Josef left Plymouth yesterday at 1 o'clock, and anchored here at 8 this morning, where I found an order to hoist my flag in the St. George, as Lord Spencer says I must go forth as the Champion of England in the North, and my San Josef is to be held by Captain Wolseley, of the St. George, till my return, when I hope to have a knock at the Republicans. In this instance they have behaved handsomely - could not be better. I trust I shall soon be at Portsmouth, and every endeavour of mine shall be used to come to town for three days, and perhaps you and Sir William may like to see Portsmouth. Captain Darby is just come in; he desires me to say everything which is kind, and that he wishes he could see you instead of your picture, which I have handsomely framed and glazed. The post is waiting, and I have been two hours pulling from Lord S^t Vincent's house. It is blowing fresh. May the heavens bless you and yours, is the fervent prayer of your unalterable and faithful' &c 'Best regards to Sir William. Instead of under cover, direct as follows: - Lord Nelson, &c. &c., to the care of Sir Thomas Troubridge, Bart., Brixham, Devon, which will give them to me four hours sooner.]' – Morrison, ii, 110 (No. 504) except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 646 except [].

39.02.02.1801 '... I live entirely on board ...' – Pettigrew, i, 421 without the beginning - 'All your letters are so good, so kind, so like yourself, that, had not your last been so excellent, and ever far exceeding all the others, I should not have known which to have selected. *I have cut out two lines, and never will part with them.* ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 646.

40.03.02.1801 '{My dear Mrs. Thomson} your good {and} dear friend, does not think it proper at present to write with his own hand, but [he hopes the time will not be far distant when he may be united forever to the object of his wishes, his only, *only* love. He swears before heaven that he will marry you as soon as it is possible, which he fervently prays may be soon. H]{h}e charges me to say how dear you are to him, and that you must, every opportunity, kiss and bless for him

- his dear little girl, ... good Lady Hamilton; but {whether it's from Lord Nelson, he says, or Lady Hamilton,} [in either its from Lord N. he says. Or Lady H.,] he leaves ... I have given Lord N. a hundred pounds this morning, for which he will give Lady H. an order on his agents; ... , my dear {Mrs} [M^{rs}] Thomson, ... and his interest{s}, which I consider as dearly as my own[, and do you believe me ever' &c 'Lady Hamilton must desire at the back for it to be paid to the person who carries it]' – Morrison, ii, 110 (No. 505) except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 647 except [].
- 41.04.02.1801 [[San Josef ' {My dear Lady Hamilton,} It blows so very hard that I doubt if it will be possible to get a boat on shore, ... you are better{. I}[and i]t has made my head ... I have been making memorandums for my will ... I have been obliged to be more particular than I {wished}[would], as a wife can have nothing, and it might be taken from you by will or the heirs of your husband. If you disapprove of any part say so, and I will alter it; but I think you must approve {- }[:] I have done my best ... I shall now go to work and save a fortune. ... a copy of my {memorandum.}]] [m^o.What a pretty piece of history{!} letting out the French ... by some {wise ones} [wiseacres] in power ... but it is barely possible. [Sir William should say to the prince that, situated as you are, it would be highly improper for you to admit H.R.H. That the Prince should wish it I am not surprised at, and that he will attempt every means to get into your house and into any place where you may dine. Sir W^m should speak out, and if the Prince is a man of honour he will quit the pursuit of you. I know his aim is to have you for a mistress. The thought so agitates me that I cannot write. I had wrote a few lines last night, but I am in tears, I cannot bear it. Tell M^{rs} T. her friend is grateful for her goodness, and with] {Make} my kindest regards to Mrs. Jenkins and Horatia, and ever believe me, {Yours, N. & B.}[your sincere, faithful, and affectionate] [[P. S. - We drink your health every day. Believe me your letters cannot be long or too minute of all particulars. My mind is a little easier, having perfect confidence.]] Make my respects ...' – Morrison, ii, 111 (No. 507) except {}, Pettigrew, i, 421 except [] (with a different end) and ii, 647 in [[]].
- 42.05.02.1801 '... We are here all in a bustle ...' – Pettigrew, i, 422 without the beginning - Nelson sent a copy of the will 'And as Emma Hamilton, ... {Bronté} [Bronte] ... child she may have, in or out of wedlock, ... Sir William Hamilton, K. B.{, etc.,} ... {Bronté} [Bronte] ... maintenance and education of this female child ...' and a letter 'Such are my ideas, ...' – Pettigrew, ii exept [], 648-49, Naish, p. 574 except {}. Pettigrew has also added punctuation.
- 43.05.03.1801, Thursday noon. 'I have this moment received your letters of Tuesday ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 649
- 44.05.02.1801 'My dear Mrs. Thomson, Your dear and excellent friend has desired me to say, that it is not usual to christen children till ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 649, Morrison, ii, 111 (No. 508).
- 45.06.02.1801 'My dear Mrs. Thomson, Your good friend is very much obliged ... Portsmouth. Ever your{s}' – Morrison, ii, 113 (No. 510), Pettigrew, ii, 650.
- 46.06.02.1801 San Josef 'It blows a gale of wind, but which only affects me as it may deprive me of my dear and much honoured friend's letters. {Your letters are to me gazettes}[*Your letters are to me gazettes,*] for ... {those amicable scabbles again.}[*those amicable scabbles again.*] ... {Ah!}[Ah!] those were ...' – Morrison, ii, 112 (No. 509) except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 650 except [].

- 47.06.02.1801 Noon. ‘This moment has brought me your two kind letters. You may rely I shall not open my mouth on poor dear Mrs. Thomson’s business to any creature on this earth. ... your {discretion if a small pension}[*discretion if a small pension*] should not be ... He thinks it might be better to omit {christening} [Xtening] the child ... I am sure I do. [Cap^t William’s nephew conducts himself very well, and I shall take him into the St. George with me, for which ship Cap^t Hardy has got his commission, but she is still at Portsmouth.]’ – Morrison, ii, 112 (No. 508) except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 650 except [].
- 48.07.02.1801 Saturday noon. ‘Mr. Davison ... says you are grown thinner, ... not to send you any more advice about seeing {company}[comp^y], for that ... say a word {against}[ag^t] you ... I rest confident in your conduct. [I was sure you would not go to Mrs. Walpole’s, it is no better than a bawdy house.] This morning ... I am sorry for all your trouble, but poor Mrs. T.’s friend will never forget the obligation. Ever, my dear Lady, [your’s &c.] {Yours affectionately, and for ever. Amen. NELSON AND BRONTE.} – Morrison, ii, 112 (No. 509) except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 650 except [].
- 49.08.02.1801 San Josef ‘My dear Lady, Mr. Davison demands the privilege of carrying back ... to bring about an honourable peace ... all [that] {which} is dear to us ... it is your sex who cherish our memories[; and you, my dear, honoured friend, are, believe me, the *first*, the best, of your sex. I have been the world around, and in every corner of it, and never yet saw your equal, or even one which could be put in comparison with you. You know how to reward virtue, honour, and courage; and never to ask if it is placed in a Prince, Duke, Lord, or Peasant; and] I hope[,] one day[,] to see you, in peace, before I set out for Bronte, which I am resolved to do. ... directed to send to me[.]{:} Only tell me, ... upwards of [two hundred]{200} miles ... Why should it[?]{,} only that ...’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter IX except {}, Pettigrew, i, 422 except [], Nicolas, iv, 284.
- 50.08.02.1801 ‘Mr. Davison will deliver this letter and its enclosure. He is very good and kind to me, and perhaps I can never repay the great and heavy obligation I owe him; ...’ – Morrison, ii, 113 (No. 511).
- 51.09.02.1801 ‘... The St. George is just arrived ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 423 without the beginning
- 52.???.1801 ‘I may not be able to write to you to-morrow, but thou art present ever to my eyes. ...’ – Morrison, ii, 113 (No. 512).
- 53.???.1801 ‘Your dear friend, my dear and truly beloved M^{rs} T., is almost distracted; he wishes there was peace, or that if your uncle would die, he would instantly then come and marry you, for he doats on nothing but you and his child; ...’ &c – Morrison, ii, 113 (No. 513).
- 54.11.02.1801 ‘My dear Lady, - I was prepared on reading your first letter to have wrote a most affectionate letter, but your last has been so truly unkind ...’ – Sichel, p. 520.
- 55.11.02.1801 3 o’clock ‘[Well, my dear friend, I only wish you could read my heart, then, I am sure, you would not write, or even think a hard thing of me. Suppose I did say that the West-country women wore black stockings, what is it more than if you was to say what puppies all the present young men are? You cannot help your eyes, and God knows I cannot see much. Only *don’t admire*, you may detest as much as you please. I am glad you have found out Mrs. Kelly is so handsome; in that case you will give me credit for never going to make her a visit, but to say the

truth, I think her quite the contrary: red hair, short, very fair, I believe, but her face beplaistered with red. Respecting Kingsmill's friend, I declare solemnly that I know not if is a man or woman, and could never bear the smallest idea of taking her out to the West Indies. It is now 17 years since I have seen her. I have no secrets, and never had but one, only one, love in my life, and damn me, if I lose her, if ever I well have another, for, let me be ever so much on my guard, she never can be content with me. Few woman, My dear Lady, have your sense to make a good selection and to be sure of your choice, to have implicit confidence in him, and that he is more particular in your absence than in your presence.] I am sorry Mr Pitt is out. I think him the greatest Minister this country ever had, and the honestest man. [With every affectionate wish, believe me for ever your attached and affectionate' &c 'It blows a gale of wind and very heavy sea. If you see Mrs. Thomson, say her friend has been a little fretted at her nonsense, but is better, as he is sure it can only proceed from her affection for him, but he desires me to beg of you to tell her never to harbour a doubt of his fidelity, for that will make him doubt her, and to spit in the face of any one who speaks disrespect of him. Give my godchild a kiss and blessing from me.] {N. & B.}' – Morrison, ii, 113 (No. 514) except {}, Pettigrew, i, 424 except [].

56.12.02.1801 '... I suppose all this new Ministry ...' – Pettigrew, i, 424 without the beginning.

57.14.02.1801 '... It continues to blow so hard, ...' – Pettigrew, i, 425 without the beginning.

58.14.02.1801 Friday night, nine o'clock '[I remember your story of that Mr Hodges at Naples, how he used to get suppers at this place and the other and pay for them on purpose for your company, but I feel confident you will never admit him to any of your parties. As for the P. of W., I know his character, and my confidence is firm as a rock till you try to irritate me to say hard things, that you may have the pleasure of scolding me; but recollect it must remain 4 days before it can be made up, not , as before, in happy times, 4 minutes. Consider, my dear friend, what you ought to say if I did not fire at your scolding letters, and suppose me, if it is possible for a momt, answering your scolds with a joke. I know I should fire if I thought that of you, that you was indifferent; but firing like the devil with vexation, anger, and retorting, can only proceed from conscious innocence. I defy the malice of any one, and my mind is as pure as my actions.] I never intend, if I can help it, ... how miserable she {is by Hardy's account. He}[is. By Hardy's account he] has been ... nor water tight[; but I shall religiously stay on board, as you like me to do so, and I have no other pleasure.] I cannot get ... I should not have had them. [I had a letter from Mr. Davison to tell me he had delivered my letter - can you ever scold me again? Recollect the answer to this letter is to be marked No. 1, therefore turn over a new leaf. Only rest quiet, you know that everything is arraigned in my head for all circumstances. You ought to know that I have a head to plan and an heart to execute whenever it is right and the time arrives. That person has her separate maintenance. Let us be happy, that is in our power. Do you know how I am amusing myself this evening? Troubridge is gone to bed, and I am alone with all your letters except the cruel one, that is burnt, and I have scratched out all the scolding words, and have read them 40 times over, and if you were to see how much better & prettier they read I am sure you would never write another scolding word to me. You would laugh to see my truly

innocent amusement, therefore, again I entreat you never to scold me, for I have NEVER deserved it from you, you know.] Troubridge is my guest ... He always {says, now}[says 'now] comes the fourth {and}[&] old toast{. 1. All our friends. 2. The King. 3. Success to the Fleet; and} [, all our friends - the King - success to the fleet, and,] though last ... Hamilton.['] Then ... The smell of the paint has gone. [Pray tell me if Mr Nepean sent you directly my letter & Troubridge's; they were both under the same cover, and directed by Troubridge. Good night, and good night. I could say it till to-morrow. I wish I were with you; that time shall come. May the heavens bless you, good night! Guess what my feelings and thoughts are. Ever for ever y]{Y}our attached {Nelson and Bronté.}' – Morrison, ii, 114 (No. 515), Pettigrew, i, 425 (admitting that he left out the beginning) except []].

59.14.02.1801 'I doubt whether a boat can get on shore. But we are going to try. Trowbridge is just come to say it is impossible, ...' – Sichel, p. 520

60.15.02.1801 Sunday noon. 'It continues to blow so hard, and the sea is so very high, that I scarcely expect the possibility of getting a boat with this weather; she would be lost in an instant, but in fair or foul weather, at sea or on shore, I am ever for ever yours, etc.' – Sichel, p. 520.

61.15.02.1801 'My dear amiable friend, could you have seen ...' – Pettigrew, i, 425.

62.16.02.1801 San Josef 'My dearest Friend, Your letters have made me happy, today; and never again will I scold, unless you begin. ...' Something left out in the text! – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter X.

63.???.1801 To Mrs. Thomson 'I sit down, my Dear Mrs. T. by desire of poor Thomson to write you a line ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, i, 173 (Supplement No. 1).

64.16.02.1801 Monday night 'My dearest friend, I have read all your letters over and over. ... there is no prospect of my getting money. [To the West Indies I would not go, or to the East, was if offered me to-morrow, altho' it is a sure fortune, for I never would be far from you in case my presence should be necessary.] Our friend Troubridge ... charge of the ships, which may be assembled. [But at the worst my dear friend can find a very good excuse to come and see me, altho' it would not be half so satisfactory as my going to see you in London. You cannot think how I long for our little innocent plan to be put in execution. I cannot account for your receiving 5 letters in one day, it is beyond my comprehension. It may be some irregularity in the post-office, or the carelessness of the midshipman sent to put them in the office. Yours always come perfectly regular to the time they are wrote. One is lost clearly, but I can hardly think by any body near you. It has been in some post-office *out of curiosity*; this is my opinion, but God only knows. It is now very moderate, but recollect if a gale of wind comes from the East to South no boat can live in Torbay. Ah! My dear friend, I did remember well the 12th February, and also the two months afterwards. I shall never forget them, and never be sorry for the consequences. Say whatever you please to Mr Denis for me, for [[I fear saying too much. I admire what you say of my godchild. If it is like its mother it will be very handsome, for I think her one, aye the most beautiful, woman of the age. Now do not be angry at my praising this dear child's mother, for I have heard people say she is very like you. My dear friend you will, I hope, never receive any more cross letters, but always ought to be wrote by, my dear lady, your obliged,]] unaltered, attached]{unalterably attached} [[and faithful

- NELSON AND BRONTE I would steal white bread sooner than my godchild should want.]]' – Morrison, ii, 115 (No. 516) except {} claiming the letter was written on 17.02.1801, Pettigrew, i, 426 except [] the text in [[]] is also in Pettigrew, ii, 652.
- 65.??02.1801 'My dear friend, the gale is coming on again, ...' – Pettigrew, i, 427.
- 66.17.02.1801 'I am so agitated that I can write nothing. I knew it would be so, and you can't help it. ...' – Morrison, ii, 116 (No. 518).
- 67.17.02.1801 Tuesday night 'I have, my dear friend, burnt the memorandums of my will, ...' – Pettigrew, i, 427 - 'I fear saying too much - I admire what you say of my god-child. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 651.
- 68.??02.1801 To Mrs. Thomson 'to the care of Lady Hamilton' 'Your most dear friend desires me to say that he sincerely feels for you, ...' – Morrison, ii, 117 (No. 519).
- 69.18.02.1801 Wednesday morning. 'A little more moderate ...' – Pettigrew, i, 428.
- 70.18.02.1801 Wednesday night. 'Tis not that I believe you will do anything that injures me that I cannot help saying a few words on that fellow's dining with you, ...' – Morrison, ii, 117 (No. 520).
- 71.19.02.1801 St. George 'Forgive my letter wrote and sent last night, perhaps my head was a little affected. No wonder, it was such an unexpected, such a knock-down blow, such a death. ...' – Morrison, ii, 118 (No. 521).
- 72.19.02.1801 Thursday '[I have just got your letter, and I live again. DO NOT let the liar come. I never saw him but once, the 4th day after I came to London, and he never mentioned your name. May God blast him! Be firm! Go and dine with Mrs Denis on Sunday. Do not, I beseech you, risk being at home. Does Sir William want you to be a whore to the rascal? Forgive all my letter; you will see what I feel, and have felt. I have eat not a morsel, except a little rice, since yesterday morning, and till I know how this matter is gone off. But I feel confident of your resolution, and thank you 1.000.000 of times. I write you a letter which may be said as coming from me if you like, I will endeavour to word it properly. Did you sit alone with the villain for a moment? No, I will not believe it! Oh, God! Oh, God! Keep my sences. Do not let the rascal in. Tell the Duke that you will never go to his house. Mr G. must be a scoundrel; he treated you once ill enough, & cannot love you, or he would sooner die. Ever for ever, aye for ever, your' &c '] I have this moment got my orders ... for {three} [3] days. [May heaven bless you! But do not let that fellow dine with you. Don't write here after you receive this, I shall be gone. You can, in Sir Wm's name, write a note to Sir H. Parker, asking if the St George is ordered to Spithead. If so, write to Portsmouth desiring my letters to be left at the Post Office till the ship's arrival. Forgive every cross word, I now live.]' – Morrison, ii, 118 (No. 521) except {}, Pettigrew, i, 428 except [].
- 73.19.02.1801 ? St. George, Thursday night. '{My dearest friend, h}[H]ere I am[,] fixed in my habitation ... I hardly think it will be refused me.[Your good sense, judgement, and proper firmness, must endear you to all friends, and to none more than your old & firm friend, Nelson. You have shown that you are above all temptation, and not to be drawn into the paths of his honour for to gratify any pride or to gain any riches. How Sir William can associate with a person of a character so diametrically opposite to his own, but I do not choose, as this letter goes through many hands, to enter more at large on this subject ... Be firm! ...

Pardon all this from an old and interested friend. You know I would not in Sir William's case have gone to Court without my wife, and such a wife, never to be matched. It is true you would grace a Court better as a Queen than a visitor.]' – Pettigrew, i, 429 except [], Morrison, ii, 118 (No. 522) except {}.

74.20.02.1801 '[11 o'clock, Friday.] I have this moment my orders ... to-morrow noon. [I again, my dear friend, entreat both you and Sir William not to suffer the Prince to dine, or even visit. 'Tis what no real modest person would suffer and Sir William ought to know that his views *are dishonourable*. May God bless you and make you firm in resisting this vile attempt on your character, and with best regards to Sir William, believe me ever your most sincere and affectionate friend' &c 'You can, my dear friend, write a line on Sunday evening. It can be made up as a small parcel, and then I shall get it on Monday morning, although there is no regular post. It will make me so happy to be assured that the fellow did not even see you on Sunday. The Portsmouth mail coach setts out either from the Golden Cross, Charing Cross, or Gloucester Coffee House, Piccadilly, anybody can tell you the direction as underneath. Heavens bless you, my own, only dear friend! I write on this side that you may rear off the half sheet in case you choose to read any part of it. Pray give the enclosed to our dear friend. Your letters are just come. Heavens bless you! Do not let the villain into your house. Dine out on Sunday. Sir William will find out the Prince does not come to dine with him.]' – Pettigrew, i, 429 except [], Morrison, ii, 118 (No. 522).

75.19.02.1801? to M^{rs} Thomson. 'Your friend is at my elbow, and enjoins me to assure you that his love for you and your child is, if possible, greater than ever, and that he calls God to witness that he will marry you as soon as possible, ...' – Morrison, ii, 119 (No. 523).

76.19.02.1801 Torbay 'I have received your most affectionate letter, and I feel very much for the unpleasant situation the Prince, or rather Sir William, has unknowingly placed you, for if he knew as much of the P^s character as the world does, he would rather let the lowest wretch that walks the streets dine at his table than that unprincipled lyar. ...' – Morrison, ii, 119 (No. 524).

77.to M^{rs} Thomson 'I gave your letter to your friend who is much pleased with your resolution. ...' – Morrison, ii, 120 (No. 525).

78.20.02.1801 Off Portland, 10 o'clock, Friday 'Your friend, my dear M^{rs} Thomson, has been very unhappy at the shocking conduct of your uncle, but your firmness and virtue has made his mind at ease, ...' – Morrison, ii, 120 (No. 526).

79.21.02.1801 '8 o'clock, Saturday morning, in a gale of wind, S. W. off the Isle of Wight. I have been very unwell all night, and horrid dreams. ...' – Morrison, ii, 120 (No. 526).

80.22.02.1801 St. George, Spithead, '[I hope you will have seen Troubridge last night, and he will probably tell you that he did not leave me perfectly at ease. In short, when I have a letter for you it rushed into my mind that in 10 hours he would see you. A flood of tears followed - it was too much for me to bear. I could not help telling him what would I not have given to have been in his pocket. I am sure, my amiable friend, that you will on no consideration be in company with that -----, neither this day or any other. He is a false, lying scoundrel, what I wrote you. You know enough to my honour and resolution that I will fulfil even much more than I promised.] – Pettigrew, i, 430 except [], Morrison, ii, 120, 121 (No. 527).

81.22.02.1801 8 o'clock 'I am just going on shore to call on the Admiral ... but Troubridge can tell you. [But perhaps that would be telling him or making him guess my business in Town. But whenever I am absent he will receive and send all my packets. After the letter I wrote *her* the other day. I do not think she will attempt to either come here or go to London. I will do as you please; but I do not she will venture without my orders; but *all* as your please.] I have been pressed to dine ashore by the Admiral, an old man, eighty, with an old wife dressed old ewe lamb fashion. Admiral Halloway ... has a wife and four children. Sir Charles Sexton ... was also very pressing; [his wife, I am told, likes a drop, & looks like a cook-maid.] But I will dine nowhere [without your consent, although with my present feelings, I might be trusted with 50 virgins naked in a dark room. My thoughts are so fixed that not even the greatest strokes of fortune could change them, but I am, my dear friend, for ever, for ever, your faithful' &c 'I have answered Sir Williams letter, but as he had not mentioned the Princes's name I could not bring it in, but if ever he does my heart, head, tongue and pen is ready to let out. I shall send to the mailcoach office in the morning. Heavens bless you. I have been obliged to bring in the whole Royal family, but not that eldest blackguard in particular. You will approve I am sure, and I say God bless the King.]' – Pettigrew, i, 430 except [], Morrison, ii, 120, 121 (No. 527).

82.23.02.1801 'My dear M^{rs} Thomson, poor Thompson seems to have forgot all his ill health, and all his mortifications and sorrows, in the thought that he will soon busy them all in your dear, dear bosom; he seems almost beside himself. I hope you have always minded what Lady Hⁿ has said to you, for she is a pattern of attach^t to her love. I daresay twins will again be the fruit of your & his meeting. The thought is too much to bear. Have the dear thatched cottage ready to receive him, & I will answer that he would not give it up for a queen and a palace. Kiss dear H. for me.' – Morrison, ii, 121 (No. 528) [between this and the next letter Nelson was in London to see Lady Hamilton and, for the first time, his daughter].

83.27.02.1801 Portsmouth 'My dearest friend, Parting from such a friend is literally tearing one's own flesh; ... till we meet. [My affection is, if possible, stronger than ever for you, and I trust it will keep increasing as long as we both live. I have seen M^{rs} Thomson's friend, who is delighted at my having seen his dear child. I am sure he will be very fond of it.] I arrived here ... you will have it on Sunday . [For ever, aye for ever, believe me,] Hardy ...' – Pettigrew, I, 431, Morrison, ii, 121, 122 (No. 529).

84.01.03.1801 8 o'clock, Morning 'My dearest friend, Fearing it may not be possible to get a boat on shore ... - not telling me. [I have read over twenty times your dear kind letters, and, although I must naturally be happy that your affection is such as you describe, and so exactly a counterpart of my own feelings, yet] I must beg that my friend will not be sick of grieve too much , for a temporary, but unavoidable absence of a few weeks[, and if we were both differently circumstanced, that should not be - no, not for an hour. But r] { . R }ecollect, all my exertions are to bring about a peace. [No, I am sure you will not go anywhere but where it is right, and never suffer that fellow to enter your house. I assure you my very short trip to London has, if possible, given me an additional confidence, and I believe I never shall have cause to think otherwise than I do of you.] You read ... we are off for the Downs.[Tell Mrs. Thomson that her friend is more in love with her than ever, and, I believe, dreams of her. He was sorry that she was a

little unwell when he was in London, as it deprived him of much pleasure, but he is determined to have full scope when he next sees her.] Ever yours [for ever] {, Nelson and Bronté} [Kiss my godchild for me and bless it.]' – Pettigrew, i, 434 except [], Morrison, ii, 122 (No. 530).

85.01.03.1801 Sunday noon 'After my letter of 8 o'clock this morning went on shore, on board came Oliver, and when he was announced by Hardy, so much anxiety for your safety rushed into my mind that a pain immediately seized my heart, which kept increasing for half an hour, that, turning cold, hot, cold, &c, I was obliged to send for the surgeon, who gave me something to warm me, for it was a deadly chill. ...' – Morrison, ii, 122, 123 (No. 531).

86.01.03.1801 9 o'clock 'Now, my own dear wife, for such you are in my eyes and in the face of heaven, ... my dearest Emma ... our dear little child with us. [I firmly believe that this campaign will give us peace, and then we will sett of for Bronte. In twelve hours we shall be across the water and freed from all the nonsense of his friends, or rather pretended ones. Nothing but an event happening to him could prevent my going, and I am sure you will think so, for unless all matters accord it would bring 100 tongues and slanderous reports if I separated from her (which I would do with pleasure the moment we can be united; I want to see her no more), therefore we must manage till we can quit this country or your uncle dies.] I love ... mouths of the world sooner than we intend. [My longing for your, both person and conversation you may readily imagine. What must be my sensations at the idea of sleeping with you! it setts me on fire, even the thoughts, much more would the reality. I am sure my love & desires are all to you, and if any woman naked were to come to me, even as I am this moment from thinking of you, I hope it might rot off if I would touch her even with my hand. No, my heart, person and mind is in perfect union of love toward my own dear, beloved Emma. - the real bosom friend of her, all hers, all Emma's' &c 'Oliver is gone to sleep, he is grown half foolish. I shall give him £ 10 in the morning, and I have wrote a letter recommending a friend of his to the Chairman of the East India Company, which he said you would be glad I should do for him. I have nothing to send my Emma, it makes me sorry you & Sir W^m could not come to Yarmouth, that would be pleasant, but we shall not be there more than a week at farthest.] I had a letter this day ... May the heavens bless you. [My love, my darling angel, my heaven-given wife, the dearest only true wife of her own till death' &c 'I know you will never let that fellow or any one come near you.] {N. & B.} Monday morning ... Kiss and bless *our* dear Horatia - think of that.' – Pettigrew, ii, 652 except [], Morrison, ii, 123 (No. 532) except {}.

87.02.03.1801 'This moment received your letter from Troubridge, my heart bleeds for you, but I shall soon, very soon return. ...' – Morrison, ii, 124 (No. 533).

88.03.03.1801 St. George, thick fog off Dungeness, 8 in the Morning. 'My dearest friend, the fog has been so very thick ...' – Pettigrew, i, 435.

89.03.03.1801 Eleven o'clock. 'I have wrote to my brother ...' – Pettigrew, i, 435.

90.03.03.1801 Two o'clock. 'Can just see the land ...' – Pettigrew, i, 435.

91.04.03.1801 St. George 'My dear Lady, Do try and persuade Sir William ... {Nelson and Bronte}' – Pettigrew, i, 436, Morrison, ii, 124 (No. 535) except {}.

92.04.03.1801 (4 o'clock), Downs, St. George 'Your dear letter is just arrived this day. I wrote to my brother ab^t Mrs. Nelson, therefore, send and ask her without more ceremony. ...' – Morrison, ii, 124 (No. 535).

- 93.06.03.1801 St. George at sea. ‘{My dearest Friend, h} [H]ow tiresome and alone I feel at not having the pleasure of receiving your dear, kind, friendly, and intelligent letters. I literally feel as a fish out of water ... proper measure. [Why should my friends be neglected, and those who I care nothing for have my little fortune, which I worked so hard and I think so honourably for?]' – Pettigrew, i, 436 except [], Morrison ii, 125 (No. 537) except {}.
- 94.06.03.1801 ‘Half past eight. Just anchored in the sea, thick as mud. [I am really miserable; I look at all your pictures, at your dear hair, I am ready to cry, my heart is so full. Then I think your may see that fellow. I should never forgive it. It would go near to kill me; but I never will believe it till I know it for certain.]’ – Pettigrew, i, 436 except [], Morrison, ii, 125 (No. 537).
- 95.06.03.1801 ‘Noon. Under sail, steering for Yarmouth, but cannot arrive before 5 o’clock. [How I regret not being in time to save post, for I judge as of my own fleet.]’ – Pettigrew, i, 436 except [], Morrison, ii, 125.
- 96.06.03.1801 ‘Three o’clock. [- In s] {S}ight of Yarmouth. [With what different sensations to what I saw it before! Then I was with all I hold dear in the world; now, unless the pleasure I shall have in reading your dear, dear letters, how indifferent to the approach. Although we are too late for the post, yet Hardy will take this letter on shore. I shall put it under cover to Troubridge as I shall those of tomorrow. May the Heavens bless my own dear friend and let me read happy & good news from her. Kiss my dear, dear godchild for me, and be assured I am for ever, ever, ever, your, your, your, more than ever yours yours, your own, only your,] {Yours N. & B.} I am wet through and cold.’ – Pettigrew, i, 436 except [], Morrison, ii, 125 (No. 537) except {}.
- 97.06.03.1801 codicil to Nelson’s last will – Morrison, ii, 125 (No. 538).
- 98.06.03.1801 10 o’clock, at night. ‘{My dearest Friend,} I have received, I dare say, all your kind letters ... I will come directly. [What a rascal that fellow must be. It shows, however, he has no real love - not like a person you & I know - and what bitches and pimps those folks must be. I have always been taught that a pimp was the most despicable of all wretches, and that chap who once treated Emma so infamously ill ought to have, ever before Sir William, one of your rebukes in your best & most legible hand. He would never forget it. God forbid that I should deprive you of innocent amusements, but never meet or stay if any damned whore or pimp bring that fellow to you. Let no temptation make you deviate from your oath.] I hope Mrs. Nelson ... has he but only you, as a disinterested friend, that he can unbosom to. [Aye would to God our fates had been different. I worship - nay, adore you, and if you was single and I found you under a hedge, I would instantly marry you. Sir W^m has a treasure, and does he want to throw it away? That other chap did throw away the most precious jewel that God Almighty ever sent on this earth. You must be aware, my dear friend, that the letters cannot be answered by the same day’s post, for the letters are delivered at 3 o’clock, and the post goes out for London at 2 o’clock, it arrives at one.] Just going to bed with much rheumatism. [May God bless you for ever, says your truly affectionate,] Ever Yours {Nelson and Bronté}’ – Pettigrew, i, 437 except [], Morrison, ii, 126 (No. 539) except {}.
- 99.07.03.1801 ‘I am just going on shore with Hardy ... I, your Nelson, will return [to his own dear, good, only friend. Heavens bless you! I wrote to keep Sir W^m from the Downs, & sent you a letter inside of his, but how different to theses. It kills me

to write cold letters to you, ever for ever your]’ – Pettigrew, i, 437 except [], Morrison, ii, 126, 127 (No. 539).

100.07.03.1801 St. George, {9 o’clock} ‘[...]Never, my dearest friend, say, ‘[D]{d}o my letters bore [you]{me}?’ - [n]{N}o, they are the comfort of my life, the only real comfort I feel[, separated as I a from all I hold dear]. I received ... [I saw her for a moment. She is skinny and may be called ugly. Certainly very plain, but all womenkind are so to me, but n e only do I know that is all my fond heart can wish, and when in any way I prove false to Her, may God’s vengeance light upon me. We want neither kings nor Regents to make us happy; we have it, thank God in ourselves’ speaks of Parker and says: ‘He knows my love for you, for who does not? And to serve you I am sure he would run bare-footed to London ... My dear, dear friend, you are present wherever I go, all my prayers and vows are for our happy meeting and when we are to part no more. Remember me most affectionately to dear Mrs. Thomson. Tell her, her dear friend is as well as can be expected, and has a comfort in firmly believing her constant, although it goes to his heart he is all astonishment at the conduct of her Uncle; as to his Aunt, he don’t (sic!) care a fig for her.] Kiss my god child for me. ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 437 except [], Sichel, p. 512 except {}.

101.09.03.1801 ‘I have wrote you fully by Mr. Davison, who will be with you on Wednesday morning. Your letters to-day have made me miserable; ...’ – Morrison, ii, 127 (No. 541).

102.09.03.1801 ‘Monday morning - If I have said anything too strong, my only friend, forgive me. ...’ – Morrison, ii, 127 (No. 541).

103.10.03.1801 St. George ‘Your letter, my dearest Friend, of yesterday, that is of Sunday gave me infinite satisfaction, [and, believe me, my feelings and affections keep pace with yours. I shall, please God, soon return to enjoy happiness, that is if with her who I hold most dear.] The Commander-in-chief ... I would not have a line of yours lost [for the riches of Peru. I devour, I feed upon them]. What can Sir William ... Suppose you had set off in this way, what would he not have said? [But you are at auction, or rather to be sold by private contract. Good God! My blood boils; to you that everything used *to be refused*. I cannot bear it. Aye, how different I feel! A cottage, a plain joint of meat, and happiness, doing good to the poor, and setting an example of virtue and goodness [*sic*], worthy of imitation even to kings and princes.] My brother ... a bore. [I long to be alone or with you. I hate company, it ill accords with my feelings. Damn Lord A., do not let him take libertys. [*sic*]] I suppose I shall lose my cause against St. Vincent ... You cannot write me too much or too particularly, [tell me everything, even your thoughts and feelings. When did you see Lord A.? You did not tell me. May the heavens bless and preserve you for your, your, yours and only yours, and for you alone, your own dear affectionate, sincere friend] {Yours, Nelson and Bronté}’ – Pettigrew, I, 439 except [], Morrison, ii, 127 (No. 542).

104.11.03.1801 St. George ‘My dearest Friend, After the receipt of this letter ...’ – Pettigrew, i, 439.

105.11.03.1801 St. George, 9 o’clock ‘{My dearest friend,} [You had said nothing that ought to have offended me, but you know my disposition, what I must suffer in parting from all my soul holds dear. If you do not tell me all of that fellow I shall be more miserable. Our trip cannot be long, and if your are forced to extremities I must very soon arrive; nothing *stops* me, you understand. This goes

- by Troubridge. I shall endeavour to get it on board a ship in the Roads in the morning.] I am glad Mrs. Nelson is with you ... exceed her beauty. [All this world's greatness I would give up with pleasure. *So be it, Amen.* Emma, let me be the friend of your bosom. I deserve it, for my confidence is reciprocated. I see clearly, my dearest friend, you are on SALE. I am almost mad to think of the iniquity of wanting you to associate with a set of whores, bawds, & unprincipled lyars. Can this be the great Sir William Hamilton? I blush for him. Be comforted, you are sure of my friendship, and M^{rs} Thompson's friend desires me to beg of you to tell her that he swears eternal fidelity, and if he does not say true, he hopes the first shot from Cronenburgh Castle will knock his head off.] My brother ... into your possession. [Ever for ever your own dear loving friend till death] {N. & B.}' – Pettigrew, i, 440 except [], Morrison, ii, 128 (No. 543).
- 106.??03.1801 'To be delivered by Lady Hamilton' 'You may readily believe, my dearly beloved Mrs. T., how dear you are to me - as much as life, and that every thought and affection is devoted to you alone; ...' – Morrison, ii, 130 (No. 545).
- 107.??03.1801 'My dearest M^{rs} T., - Poor T. is very well in health, and only feels the separation from his dear wife and child, ...' – Morrison, ii, 130 (No. 546).
- 108.13.03.1801 St. George 'My dearest Friend, I see, I feel what the call of duty to our country makes me suffer, ...' – Pettigrew, i, 442.
- 109.14.03.1801 'Both yesterday and to-day ...' – Pettigrew, i, 443.
- 110.16.03.1801 'All yesterday was such a dreadful nasty day ...' – Pettigrew, i, 443.
- 111.16.03.1801 Nelson's last will - '... my body, if my country choose not to pay the carcass of him who, when alive devoted it to its service, any honours, I desire .. it be buried without any funeral pomp, and that what the custom of the world allow a person of my rank, I desire it may be given to the poor of those parishes ...' – Morrison, ii, 130 (No. 547).
- 112.16.03.1801 '... I declare this a codicil to my will, March 5th, 1801 - Nelson & Bronté ...' – Morrison, ii, 131 (No. 548).
- 113.17.03.1801 'My dearest Friend, I send you a memorandum of what I have given you. ...' – Pettigrew, i, 445.
- 114.??03.1801 'You say, my Dearest Friend, why don't I put my Chief forward? ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XI.
- 115.??03.1801 Friday Night, Nine o'Clock, St. George 'Having, my truly Dearest Friend, got through a great deal of business, I am enabled to do justice to my private feelings; ...' Something left out in the text! – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XII.
- 116.??03.1801 Eleven o'clock 'Your dear letters just come on board. They are sympathetic with my own feelings ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XII.
- 117.19.03.1801 St. George, off the Scaw 'My dearest Friend, I have bought your picture ...' – Pettigrew, i, 445.
- 118.20.03.1801 8 o'clock 'My dearest Friend, we are now eighteen miles from Cronenburg Castle, ...' – Pettigrew, i, 447.
- 119.21.03.1801 St. George, at Anchor, 18 miles from Cronenburg 'My dearest Friend, the wind and weather prevents us ...' – Pettigrew, i, 447.
- 120.21.03.1801 1 o'clock 'May the great God of heaven and earth preserve you and your fiend. He has no fear of death but parting from you. May God grant you a

- happy meeting and soon, and believe me ever yours,' – Morrison, ii, 131 (No. 549).
- 121.23.03.1801 St. George 'My dearest friend, now we are sure of fighting. I am sent for. ...' – Pettigrew, i, 448.
- 122.26.03.1801 Elephant, at anchor 6 miles from Cronenburg 'My dearest Friend, this afternoon I left the St. George for a few days, ...' – Pettigrew, i, 449.
- 123.28.03.1801 'You will get all my letters ...' – Pettigrew, i, 449.
- 124.30.03.1801 half-past five 'The fleet is now under sail, steering for Cronenburg. ...' – Pettigrew, i, 450.
- 125.30.03.1801 Elephant, off Copenhagen, 9 o'clock at Night 'My dearest Friend, We this morning passed the fancied tremendous fortress of Cronenburg ...' – Pettigrew, i, 452, Morrison, ii, 132 (No. 551).
- 126.02.04.1801 St. George, 8 o'clock at night 'My dearest Friend, that same Deity ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 16 with poems.
- 127.05.04.1801 'My dearest Friend, I am really tired out. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 18.
- 128.05.04.1801 (Pettigrew), 06.04.1801 (Morrison) {My dearest Friend,} I have just got hold of the verses wrote by Miss Knight. ... blows so hard. [May the great God of heaven and earth bless & protect you is the constant prayer of your old and attached friend]' – Pettigrew, ii, 20 except [], Morrison, ii, 135 (No. 555) except {}.
- 129.06.04.1801 7 in the morning. 'I am obliged to stop ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 21.
- 130.09.04.1801 'My dearest Friend, you will perceive that I am become a negotiator, a bad one no doubt, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 26.
- 131.09.04.1801 9 o'clock at night. 'Having concluded the Treaty ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 27.
- 132.09.04.1801 'I have received, my dear M^{rs} Thompson, all your truly kind and affectionate letters, which I have read over to your ever-dear friend. ...' – Morrison, ii, 136, 137 (No. 557).
- 133.11.04.1801 'My dearest Friend, I have answered the King of Naples's letter, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 28.
- 134.13.04.1801 'My dearest Friend, All your letters up to the 4th April I received with inexpressible pleasure last night. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 30.
- 135.14.04.1801 'My dearest Friend, I was in hopes ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 31.
- 136.15.04.1801 'My dearest Friend, I can get nothing here worth your acceptance ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 33.
- 137.17.04.1801 Elephant, Baltic '{My dearest friend,} Once more I am shifted to the Elephant, ... I cannot write {politics}[politicks], ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 35, Morrison, ii, 138 (No. 564) except {}.
- 138.20.04.1801 Elephant 'Yesterday, my dearest friend, we saw the Swedish squadron ... gave them £ 1000 more than poor Nelson ... The 25th of May is fixed for the day of trial, and it is seriously my interest to be in England on that day. [I hope you will not be gone into Wales, for that would afflict me very much. What signify the dirty acres to you? and Sir William & Mr. Greville will not consult you on the granting new leases. I want a real friend to comfort me, and I know none so sincere and affectionate as yourself.] I have ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 35 except [], Morrison, ii, 139 (No. 565).
- 139.23.04.1801 St. George. 'My dearest amiable friend, this day twelve months we sailed from Palermo on our tour to Malta. Ah! Those were happy times[: days of

ease and nights of pleasure]. ... but as we are {retiring}[returning] to the anchorage near Copenhagen ... I have the very highest opinion of your judgement. [I hope you have had no more pleasures, and that you have lived quiet as you like, if not I hope you have had spirit enough to act properly and decidedly. I will tell you a curious thing. I received a few days ago a present of some ale and dried fish from a person who is naval officer at Leith. He spells his name differently from all *Thompsons* I have seen except one, he spells his Thomson. However, his ale is excellent, and all the Thomsons who spell their name this way that I know are all excellent people. May God bless you, my dearest friend. God knows how this letter goes, or one which is abroad the London, under cover to Troubridge, wrote 3 days ago. I daresay they are all read. Who cares? I glory in your regard and affection, and your friendship has been and will ever be, I hope, the greatest comfort of my life.] Read the enclosed ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 43 except [] - not marked by Morrison, Morrison, ii, 142 (No. 569).

140.25.04.1801 St. George. Kioge Bay. 'My dearest Friend, Sir Hyde has just sent me word that the Arrow sloop sails for England this day, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 44.

141.27.04.1801 St. George. 'All your letters, my dearest[, best] friend, to the 17th, came safe on the eve of your natal day. You will readily conceive the pleasure they must have given me to know {that} you [, my dear amiable,] still take an interest in my glory. ... in a bumper of champaine, Santa Emma. [The forth toast after diner dame as usual, your mortal part, without a compliment, for I scorn to say what I do not believe, it is that you are an angel upon earth. I am serious. Sir Hyde said that he had seen you at the opera, and so said his parson secretary, who was at Hamburg when we were there. I told them I was sure they were mistaken, for I did not believe you had been there! But they were positive, so you see how little fame is depended upon. Poor T. is also very angry that his wife should suspect him of infidelity. Damm me, if I do not believe he would die 10,000 deaths sooner, or have even the idea; but my dear friend, there are those who love to do mischief, as they are incapable of doing good.] I hope if the fleet is not ordered home ... therefore, unless you are sure that we are ordered to attack the Russian [forts] {fleet}, it is of no use writing [any] more letters. ... I [trust] {think} we shall have a general peace, and then nothing shall stop my going to Bronte. [May the God of Heaven bless and preserve you, for the sake of your affectionate and attached friend till death etc. 'If you are got acquainted *again* with that b-----! You may say what you please but I never shall answer her or any other woman's letters except yours, my best & only true friend. But you are above mortal nothing ever did or ever can equal your excellent head, heart, person and beauty. Bless you for ever! Curse them that treat you unkindly. Poor T. is gone to Petersburg with Capt. Fremantle, but I can answer that his wife may have the child inoculated, and for his sake I hope it will do well, for his life is wrapt up in the mother and child] {Your affectionate and attached friend, Nelson and Bronté.}' – Pettigrew, ii, 44 except [] - not marked by Morrison, Morrison, ii, 142, 143 (No. 570) except {} - verses from Emma to Nelson (27.04.1801), Morrison, ii, 143 (No. 572).

142.28.04.1801 St. George. 'My dearest Friend I had last night one of my dreadful attacks ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 45.

143.02.05.1801 'I am waiting for the sailing of the Blanche frigate, ... probably all my letters are read. [May the God of Heaven bless you, my dearest friend, ever

- your] {Ever your faithful and affectionate.} – Pettigrew, ii, 50 except [] - not marked by Morrison, Morrison, ii, 143, 144 (No. 573).
- 144.05.05.1801 2 o'clock 'From all I now see it is not possible that this fleet ... this business [finish'd. It] {finished: it} must soon happen[, & I will live to see you once more, and that once will last, I hope, till time, as far as relates to us, shall be no more]. We must cheer up for the moment. [At present we are in the hands of others; w]{W}e shall be masters one day or other. Blanche just going.[Damn that fellow and Lord -----. Never see them; may God's vengeance light upon them. I am like the rock of Gibraltar.]' – Pettigrew, ii, 50 (without giving the date, so that it appears as if the letter was written on the 2nd of May 1801) except [] - not marked by Morrison, Morrison, ii, 144 (No. 575) except {}.
- 145.02.-05.?05.1801 'My dearest Friend, again and again I thank you for all your goodness. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 50.
- 146.05.05.1801 St. George 'My dearest Friend, all my things were on board the Blanche, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 51.
- 147.08.05.1801 'As both my friends and enemies seem not to know why I sent on shore a flag of truce, ... to make an opening with the nation we [have] {had} been fighting with ... that humanity is always the companion of true [valor] {valour} ... between this country and Great Britain. {If, after this, either pretended friends or open enemies say any thing upon the subject, tell them THEY BE DAMNED. Get Mr. Este, or some other able man, to put these truths before the public. Envious men and enemies wish to hurt me, but truth will stand its ground, and I feel as firm as a *rock*. I have wrote strongly to Mr. Nepean to come home. Why should I stay? Your true and faithful, Nelson and Bronté.}' – Pettigrew II 52 except [] - not marked in Morrison, Morrison, ii, 145 (No. 579) except {}.
- 148.08.05.1801 'My dearest Friend, I hope you have received my numerous letters sent by the post since April 10th ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 54.
- 149.08.05.1801 St. George, Baltic 'My dearest Friend, Under your kind care I might recover ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 56.
- 150.08.05.1801? 'Much having been said relative to the bad terms of the Armistice made with Denmark, I wish to observe, first that the ... Peace Denmark {could}[cou'd] not{,} in the moment{,} make with you, as the moment she made it with you she would lose all her possessions except the Island of {Zealand}[Zeeland], and that, also, the moment the frost {set}[sett] in; therefore there was no damage we could do her equal to the loss of {every thing}[everything]; our destruction would have been Copenhagen and her fleet, then we had done our worst, and not much nearer being friends. By the Armistice ... everything we wanted. {Great Britain}[Gt. Bt.] was left the power of taking Danish possessions and ships in all parts of the world, whilst we had {locked}[lock'd] up the Danish navy and put the key in our pocket; time was ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 54 except [], Morrison, ii, 146 (No. 580) except {}.
- 151.11.05.1801 'My dearest Friend, if I had stayed in Kioge Bay ... ill health' – Pettigrew, ii, 60.
- 152.12.05.1801 Gulph of Finland, off Pakerot Lighthouse, 6 o'clock 'My dearest Friend, here I am very near the latitude of 60° degrees North, the air like a fine January day; but my heart as warm towards you as ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 61.
- 153.13.05.1801 'Here I am at Revel, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 61.

- 154.15.05.1801 St. George, Revel Bay ‘My dearest Friend, After seventeen days not out of my cabin ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 62.
- 155.15.05.1801 St. George, Revel Bay ‘My dearest Friend, The Harpy brig sails tomorrow for England. ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 68.
- 156.16.05.1801 ‘Yesterday I had all the world on board, not less than thirty officers and nobles of rank. ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 62.
- 157.17.05.1801 St. George, 7 o’clock in the Evening. Last letter. ‘My dearest Friend, I sailed from Revel this morning ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 68.
- 158.24.05.1801 St. George, off Rostock ‘My dearest [beloved] Friend, Yesterday, I joined Admiral Totty, where I found little Parker with [all my treasures,] your dear, kind, friendly letters[, your picture as Santa Emma, for a Saint you are if ever there was one in this world; for what makes a saint, the being so much better than the rest of the human race; therefore as truly as I believe in God do I believe you are a Saint, and in this age of wickedness you sett an example of real Virtue and goodness which, if we are not too far sunk in Luxury and Infamy, ought to rouse up almost forgot Virtue, and may God’s curse alight upon those who want to draw you, my dearest friend, from a quiet home into the company of men and women of bad character, and I am one of those who believe that in England the higher the class the worse the company. I speak generally. I will not think so bad of any class but that there may be some good individuals in it.] How can I ... me, a forlorn outcast, except in your generous soul{.}[?] ... if we are {*just*}[*Just*] in our desires ... your own dear generous [[] heart []] will say ... my request {and}[in] staying with you ... pleasant to herself[; to Mrs. Denis say every kind thing you please for her letter. Tell her I want not to conquer any heart if that which I have conquered is happy in its lot. I am confident, for the conqueror is become the *Conquered*. I want but one true heart. There can be but one love, although many real well-wishers. Ever and Ever your dear and truly affectionate Friend, Nelson and Bronte]. {Ever yours truly, Nelson and Bonté.}’ – Pettigrew, ii, 78 except [], Sichel, p. 513 except {}.
- 159.26.05.1801 St. George, Bay of Rostock ‘{My dearest Friend,} Although I wrote you late last night ... force me to go on shore. [There is but one person, and to that person the Devil himself should not keep me afloat. May God bless and protect you, my dearest, best, most amiable, virtuous friend.] The hock ... I have ten millions of things to say to you ... May the just gain it. [Thomson will be very well when he gets home, and is nursed by his wife, and so you may tell her from me.] I am so glad ... arrival. [If Mrs. Denis’ young man comes out we will take care of him.]’ – Pettigrew, ii, 80 except [], Morrison, ii, 149, 150 (No. 589) except {}.
- 160.27.05.1801 St. George, Rostock ‘My dearest Friend, A Russian lugger has this moment brought me ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 82.
- 161.01.06.1801 St. George, Rostock ‘My dearest Friend, I was in hopes my successor ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 83.
- 162.01.06.1801 St. George, 8 a. m. ‘My dearest[, best amiable f]{F}riend, I have been annoyed to death for an hour this day. The Duke of Mecklenburgh ... on board at {two}[2] o’clock ... He admired your picture most exceedingly, but who does not? [for where can your resemblance be? Not in the world, and my heavens keep you a non-pareil.] At daylight ... Admiral. [May the God of heaven and earth soon give us a happy meeting, being for ever, and more than] ever your{s, Nelson

- and Brontë.}]’ – Pettigrew, ii, 83 except [], Morrison, ii, 150, 151 (No. 592) except {}.
- 163.05.06.1801 St. George Kioge Bay ‘My dearest Friend, Little potatoe Harris has this moment given me your letter. ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 84.
- 164.08.06.1801 St. George ‘My dearest Friend, I may now tell you that I have been since April 15th rapidly in a decline, ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 86.
- 165.10.06.1801 St. George, Kioge Bay ‘My dearest Friend, It is now thirty-six days since I received the scrap of a pen from England, ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 89.
- 166.11.06.1801 This day twenty-two years I was made a Post Captain by Sir Peter Parker, ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 89.
- 167.12.06.1801 St. George, Kioge Bay ‘My dearest Friend, I am writing a last line as the Pylades ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 98.
- 168.12.06.1801 ‘My dearest Friend, I am overjoyed. ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 98.
- 169.12.06.1801 11 at night ‘Have only read the Admiral’s letter. ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 98.
- 170.13.06.1801 ‘My dearest Friend, I was so overcome yesterday with the good and happy news ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 100.
- 171.14.06.1801 ‘Looking out very sharp for Admiral Pole. ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 101.
- 172.14.06.1801 Sunday evening, 9 o’clock ‘ Our parade is over, ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 101.
- 173.15.06.1801 ‘The wind is fair for Admiral Pole; ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 101 [between this and the next letter Nelson was again back in England].
- 174.27.07.1801 Sheerness ‘My dearest Emma, My flag is flying on board the Unité frigate. ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 131.
- 175.28.07.1801 ‘My dearest Emma, Ten thousand thanks for your affectionate letter. ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 131.
- 176.29.07.1801 ‘My dearest Emma, Your letter of yesterday naturally called forth all those finer feelings ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 132.
- 177.30.07.1801 Deal ‘My dearest Emma, Having finished all my business at Sheerness ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 132.
- 178.31.07.1801 Deal - [Shall be on board the Medusa before this letter go [sic!] from the Downs] - ‘My dearest Emma, [Did not you get my letter from Sheerness on Thursday morning, telling you I was just setting off for Deal; as I have no letter from you of yesterday, only those of Wednesday, which went to Sheerness? It has been my damned blunder, and not your’s; for which I am deservedly punished, by missing one of your dear letters. They are my comfort, joy, and delight.] My time is[,] truly[,] fully taken up, ... I heard the clock strike one. [To say that I thought of you, would be nonsense; for, you are never out of my thoughts.] At this moment ... The cart-chaise I paid at Dartford. [You need not fear all the woman in this world; for all others, except yourself, are pests to me. I know but one; for, who can be like my Emma? I am confident, you will do nothing which can hurt my feelings; and I will die by torture, sooner than do any thing which could offend you.] Give ten thousand kisses to my dear Horatia. [Yesterday, the subject turned on the cow-pox. A gentleman declared, that his child was inoculated with the cow-pox; and afterwards remained in a house where a child had the small-pox the natural was, and did *not* catch it. Therefore, here was a full trial with the cow-pox. The child is only feverish for two days; and only a slight inflammation of the arm takes place, instead of being all over *scabs*, But, do you what you please!] I did

- not get your newspapers ... non made {to} me ... it is far enough. [But it may never get to any of them; for the old patent may extend by issue male of my own carcase (sic!) ; I am not so very old; and may marry again, a wife more suitable to my genius. I like the Morning Chronicle. Ever, for ever, your's, only your, Nelson & Bronte] {Nelson and Bronté} [Best regards to Mrs. Nelson, the Duke, and Lord William.] I have totally failed ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XIII except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 136 except [].
- 179.01.08.1801 Medusa at sea, between Calais and Boulogne 'When I reflect, my dearest Emma, that for these last two years on this day we have been together, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 137.
- 180.02.08.1801 'I am going this morning to take a look at Boulogne, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 138.
- 181.03.08.1801 Off Boulogne 'My dear Emma, The wind is too far to the northward ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 138.
- 182.04.08.1801 Medusa, off Boulogne 'My dearest Emma, Boulogne is evidently not a pleasant place this morning. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 139.
- 183.04.08.1801 Medusa, off Boulogne 'Buy the house at Turnham Green, I can pay for it. How can you be angry with me? I do not deserve it. ...' – Morrison, ii, 160 (No. 611).
- 184.04.08.1801 Medusa, off Calais, 7 o'clock 'My dearest Emma Your kind and affectionate letters up to yesterday are all received. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 139.
- 185.05.08.1801 Medusa 'My dearest Emma, There is not in this world a thing ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 140.
- 186.06.08.1801 Medusa, back of the Goodwin Sands 'My dearest Emma, The wind being easterly, and the Sea Fencibles ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 140.
- 187.07.08.1801 Medusa, Margate Roads '{My dear Emma,}[Pray send the enclosed for me.] I arrived here yesterday evening, and received your kind letters from the Downs of the 5th. ... when I do my utmost ..., but I [n]ever have done my best. ... I thank Castelcicala for his {affectionate}[aff^{te}] note, ... look at the one-armed man ... I hope {Reverend}[R^d] Sir will be ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 144 except [], Morrison, ii, 160 (No. 612) except {}.
- 188.07.08.1801 Medusa 'My dear Emma, Pray send good Castelcicala's letter. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 145.
- 189.09.08.1801 Medusa, Harwich 'My dearest Emma, I find from Lord St. Vincent that even my quitting my post ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 147.
- 190.10.08.1801 Medusa, Harwich '{My dearest Emma,} Your letter from Margate I received last night, ... morning. [I have them all, admire them all, and when you do not scold me, I am the happiest man alive, and only rely that I never deserve it. You know my quick temper, and cannot bear false accusations.] Although I cannot get ... , my dear Emma, and [ever for ever] be assured I am ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 147 except [], Morrison, ii, 161 (No. 613) except {}.
- 191.11.08.1801 Sheerness 'My dearest Emma, I came from Harwich yesterday noon; ... Parker had very near got all the honours[; but I want none, but what my dear Emma confers. You have sense to discriminate whether they are deserved or no]. I came on shore; ... if Mr. Buonaparte does not [chuse]{choose} to send his miscreants ... Write to me in the Downs. [May the Heavens bless and preserve you, for ever and ever! Is the constant prayer of, my dear Emma, your most affectionate and faithful Nelson & Bronte.] {Nelson and Bronté.} The Mayor and

- Corporation of Sandwich ... requested me [to] dine with them ... Oh! How I hate to be stared at.' – Pettigrew, ii, 148 except [], *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XIV.
- 192.12.08.1801 'My dearest Emma, You must know me well enough ... Captain Gore ... That beast, Allen, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 149.
- 193.13.08.1801 Medusa, Downs 'My dearest Emma, I have received all your truly kind and affectionate letters, and you may rely ..' – Pettigrew, ii, 150.
- 194.13.08.1801 Downs 'My dearest Emma, Your letters to-day make me happy. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 151.
- 195.14.08.1801 Medusa, at sea '{My dearest Emma,} The fever which I had seems fallen in my head, ... the winds [&]{and} the waves ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 153 except [], Morrison, ii, 161 (No. 614).
- 196.15.08.1801 Medusa, off Boulogne 'My dearest Emma, from my heart I wish you could find me out a good comfortable house, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 154.
- 197.16.08.1801 Medusa 'My dearest Emma, You will be sorry to hear that dear little Parker is wounded, ... How I envy him the sight of your blessed face! ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 156.
- 198.17.08.1801 Medusa, Downs 'My dearest Emma, Your kind letter of Saturday ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 157.
- 199.18.08.1801 'My dearest Emma, [Your dear, good, kind, and most affectionate letters, from Saturday to last night, are arrived, and I feel all you say; and may Heaven bless me, very soon, with a sight of your dear angelic face. You are a nonpareil! No, not one fit to wipe your shoes. I am, ever have been, and always will remain, your most firm, fixed and unalterable friend. I wish Sir William had come home a week ago, then I should have seen you here.] I have this morning been attending the funeral of two young Mids{hipmen}: ... without a thought for myself' [I know he likes to be with you: but, shall he have that felicity, and *he* deprive me of it? No; that he shall not!] But this business cannot last long, and, I rather incline to that opinion. [But the devil should not get me out of the kingdom, without being some days with you.] I hope, my dear Emma, you will be able to find a house suited for my comfort. I am sure of being HAPPY, by your arrangements. I have wrote a line to Troubridge, about Darby. ... For I go out; [if I see the enemy, ... I long to pay them, for their tricks t[']{he}other day, ... Just going off. Ever[, for ever,] your faithful Nelson & Bronte.' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XV except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 160 except [].
- 200.19.08.1801 Deal 'My dearest Emma, Oliver came on board ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 161.
- 201.20.08.1801 Medusa, Downs 'My dearest friend, I approve of the house at Merton ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 162.
- 202.20.08.1801 'My dear Friend, I am very much flattered by Mr. Greville's kindness ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 166.
- 203.22.08.1801 Medusa 'My dear Emma, I shall try and get this letter through Troubridge, but one day he is angry ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 169.
- 204.23.08.1801 Medusa, Downs, Six in the morning 'My dearest Emma, I am ready to run mad, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 171.
- 205.24.08.1801 Medusa at sea 'My dearest Emma, So little is newspaper information to be depended upon, ... I ... was very low ... {Whatever Sir Thomas Troubridge may say, I feel I have no real friends out of your house.}[*Whatever Sir Thomas*

- Troubridge may say, I feel I have no real friends out of your house.] ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 171 except [], Sichel, p. 514 except {}.*
- 206.31.08.1801 Medusa, Downs 'My dear Emma[! Dearest, best, Friend of Nelson], Sir William is arrived, and well; ... if you were to take the Duke's {(Queensberry's)} house ... Did the Duke, or any of them, give him a house [*then*]{then}? Forgive me! ... The devils here wanted to plague my soul out, yesterday, just after dinner[; but I would have seen them damned, before they should have dome in]. The Countess M[ontmorris], Lady ... I am so dreadfully sea-sick ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XVI except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 172 [between this and the next letter Nelson and Lady Hamilton met at Deal].
- 207.end of 09.1801 to Mrs Thomson, care of Lady Hamilton 'I came on board, but no Emma. No, no, my heart will break. I am in silent distraction. The four pictures of Lady Hⁿ are hung up, but alas! I have lost the original. ...' – Morrison, ii, 165 (No. 621).
- 208.20.09.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Emma, Although I ought to feel grateful for Sir William ... to see a poor forlorn creature ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 181.
- 209.21.09.1801 Amazon '{My dear Emma,} My letter from Dr. Baird last evening, ... at [4]{four} this morning, ... and believe me[, your]{yours} ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 183 except [], Morrison, ii, 165 (No. 622) except {}.
- 210.21.09.1801 '*Noon*. I have this moment your kind line from Rochester ... at [3]{three} o'clock.' – Pettigrew, ii, 183 except [], Morrison, ii, 165 (No. 622) except {}.
- 211.21.09.1801 Quarter past Ten o'Clock '[My dear Emma, I wish you would send the letter to Mrs. Dod's, directly; for, otherwise, he may, inadvertently. If done, and it comes to London, deliver some of the things. The wardrobe is her's; and if any of her clothes are at Mr. Dod's, they had better e separated from mine - and, indeed, what things are worth removing - to have them directly sent to Merton. A bed, or two, I believe, belong to my father; but, am not sure.] I send you Dr. Baird's comfortable note, this moment received. You will [[]find[]] Parker ... room at the farm. [Ever your affectionate,] N[elson] & B[ronte].' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XVII, Pettigrew, ii, 186 except [].
- 212.22.09.1801 Amazon 'My dear Emma, It blows so fresh to-day ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 184.
- 213.23.09.1801 Amazon 'My dear Emma, I received your kind letters last evening, and in many parts they pleased and made me sad; ... as if you bought it{. Whatever you do about it ... I hope we shall have peace. Ever yours faithfully, Nelson and Bronté.}[, therefore if your relative cannot stay in your house in town surely Sir William can have no objection to your taking [your relation] to the farm; the pride of the Hamiltons surely cannot be hurt by settling down with any of your relations. You have surely as much a right for your relations to come into the house as his could have, &c. The vagabond that stole your medal will probably be hanged, unless Mr. Varden will swear it is not worth 40 shillings, which *I dare say he may do with a safe conscience*. I should not wish it to be brought into a Court of Law, as the extraordinary nature of the medallion will be noticed. I am sure you will not let any of the Royal blood into your house. They have the Impudence of the devil , etc. - Ever yours faithfully.]' – Pettigrew, ii, 186

- except [], Sichel, p. 515 except {} calling his version an 'extract' - two different ends of the letter!
- 214.23.09.1801 Amazon 'My dear Emma, I send Dr. Baird's note ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 187.
- 215.24.09.1801 Amazon 'My dear Emma, This morning's report of Parker ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 187.
- 216.24.09.1801 Two o'clock 'Allen has given the inclosed for his wife ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 188.
- 217.25.09.1801 Amazon, off Folkstone 'My dearest Emma, I got under sail this morning at daylight, ..' – Pettigrew, ii, 189.
- 218.26.09.1801 Amazon, Eight o'Clock 'My dearest Emma, Your kind letters came on board about six o'clock. You may rely upon one thing, that I shall like Merton; therefore, do not be uneasy on that account. ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XVIII.
- 219.27.09.1801 'My dearest Emma, I had intended to have gone on shore ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 190.
- 220.28.09.1801 Amazon '{My dearest Emma,} We are going this noon to pay our last sad duties to dear good Parker. ... impossible at present, [and if I could you would not, perhaps, think it right for me to come now Sir William is away.] I entreat ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 192 except [], Morrison, ii, 168 (No. 625) except {}.
- 221.28.09.1801 Half past one. 'Thank God the dreadful scene is past. I scarcely know how I got over it. ... to my Father to-morrow[, and take not the smallest notice of how he disposes of himself].' – Pettigrew, ii, 192 except [], Morrison, ii, 168 (No. 625) except {}.
- 222.29.09.1801 Amazon '{My dearest Emma,} I send by the coach a little parcel containing the keys of the plate chest ... breakfast [sett]{set} and some other things ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 193 except [], Morrison, ii, 168 (No. 626) except {}.
- 223.29.09.1801 Noon. 'Blows strong. I have just received your kind letters, ... many happy years[, & ever your]{. Ever yours, Nelson and Bronté}[To the Duke say everything that is kind.]' – Pettigrew, ii, 194 except [], Morrison, ii, 168 (No. 626) except {}.
- 224.30.09.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Emma, I well know by my own feelings ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 195.
- 225.01.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Emma, From various causes ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 199.
- 226.02.10.1801 Amazon, Dungeness 'My dearest Emma, I am sorry the lawyers should have been the cause of keeping you one moment from Merton ... - damn the lawyers. [I am not surprized at Mrs. Greens's loving you, who does not? For your heart shows itself in your face, and such a face who must not love?] If black James ... You command me{.} [my dear Emma, &] I obey with the greatest pleasure ... every kind thing, [and I hope, Emma, you take care of your relative; when you can get her well married & settled we will try & give her something. Ch^s is a good boy, & your relatives are ever those of your affectionate & faithful] {Yours, Nelson and Bronté.}' – Pettigrew, ii, 200 except [] not all marked by Morrison, Morrison, ii, 170 (No. 628).
- 227.03.10.1801 Amazon, Dungeness 'My dearest Emma, Your kind letters of Wednesday night and Thursday morning ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 202.

- 228.04.10.1801 Just anchored, nine o'clock 'My dear Emma, You are right, *no* champagne till we can crack a bottle together. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 203.
- 229.04.10.1801 Amazon, off Folkestone 'My dearest Emma, Although preliminary articles ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 203.
- 230.05.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Emma, give the inclosed to Allen's wife ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 205.
- 231.05.10.1801 Amazon '{My dearest Emma,} The weather is getting so very bad ... as the folks say. [I am vexed but not surprised, my dear Emma, at that fellow's wanting you for his mistress, but I know your virtue too well to be the [-----] of any rank stinking king's evil; the meanness of the titled pimps does not surprize me in these degenerate days. I suppose he will try to get at Merton, as it lays in the road, I believe, to Brighton; but I am sure you will never let them into the premises. Your virtue deserves a throne or a peasant, as they may be me children of honor, not of infamy or disease. Do you think we shall soon get to Bronté? I should be very happy, but I must first settle all my affairs in this country, and Merton may become a dead weight on our hands, but more of this hereafter.] Thank God it is peace. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 205 except [], Morrison, ii, 171, 172 (No. 630) except {}.
- 232.???.10.1801 2 o'clock, just going on shore 'My dearest Emma, I did not pay Mr. B. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 206.
- 233.06.10.1801 Amazon 'My dear Emma, To my astonishment ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 206.
- 234.06.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Friend, I have just got your letter of yesterday, and am very angry with Mr Haslewood ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 207.
- 235.07.10.1801 Amazon 'I have just got your letter of yesterday, and am very angry with Mr. Haslewood for not having got you into possession of Merton, for I was in hopes you would have arranged everything before Sir William came home. ...' – Morrison, ii, 172 (No. 631); with passages marked as 'not in Pettigrew'; I was unable, however, to discover the letter in Pettigrew.
- 236.08.10.1801 Memorandum to reply to his father's letter from October 8th: 'I think of writing my poor old father ...' To Lady Hamilton, communicating the above, he writes: 'Tell me, my friend, do you approve ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 211.
- 237.08.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Friend, I do not expect, although I am writing, that any boat ... It came on, in one hour, from the water like a mill-[head]{pond}, to such a sea as to make me very unwell. ... At this time he had [forty-seven pounds]{£ 47.} in his pocket. ... and if you have promised him [any thing]{anything}, *do not send it*. [Ten o'Clock- Your kind letters are arrived. I rejoice that you have got into Merton. I hope to get the letter on shore; but, it is very uncertain. Ministry, my dearest friend, think very differently of my services from you! But, never mind; I shall soon have done with them afloat. Make my kindest regards to Sir William, and all our friends; and believe me, ever, your faithful and affectionate NELSON & BRONTE. I have just got a very kind letter from Captain Read. He says, he will come and see me, be where it will. He inquired after you and Sir William.]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XIX except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 211 except [].
- 238.08.10.1801 Amazon, Half-past seven 'My dearest Friend, I send on shore one line by the boat which goes for our letters ... attacks on my heart ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 212.

- 239.09.10.1801 Amazon ‘My dearest Friend, How provoked I am at the slowness of that damned rascal Buonaparte, ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 213.
- 240.11.10.1801 Amazon ‘My dearest Friend, I ought, and do beg you 10,000 pardons ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 214.
- 241.11.10.1801 Eleven o’clock. ‘Your letters are just come ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 215.
- 242.12.10.1801 Amazon, [Ten o’Clock]{ten o’clock} ‘My dearest Friend, This being a very fine morning, and smooth beach, [at eight o’clock,] I went ... brought tears into my eyes.[Ah! How different to walking with such a friend as you, Sir William, and Mrs. Nelson.] Called at the barracks, on Lord George {(Cavendish),}[;] but[,] he is gone to London. From thence to the Admiral’s[,]{} found him up; ... I am, in truth, not over well. [I have a complaint in my stomach and bowels, but it will go off. If you was here, I should have some rhubarb; but, as you are not, I shall go without. Sutton has sent into Yorkshire, for a cow that, in the spring, will give fourteen pounds of butter a week; and, he has given Allen the finest goat I ever saw. The later, I am afraid, will be troublesome.] Just as I was coming off, ... Acton ... I never could bring myself to it. [I am glad the Duke has been to see you; and taking plants from him, is nothing. Make my kindest remembrances to him. I would have every body like your choice; for, I am sure, you have as find a taste in laying out land, as you have in music. I’ll be damned, if Mrs. Billington can sing so well as you. She may have stage trick, but you have pure nature. I always say every thing, for you and Sir William.] I wish you had translated the King’s and Acton’s letters, Banti cannot. [I may be able to dispose of Charles, but not of the other, and he would corrupt Charles. For e]{E}ver yours, NELSON & BRONTE. [Mrs. Lutwidge inquires always particularly after you. We all laugh, and say she is more fond of soldiers than ever, since General Don has shewn her how he would keep off the French!)]’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XX except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 215 except [].
- 243.13.10.1801 Amazon ‘{My dearest Friend,} Sutton and Bedford would fain persuade me, ... no more than [9]{nine} days to ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 216 except [], Morrison, ii, 174 (No. 634) except {}.
- 244.13.10.1801 Eleven o’clock ‘The letters are arrived, and Troubridge tells me ... you and Sir William. [I am for ever, my dearest, only friend, yours]’ – Pettigrew, ii, 217 except [], Morrison, ii, 174 (No. 634) except {}.
- 245.14.10.1801 Amazon ‘My dearest Friend, To-morrow week all is over - ... himself, wife, and family, makes {twenty}[20], without ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 217 except [], Sichel, p. 516 except {}.
- 246.14.10.1801 Noon. ‘Your kind letters are just come, and have given me great comfort. ... Pray tell Sir William that {if I can} I will write him this day, ... I rejoice at your occupation. Live pretty and keep a pig. ... rely on a visit. {Ever yours,}[Ever, my dear friend, your affectionate] Nelson {and}{& Bronte.] Bronté.’ – Pettigrew, ii, 217 except [], Sichel, p. 516 except {}.
- 247.15.10.1801 Amazon ‘My dearest Friend, [I have received all your letters of yesterday, and the one sent from the post at Merton; and, also, one mis-sent to Poole: but I do not write direct to Merton, till I hear that mine to Sir William, sent yesterday, gets to you before those by London.] The Admiralty will not give me leave, till the 22{n}d; and, then, only ten days. What a set of beasts! ... none of them cares a [damn]{d--n} for me or my sufferings; ... I shall have, soon, two hundred pounds worth. [What a b--- that Miss Knight is! As to the other, I care

not what she says. My poor dear father is wrong. But more of this, when we meet: which will be Friday, the 23d, at farthest; if possible, the 22d. But the Admiralty are hard upon me. I am sorry to hear, that you have been ill: and my cold is so dreadfully bad, that I cannot hold up my head; and am so damned stupid that you must, my dear friend, forgive my letter.] Admiral Lutwidge is going to Portsmouth. Sir W[illiam] Parker ... believe me, [ever, your's]{Yours, &c. &c.}[most faithfully, NELSON & BRONTE]{NELSON AND BRONTE}' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXI except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 220 except [].

248.15.10.1801 Amazon ' {My dearest Friend,} I have wrote by the way of London, but as your letter came regular, ... Ever Yours, {Nelson and Bronté.} Sutton and Bedford ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 220, Morrison, ii, 175 (No. 637) except {}.

249.16.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Friend, It being a very fine morning, and the beach smooth, I went ... You are so good, so kind, to every body ... in one hour I was on shore. [Civility to Lutwidge was proper for me; and , indeed, my duty.] The moment I got your letters ... I intend to have a farming book ... Troubridge, recommending me to wear flannel shirts. ... Remember me kindly to Sir William, {&c. &c.}[the Duke, and all friends; and believe me, ever, your most affectionate NELSON & BRONTE]{NELSON AND BRONTE} ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXII, Pettigrew, ii, 220 except [].

250.16.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Friend, [I send you a letter for Allen's wife; and one for Germany, which I wish you would make Oliver put in the Foreign Post Office, and pay what is necessary. I would send you the letter to which it is an answer, but it would be overweight. It is all compliments; and, the man says, it is all truth. The wind is freshened cold, but very fine day. Best regards to Sir William, Mrs. Cadogan, Mr. Oliver, and all friends. For ever, your's faithfully, NELSON & BRONTE.] I have a letter from Reverend Doctor - ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXIII, Pettigrew, ii, 222 except [].

251.17.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Friend, Although my complaint has no danger attending it, ... We must submit; and, perhaps, [these Admiralty do]{the Admiralty does} this by me, ... {NELSON AND BRONTE}[NELSON & BRONTE. Bedford has made me laugh. Mrs. Lutwidge has been babbling, that she will go to Portsmouth with the Admiral; who says, he shall be so fully employed that he cannot be much with her. She whispered Bedford - 'I have many friends in the army there!' She will certainly marry a soldier, if ever she is disposable. But, perhaps, you will agree with me, that no good soldier would take her. I am sure, the purchase would be dear, even if it was a *gift*. Don't call this a bull. Sutton's man was on the farm; and the sheep, when not belonging to the farm, always paid so much sheep, so much lambs: but, I dare say, you manage well. Sir William's letter has delighted me, with your activity and prudence.]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXIV except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 222 except [].

252.???.10.1801 Amazon 2 P.M. 'The two letters would have been over-weight, so I send you the letter I nave answered. Pray, take care of it, it is a curiosity! Ever your faithful NELSON & BRONTE Yawkins is in great distress: his cutter paid off; and he, like many others, very little to live upon. He begs his best respects to Sir William. He breakfasted here this morning. Many very long faces at peace!' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXV.

- 253.??10.1801 'My dearest Friend, Hardy begs you ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXVI.
- 254.18.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Friend, I am to-day much better than I have been for several days past, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 225.
- 255.19.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Friend, What a gale we have had! But ... opened before the boat was gone. [I am sure, you did well to send Mrs. Lutwidge a gown, and she loves you very much, but there is no accounting for taste. She admires entirely red coats; you, true blue.] They dine with Billy Pitt, ... anything for me or my relations. [I assure you, my dear friend, that I had rather read and hear all your little story of a white hen getting into a tree, an anecdote of Fatima, or hear you call-'Cupidy! Cupidy!' than any speech I shall hear in parliament: because I know, although you can adapt your language and manners to a child, yet that you can also thunder forth such a torrent of eloquence that corruption and infamy would sink before your voice, in however *exalted* a situation it might be placed. Poor Oliver! What can be the matter with him?] I must leave my cot here, ... the size of my father's and Davison's. [I wonder your pictures are not come from Hamburg! You have not lost the directions for unfolding them; nor the measure, that I may have frames made for them? For, up they shall go, as soon as they arrive. What, have your picture, and not hang it up? *No*; I will submit, in the farm, to every order but *that*.] The weather, to-day, is tolerable; ... cold ... bowels ... Every one has their day. [God bless you, my dear friend; and believe me, ever, your's most faithfully]{Ever yours } NELSON [&]{AND} BRONTE [Write on Wednesday. Your letters of yesterday are received. Reverend Doctor would like to be a Bishop. I have sent poor Thomson's letter, and the distressed Mrs. -----, to the Earl. Kindest regards to Sir William.]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXVII except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 227 except [].
- 256.20.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Friend, How could you think, for a moment, that I would be a time-server to a minister on earth! ... Troubridge ... is, I suppose, laughing at me; ... I feel truly obliged. [Make my kindest respects to Sir William; and believe me, ever, your most faithful and affectionate] NELSON [&]{AND} BRONTE [I wish Banti was separated from Charles, for he is a knowing one. I wish I could get him with a good Captain, who would keep him strict to his duty. Hardy cannot get paid a hundred pounds he advanced for Mr. Williams's nephew. Many thanks for Mrs. Nelson's letters. The Reverend Doctor likes going about. Only think of his wanting to come up with an address of thanks! Why, [the] King will not receive him, although he is a Doctor; and less, for being my brother - for, they certainly do not like me.]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXVIII except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 228 except [].
- 257.20.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Friend, Only two days more, the ... Master Troubridge ... NELSON [&]{AND} BRONTE. [Best regards to Sir William, Mrs. Cadogan, and all friends.]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXIX except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 229 except [].
- 258.21.10.1801 Amazon 'My dearest Friend, It blows strong from the westward ... [I'll be damned] {I will be d----d} if I dine ... cough and bowels, are still very much out of order. [You are now writing your last letter for Deal; so am I, for Merton, from Deal: at least, I hope so; for, if I can help it, I will not return to it. I have much to do, being the last day on board; but ever, my dearest friend, believe me your truly affectionate NELSON & BRONTE.] I am literally starving with

- cold; but my heart is warm. [I suppose I shall dine with Lutwidge; but I am not very desirous of it; for I shall have Sutton, Bedford, and Hardy, with me. You must prepare Banti's mother, as it is a peace, for some other line of life than the navy. Yesterday, he sold a pair of silver buckles; he would soon ruin poor Charles, who is really a well-disposed boy. I never shall get warm again, I believe. I cannot feel the pen. Make my kindest regards to Sir William, Mrs. Cadogan, Oliver, &c. Sutton, Hardy, and Bedford, all join in kind remembrances. As Monday is Horace's birth-day, I suppose I must send him a one pound note.] {Yours, &c. N. & B.}' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXX except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 230 except [].
- 259.16.05.1803 Kingston ¼ before 6 'Cheer up, my dearest Emma, and be assured that I ever have been, and am, and ever will be, your most faithful and affectionate Nelson & Bronté.' – Morrison, ii, 210 (No. 712).
- 260.18.05.1803 'My dearest Emma, I wrote you a line from Kingston by the Duke's servant, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 299.
- 261.20.05.1803 By messenger 'My dearest Emma, The boat is on shore, and five minutes sets me afloat. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 300.
- 262.20.05.1803 Victory, noon 'You will believe that although I am glad to leave that horrid place, Portsmouth, yet the being afloat makes me now feel that we do not tread the same element. ...' – Morrison, ii, 210, 211 (No. 713), known to Pettigrew (ii, 300) but not quoted.
- 263.21.05.1803 Victory 'My dearest Emma, This morning we stopped a Dutch ship from Surinam ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 300.
- 264.22.05.1803 Eight o'clock in the morning 'My dearest Emma, We are now in sight of Ushant, ... I cannot help myself [I assume you, my dear Emma, that I feel a thorough conviction, that we shall meet again, with honour, riches, and health, and remain together till a good old age I look at your and my God's Child's picture; but, till I am sure of remaining here, I cannot bring myself to hand them up. Be assured, that my attachment, and affectionate regard, is unalterable; nothing can shake it. And, pray, say so to my dear Mrs. T. When you see her, Tell her, that my love is unbounded, to her and her dear sweet child; and, if she should have more, it will extend to all of them. In short, my dear Emma, say every thing to her, which your dear affectionate heart and head can think of.] We are very uncomfortable ... as we used to do. hardy [is] {has} gone into Plymouth, ... next Sunday, in the Mediterranean [To Mrs. Cadogan, say every king thing; to good Mrs. Nelson, the Doctor, &c. &c. If you like, you may tell him about the entailing of the pension; but, perhaps, he will be so much taken up with Canterbury, that it will do for some dull evening at Hilborough.] I shall now stop, till I have been on board the Admiral, [Only tell Mrs. T. That I will write her the first safe opportunity; I am not sure of this I shall direct to Merton, after June 1st. Therefore, as you change, make Davison take a direction to Nepean; but, I would not trouble him with too many directions, for fear of embroil.]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXXI except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 300 except [].
- 265.23.05.1803 'We were close in with Brest yesterday, ... for I still hope; [as,] {and} I am sure ... Nelson [&] {and} Bronte ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXXI (at the end) except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 301 except [].
- 266.25.05.1803 'My dearest Emma, Here we are in the middle of the Bay of Biscay ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 302.

- 267.26.05.1803 'We have now got a foul wind ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 302.
- 268.30.05.1803 'Our wind has been foul, blowing fresh and a nasty sea. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 302.
- 269.02.06.1803 'We have just passed the rock at Lisbon, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 302.
- 270.03.06.1803 'We have had a fresh breeze and fair; ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 302.
- 271.04.06.1803 'I am sailing at one o'clock, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 302.
- 272.???.06.1803 '... to Mr. Pitt, therefore in appearances at least for Mr. Bolton, if not for bettering my income, I seem to stand well. ...' – Morrison, ii, 212 (No. 716), imperfect.
- 273.10.06.1803 {twenty} [20] leagues east of Algiers '{My dearest Emma,} We left Gibraltar at three o'clock, June 4th. ... wife and family. [I shall write to Mr. Gibbs to tell me about your things, and if I ever get hold of them I will send them home.] How this letter will get home I know not. It will be read by every post office from Naples to London. [Be assured, my dear Emma, of my most affectionate regard and esteem, & for all belonging to you.] The Admiral ... change of scene. [I pray Heaven preserve you & yours in health and happiness, & send us a happy meeting.] I have wrote Gibbs ... I suppose they will believe me. [L^d N. will send them home, but it is not for the value, which, please God, you can never want, but for the pleasure of getting your own things. I hope to hear that all your affairs are settled. All I beg is that for a few hundred pounds that you will not fret yourself. Let them do what they will, whether I live or die you will be better off than ever.]' – Pettigrew, ii, 304 except [], Morrison, ii, 213 (No. 718) except {}.
- 274.11.06.1803 'Mr. Elliot just leaving us ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 305, Morrison, ii, 213 (No. 718).
- 275.20.06.1803 'My dear Emma, I am now in the passage of the Pharo. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 310.
- 276.25.06.1803 off Capri '{My dearest Emma,} Close to Capri the view of Vesuvius ... We arrived at Malta June 15th, ... Lord Nelson being so very anxious to join the fleet off Toulon. ... therefore[, my dear Emma,] believe all the kind things I would say, and your fertile imagination come up to them [for I am ever, and if possible more than ever, your faithful] {Yours.} Charles is ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 310 except [], Morrison, ii, 213, 124 (No. 719).
- 277.07(?)?.07.1803 'My dearest Emma, Although I have wrote letters from various places, merely to say – 'Here I am,' – yet ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXXII.
- 278.08.07.1803 'I left this hole, to put down what force the French have at Toulon. Seven sail of the line ready, five frigates, and six corvettes ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXXII.
- 279.12.07.1803 Amphion 'My dearest Emma, 'Tis now near two months since my departure, and thanks to the Admiralty, nothing is yet arrived, nor have I heard the least bit of English news. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 319.
- 280.18.07.1803 'Off Toulon. We have just had a three days gale, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 319.
- 281.21.07.1803 'We have not seen a vessel these many days. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 320.
- 282.01.08.1803 Victory, off Toulon '[I do not know that you will get this letter.] My dearest Emma, You letter of May 31, which came under cover ... arrived ... two days ago; and this is the only scrap of a pen which has been received by any person in the fleet since we sailed from England. You will readily conceive[, my

dear Emma] the sensations which the sight and reading even your few lines (occasioned). [They cannot be understood, but by those of such mutual and truly sincere attachment as your's and mine. Although you said little, I understood a great deal, and most heartily approve of your plan and society for next winter; and, next spring, I hope to be rich enough to begin the alterations at dear Merton. It will serve to amuse you; and, I am sure, that I shall admire all your alterations, even to planting a gooseberry bush.] Sutton joined me yesterday, ... as frugal as my situation will admit, I have known the pinch, and shall endeavour never to know it again. I want to sent [two thousand one hundred pounds] {£2000,} to pay off Mr. Graeves on October 1st{, but} [. But] I have not seen one farthing. [but] I hope to receive ... and I trust soon to see the other two safe arrived from the Exhibition. [I want no others to ornament my cabin. I can contemplate them, and find new beauties every day, and I do not want any body else.] You will not expect much news ... With [kindest] regards [to your good mother, and all at Merton, &c.] &c. &c. [ever your's, most faithfully and affectionately, NELSON & BRONTE] {Yours, NELSON AND BRONTE}' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXXIII except {}, Pettigrew II 324 except [].

283.10.08.1803 Victory, off Toulon 'My dearest Emma, I take the opportunity of Mr. [Acourt's] {A'Court's} going ... Mr. [Acourt] {A'Court} says ... As for getting [any thing] {anything} for [Bronte] {Bronté} ... *Patienza* however, I will [- ...] {.} I see many Bishops are dead. ... Mr. [Acourt] {A'Court}, who cannot be detained ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXXIV except {} and denoting that something is lacking in the text, Pettigrew, ii, 326 except [].

284.21.08.1803 'We have had, my dearest Emma, two days pretty strong gales. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 331.

285.???.1803 'I see that Graeffe ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 332.

286.???.1803 'They say the house ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 332.

287.24.08.1803 Victory 'My dearest Emma, Yesterday brought me letters from Mrs. Graeffe, ... the sooner, I hope we shall have peace. ... Whenever young {Faddy}[Paddy [Fady, of the 1798 correspondence?]] comes, he shall be promoted. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 335 except [], Sichel, p. 515 except {} leaving out most of the letter, including some drastic expressions as 'If [the queen of Naples] has not wrote you she is an ungrateful ---.' (Pettigrew, ii, 336).

288.24.08.1803 'My dear Lady Hamilton, Your friend's godson arrived safe yesterday afternoon; ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXXV.

289.???.1803 'To say the truth, I am so situated between Davison and Mr. Marsh ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 336.

290.26.08.1803 Wrote several days past '[N. B. The Mysterious Letter appears to have been inclosed in this Packet.] My dearest Emma, By the Canopus, Admiral Campbell, I have received all your truly kind and affectionate letters from May 20th to July [3d] {3rd} ... This is the first communication I have had with England since we sailed. [All your letters, *my dear letters* are so entertaining! And which paint so clearly what you are after that they give me either the greatest pleasure or pain. It is the next best thing, to being with you. I only desire, my dearest Emma, that you will always believe, that Nelson's your own, Nelson's *Alpha* and *Omega* is *Emma*! I cannot alter; my affection and love is beyond even this world! Nothing can shake it, but yourself; and that, I will not allow myself to think, for a moment, is possible. I feel, that you are the real friend of my bosom, and dearer to me than

life; and, that I am the same to you. But, I will neither have P.'s nor Q.'s some near you! No; not the slice of Single Gloster! But, if I was to go on, it would argue that want of confidence which would be injurious to your honour. I rejoice that you have had so pleasant a trip into Norfolk; and I hope, one day, to carry you there by a nearer *tie* in law, but not in love and affection, than at present. I wish, you would never mention that person's name! It works up your anger, for no useful purpose. Her good or bad character, of me or thee, no one cares about. This letter will find you at dear Merton; where we shall one day meet, and be truly happy.] I do not think it can be a long war. ... Only let us have a [plan] {peace} and then all will go on well. ... and time will pass away till I have the [inexpressible] happiness of arriving at Merton. [Even the thought of it vibrates through my nerves; for my love for you is as unbounded as the ocean.] I feel all your good mother's kindness; ... unless we have a Spanish war, I shall live here at a great [expence:] {expense;} ... It is only doing them [a] {an} injury. ... I should like to see Sir H{ome} P{opham}'s book. I cannot conceive how a man that is reported to have been so extravagant of government's money, to say no worse, can make a good story. [I wrote to the old Duke, no long since. I regard him; but, I would not let him touch you for all his money. No; that would never do! I believe Mr. Bennett's bill to be correct; but, it was not intended you should pay that out of the allowance for Merton; and, how could you afford to send Mrs. Bolton a hundred pounds. It is impossible, out of your income.] I wish Mr. Addington would give you five hundred pounds a{-}year; ... I have placed another year's allowance of thirty pounds in Capel's hands, and given Connor a present. [What a story, about Oliver and Mr. Matcham buying an estate in Holstein; and, to sell out at such a loss! I never heard the like. I sincerely hope it will answer his expectations; it is a fine country, but miserably cold. How can Tyson be such a fool! I sincerely hope, he will never want money. I am not surprised at Troubridge's abuse; but, his tongue is no scandal. You make me laugh, when you imitate the Doctor! I am quite delighted with Miss Yonge's goodness: and I beg you will make my best respects to her and her good father; and assure Mr. Yonge, how much obliged I feel for all his kind attentions to you. Those who do that, are sure of a warm place in my esteem] I have wrote to [Dumourier] {Dumouriez}; ... I have answered Mr. Suckling's letter. [Gaetano is very well, and desires his duty. I think, sometimes, that he wishes to be left at Naples; but, I am not sure.] Mr. Denis's relation ... and one to dear Merton. {N. & B.}' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXVI except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 337 except [], the authenticity of this letter is doubted by Nicolas VII 377.

291.08.09.1803 Victory, off Toulon 'I have, my dearest Emma, done what I thank God I have had the power of doing - left £4000. To my dear Horatia, and desire that she may be acknowledged as my adopted daughter, and I have made you her sole guardian; ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 341.

292.10.09.1803 Victory 'My dearest Emma, What can I send you, buffeting the stormy gulph of Lyons; nothing, but my warmest affection, in return for all your goodness to me and mine. ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXVII.

293.16.09.1803 'The day after I wrote the former part of this letter, Mr. Scott received from Venice, ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXVII.

- 294.18.09.1803 Victory, off Toulon. ‘My dear Lady Hamilton, The furniture and linen which was left behind ...’ – Nicolas, v, 206.
- 295.19.09.1803 ‘I write, my dearest Emma, the letter sent herewith, in order that you send it to Mr. Vansittart. Ever yours most faithfully’ &c. ‘As this ship goes by Malta, I do not write a line by her unless she should pick them up at Gib^f, for I have not a small vessel belonging to me.’ – Morrison, ii, 218 (No. 730).
- 296.26.09.1803 ‘My dearest Emma, We have had, for these fourteen days past, nothing but gales of wind and a heavy sea. ... that [out of the way] {out-of-the-way} place, Malta ... I shall be the loser. [Till next years, the debt will not be paid off; how- ...] {N. & B.}’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXXVIII except {}, something is left out in the text, Pettigrew, ii, 342 except [].
- 297.05.10.1803 Victory, off Toulon ‘By a letter from Davison of the 15th of August, ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 345.
- 298.06.10.1803 ‘My dearest[, beloved] Emma,[only believe that I should be far too happy to embrace my own dear Emma, but I see so many obstacles in the way of what would give us both such supreme felicity, that good sence is obliged to give way to what is right, and I verily believe that I am more likely to be happy with you at Merton than any other place, and that our meeting at Merton is more probable to happen sooner than any wild chase into the Mediterranean. I am ever for ever, with all my might, with all my strength, yours, only yours. My soul is God’s, let him dispose of it as it seemeth fit to his infinite wisdom, by body is Emma’s.] I have had a letter from Mr. George Moyston, ... no great expense. [I am ever for ever, my dear Emma, yours most faithfully & affectionately] {Yours, Nelson and Bronté.} [Best regards to Mrs. Cadogan.]’ – Pettigrew, ii, 346 except [], Morrison, ii, 219 (No. 733) except {}.
- 299.18.10.1803 Victory off Toulon ‘My dearest Emma, Your truly kind [and affectionate] letters from July 17th to August 24th, all arrived safe in the Childers, the 6th of this month [Believe me, my beloved Emma, that I am truly sensible of all your love and affection, which is reciprocal. You have, from the variety of incidents passing before you, much to tell me; and, besides, you have that happy knack of making every thing you write interesting. Here I am, one day precisely like the other; except the difference of a gale of wind, or not.] since September 1st, ... cry out. [You are very good, to send me your letters to read. Mrs. D--- is a damned pimping bitch! What has she to do with your love? She would have pimped for Lord B---, or Lord L---, or Captain M’N---, **** of ****, or any one else. She is all vanity: fancies herself beautiful; witty; in short like you. She be damned! As I wrote you, the consulship at Civita Vecchia will not, in itself, pay their lodgings; and , the bad air will tip her off. There will be no Lord Bristol’s table. He tore his last will, a few hours before his death. It is said, that it was giving every thing to those devils of Italians about him. I wish he may have given Mrs. Denis any thing; but, I do not think it; and, as for you, my dear Emma, as long as I can, I don’t want any of their gifts. As for old Q. he may put you into his will, or scratch you out, as he pleases, I care not. If Mr. Addington gives you the pension, it is well: but, do not let it fret you. Have you not Merton? It is clear – the first purchase – and my dear Horatia is provided for: and, I hope, one of these days, that you will be my own Duchess of Bronte; and, then, a fig for them all! I have just had a letter from Gibbs, of which I send you a copy. You see what interest he is taking about Bronte. I begin to think, without some assistance like

his, that I never should have touched a farthing. It will be 1805, before I touch the estate. Neither principal or interest of the seven thousand ounces have been paid; and, it is now eight thousand ounces debt. You will see, Gibbs, at last, has fixed on sending his daughter home; and I shall be glad of so good an opportunity of obliging him, as it will naturally tie him to my interest. He was a great fool, not to have sent the child with you, as you wished. I am glad to find, my dear Emma, that you mean to take Horatia home. *Aye!* she is like her mother; will have her own way, or kick up the devil of a dust. But, you will cure her: I am afraid I should spoil her, for, I am sure, I would shoot any one who would hurt her. She was always fond of my watch; and, very probably, I might have promised her one: indeed, I gave her one, which cost sixpence! But, I go nowhere to get any thing pretty; therefore, do not think me neglectful. I send you Noble's letter; therefore, I hope you will get your cases in good order: they have had some narrow escapes. I am glad you liked South End. How that Coffin could come over, and palaver, Rowley, Keith, &c. and Coffin to abuse the Earl! Now, I can tell you, that he is the Earl's spy. It is Coffin, who has injured Sir Andrew Hammond so much: and his custom is, to abuse the Earl, to get people to speak out; and, then, the Earl takes his measures accordingly. To me, it is nothing. Thank God! There can be no tales told of my cheating; or, I hope, neglecting my duty. Whilst I serve, I will serve well, and closely: when I want rest, I will go to Merton.] You know[, my dear Emma,] that I am never well when it blows hard. Therefore, imagine what a [cruize] {cruise} off Toulon is ... heavy swell. [It would kill you; and myself, to see you. Much less possible, to have Charlotte, Horatia, &c. on board ship! And I, that have given orders to carry no women to sea in the Victory, to be the first to break them! And as to Malta, I may never see it, unless we have an engagement; and perhaps, not then: for, if it is *complete*, I may go home, for three months, to see you: but, if you was at Malta, I might absolutely miss you, by leaving the Mediterranean without warning.] The other day[,] we had a report that the French were out, ... when the alarm proved false. [Therefore, my dearest beloved Emma! Although I should be the happiest of men, to live and die with you, yet my chance of seeing you is much more certain by your remaining at Merton, than wandering where I may never go: and, certainly, never to stay forty-eight hours. You cannot, I am sure, more ardently long to see me, than I do to be with you: and, if the war goes on, it is my intention to get leave to spend the *next winter* in England: but I verily believe that, long before that time we shall have peace. As for living in Italy, that is entirely out of the question. Nobody cares for us, there, and be tormented out of my life. I should never settle my affairs there. I know, my own dear Emma, if she will let her reason have fair play, will say, I am right: but she is, like Horatia, very angry, if she cannot have her own way. Her Nelson is called upon, in the most honourable manner, to defend his country! Absence, to us, is equally painful: but, if I had either stayed at home, or neglected my duty abroad, would not my Emma have blushed for me. She could never have heard of my praises, and how the country looks up. I am writing, my dear Emma, to reason the point with you; and, I am sure, you will see it in its true light. But I have said my say, on this subject, and will finish.] I have received your letter with Lord William's and Mr. Kemble's ... this world of care and vexation. [But, never mind, my own dear-beloved Emma: if you are true to me, I care not – and approve of all my actions. However, as you say, I approve of them, myself; therefore, probably,

I am right. Poor Reverend Mr. Scott is, I fear, in a very bad way. His head had been turned by too much learning, and the stroke of lightning will never let him be right again. The Secretary Scott is a treasure; and I am very well mounted: Hardy is every thing I could wish or desire. Our days pass so much alike that, having described one, you have them all. We now breakfast by candlelight; and all retire, at eight o'clock, to bed.] Naples, I fancy ... General Acton has, I believe, more power than ever. [By Gibbs's letter, I see, he has sent over about my accounts at Bronte. He can have no interest in being unfriendly to me. Why should he? I want no great matters from him; and he can want nothing from me, that it is not my duty to give his Sovereigns: therefore, why should he be against us! For my part, my conduct will not alter, whether he is or not.] Our friend, Sir Alexander, ... But, I will turn from such stuff. [You ask me, Do you do right to give Charlotte things? I shall only say, my dear Emma, whatever you do in that way, I shall always approve. I only wish, I had more power than I have! But, somehow, my mind was not sharp enough for prize-money. Lord Keith would have made twenty thousand pounds, and I have not made six thousand. Poor Mr. Este, how I pity him! But, what shall I do with him? However, if he comes, I shall shew him all the kindness in my power.] {N. & B.}' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXXIX except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 351 except [].

300.22.10.1803 'The vessel is just going of. ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XXXIX.

301.???.1803 '[... perhaps it had better remain till next year. Mr. Haslewood will do what is right about Linton ... I don't mean to pale immediately the whole premises, as I can't afford it. At Michaelmas you will be able to give up Mr. Bennett's premises, and that will be a great expense saved, for after all, my dear Emma, we are not rich ... If Mr. Matcham wants his 4000l. he had better take it now I have it, not that I have any fears of Buonaparte's taking it from me. He be damned, and so he will. Amen ...] You have sent me, in that lock of beautiful hair, a far richer present than any Monarch in Europe could if he were so inclined. Your description of the dear angel makes me happy. I have sent to Mr. Falconet to buy me a watch, and told him if it does but tick, and the chain *full* of trinkets, that is all which is wanted. He is very civil, and Mrs. Falconet has sent word that she will do her best in chusing any thing I may want[; I believe they are very good people. ... Our friend Acton flatters us much as ever in time of danger ... If [Acton] was to quit Naples the kingdom is lost, and I almost fear it will if he stays. Buonaparte threatens that if he will not dismiss Acton, disarm his subjects, and get rid of English influence, that he would march another army to Naples. The King, with his own hand, has refused and order'd Gallo to demand the withdrawing of the present French troops. Will Russia & the Emperor allow these good loyal sovereigns to be sacrificed? ...]' – Morrison, ii, 219, 220 (No. 734), Pettigrew, ii, 371, footnote except [].

302.26.12.1803 Victory, Madalena 'My dearest Emma, After closing my dispatches the weather was so bad, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 359.

303.13.01.1804 Victory, under Majorca 'My own dear beloved Emma, I received, on the 9th your letters of ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XL, end of the text marked by dots (left out or lost).

304.20.01.1804 Victory '{My dear Emma,} I send a very neat watch for our god-child, ... that this may be soon is the sincere wish of[, my dear Emma, your ever

- most faithful & affectionate] {Yours, Nelson and Bronté.}’ – Pettigrew, ii, 372 except [], Morrison, ii, 222, 223 (No. 742) except {}.
- 305.10.02.1804 Victory, Madalena ‘My dearest Friend, We were blown in here on the 8th, in the heaviest gale of wind at N.E. and snow storm ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 373.
- 306.25.02.1804 ‘As Lord Nelson tells me that it is very probable this letter may not only be read, ... I am anxious in the extreme to hear that you are perfectly recovered from your late indisposition. ... my spasms have been very bad lately ... believe me [for ever], [my dearest Emma, your most faithful and attach’d.] {Yours.}[This goes by Spain.]’ – Pettigrew, ii, 375 except [], Morrison, ii, 225 (No. 747) except {}.
- 307.14.03.1804 Victory, off Toulon ‘[Young Faddy, my Dearest Emma, brought me, two days ago, your dear and most kind letter of November 26th, and you are sure that I shall take a very early opportunity of promoting him; and he appears to be grown a fine young man, but vacancies do not happen very frequently in this station. However, if he behaves well, he may be sure of me. With respect to Mr. Jefferson, I can [neither] say nor do any thing. The surgeon of the Victory is very able, excellent man, and the ship is kept in the most perfect state of health; and, I would not, if I could – but, thank [God] I cannot – do such an unjust act, as to remove him. He is my own asking for! And, I have every reason to be perfectly content. Mr. Jefferson got on, by my help; and, by his own misconduct, he got out of a good employ, and has seen another person, at Malta hospital, put over his head. He must now begin again; and act with much more attention and sobriety, than he has done, to ever get forward again: but, time may do much; and, I shall rejoice to hear of his reformation. I am not surprised, my dearest Emma, at the enormous expences of the watering place; but, if it has done my own Emma service, it is well laid out. A thousand pounds a year will not go far; and we need be great economists, to make both ends meet, and to carry on the little improvements. As for making one farthing more prize-money, I do not expect it; except, by taking the French fleet. And, the event of that day, who can foresee! With respect to Mrs. Graefer – what she has done, God and herself knows; but I have made up my mind, that Gibbs will propose an hundred pounds a year for her: if so, I shall grant it, and have done. I send you Mrs. Graefer’s last letter. Whilst I am upon the subject of Bronte, I have one word more – and your good, dear, kind heart, must not think that I shall die one hour the sooner; on the contrary, my mind has been more content ever since I have done: I have left you a part of the rental of Bronte, to be first paid every half year, and in advance. It is but common justice; and, whether Mr. Addington gives you any thing, or not, you will want it.] I would not have you lay out more than is necessary at Merton. ... I wrote to Gibbs, to desire he would send over [and purchase] the *armoisins*. ... I hope the watch is arrive safe. [The British Fair cutter, I hope, is arrived safe. She has three packets, from me, to England.] The [expences] {expenses} of the alterations ... I will provide a fund for the payment. [All I long for, just now, is to hear that you are *perfectly* recovered; and, then, I care for nothing: all my hopes are, to see you, and be happy, at dear Merton, again; but, I fear, this miscarriage of Pichergru’s in France, will prolong the war. It has kept the French fleet in port, which we are all sorry for.] Sir William Bolton was on board yesterday. ... but, I shall omit no opportunity. [I wrote to Mrs. Bolton a few months ago; and gave her letter,

- yesterday, to Bolton. He conducts himself very well, indeed. Ever, my dearest Emma, for ever, I am your most faithful, and affectionate] {Ever yours} Nelson [& Bronte] {and Bronté} [Although I cannot well afford it, yet I could not bear that poor blind Mrs. Nelson should be in want in her old days, and sell her plate; therefore, if you will find out what are her debts, if they come within my power, I will certainly pay them. Many, I are say, if they had commanded here, would have made money; but, I can assure your, for prizes taken within the Mediterranean, I have not more than paid my expences. However, I would rather pinch myself, than she, poor soul, should want. You good, angelic heart, my dearest beloved Emma, will fully agree with me, every thing is very expensive; and, even we find it, and will be obliged to economise, if we assist our friends: and, I am sure, we should feel more comfort in it than in loaded tables, and entertaining a set of people who care not for us. An account is this moment brought me, that a small sum is payable to me, for some neutral taken off Cadiz in may 1800; so that I shall not be poorer for my gift. It is odd, is it not? I shall, when I come home, settle four thousand pounds in trustees hands, for Horatia; for, I will not put it in my own power to have her left destitute: for she would want friends, if we left her in this world. She shall be independent of any smiles or frowns! I am glad you are going to take her home; and, if you will take the trouble with Eliza and Ann, I am the very last to object Tom, I shall certainly assist at college; and, I am sure, the Doctor expects that I should do the same for Horace: but I must make my arrangements, so as not to run in debt.]’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XLI except {} continued on April 9th, Pettigrew II 377 except [].
- 308.18.03.1804 ‘We have been expecting the French fleet at sea to relieve me from some anxiety, but many think (but I do not) that the Spanish fleet is to join them; but let us meet them in any reasonable numbers, and you shall, my dear Emma, have no reason to be ashamed of your own Nelson. ...’ – Morrison, ii, 226 (No. 750).
- 309.19.03.1804 ‘The gale seems abating, and I shall get off the vessel for Gibraltar. I have been very restless, my dear Emma, for these several days & nights and shall not be better till I hear your are quite recover’d. I am yours for ever and ever’ &c ‘P.S. - Hardy is well and desires his best respects.’ – Morrison, ii, 226 (No. 750).
- 310.??.03.1804 ‘I take my chance of a letter I wrote you yesterday going safe thro’ Spain, to say I rec^d last night your two letters of Jan^{ry} 15th and 28th, with respect to the lady, my friend at Gib^f. ...’ – Morrison, ii, 225 (No. 749).
- 311.??.03.1804 ‘... I don’t write more, as it is very uncertain how we stand with Spain; we have odd reports of M^f Frere and the Prince of Peace. ...’ – Morrison, ii, 226 (No. 751) incomplete.
- 312.02.04.1804 ‘I have, my dearest beloved Emma, been so uneasy for this last month; desiring most ardently to hear of your well doing! ...’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XLII.
- 313.07.04.1804 Victory ‘My dearest Emma, I send this by Captain Layman; ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 382.
- 314.09,04,1804 ‘I have wrote to the Duke; but, by your account, I fear he is not alive. ...’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, continuation of letter XLI, continued on April 14th.
- 315.09.04.1804 ‘Whilst I was writing, ..’ – Pettigrew, ii, 382.

- 316.10.04.1804 Victory, off Toulon 'My dearest Emma, I have received all your truly kind and affectionate letters to January 25th, ... the [*armorins*] {*armoisins*} will go under the care of Captain Layman, who unfortunately lost his sloop: ... [I am glad to here that you are going to take my dear Horatia, to educate her. She must turn out an angel, if she minds shat you say to her; and Eliza and Ann will never forget your goodness. My health is *so, so!* I shall get through the summer; and, in the winter, shall go home. You will readily fancy all I would say, and do think. My kind love to all friends.]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XLIII except { }, Pettigrew, ii, 382 except [].
- 317.14.04.1804 'I am so sea-sick, that I cannot write another line; except to say – God Almighty bless you, my dearest beloved Emma! Prays, ever, your faithful Nelson & Bronte.' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, continuation of No. XLI.
- 318.19.04.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, I had wrote you a line, intended for the Swift cutter, ... *all* the dispatches and letters had fallen into the hands of the enemy ... not equal to cope with any row-boat privateer. [As I do not know what letters of your's are in her, I cannot guess what will be said. I suppose, there will be a publication.] The loss of the Hindostan ... she shall not be dependent on any of them. [Your letter of February 12th, through Mr. Falconet, I have received. I know, they are all read; therefore, never sign your name. I shall continue to write, through Spain; but never say a word that can convey any information – except, of eternal attachment and affection for you; and that, I care not, who knows: for I am, for ever, and ever, your , only your, Nelson & Bronte. Poor Captain Le Gros had your note to him in his pocket-book, and that was all he saved. Mr. Este left him at Gibraltar, and went to Malta in the Thisbe. Captain Le Gros is now trying. I think, it will turn out, that every person is obliged to his conduct for saving their lives. She took fire thirteen leagues form the land.]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XLIV, Pettigrew, ii, 383 except [].
- 319.21.04.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, We have had a hard gale of wind for two days, and it is now lulling for a moment, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 384.
- 320.23.04.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, Hallowell has promised me, ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XLV.
- 321.28.04.1804 Victory '[I do not,] {M}[m]y dearest Emma, [pass over the 26th without thinking of you in the most affectionate manner, which the truest love and affectionate regard of man to a dear beloved woman, which could enter into my mind.] I have been for some days ... hold most dear, [and be assured, my dear Emma, that I am for ever and ever, and if possible more than ever, yours most faithfully,] {and believe me, Yours Nelson and Bronté.} Captain Layman ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 389 except [], Morrison, ii, 229 (No. 758) except { }.
- 322.03.05.1804 'I am much better, my dearest Emma, than yesterday. The ship is this moment going off. May heavens bless and preserve my own dear Emma & H., fervently prays your most affectionate' – Morrison, ii, 230 (No. 759).
- 323.03.05.1804 Victory 'Since I wrote you on the 28th April ... Buonaparte cares not for the lives of Frenchmen, ... God send a finish to it. ...' writing as Lord Nelson – Pettigrew, ii, 390.
- 324.05.05.1804 Victory 'I find, my dearest Emma, that your picture is very much admired ... They pretend that there were three pictures taken. I wish, I had them: but they are all gone, as irretrievably as the dispatches; unless we may read them

in a book, as we printed their correspondence from Egypt. [But from us, what can they find out! That I love you, most dearly; and hate the French most damnably.] Dr. Scott went to Barcelona, to try to get the private letters; but ... it must finish the war, and I have no fears for the event. [I do not say, all I wish; and which, my dearest *beloved* Emma – read that, whoever opens this letter; and, for what I care, publish it to the world – your fertile imagination can readily fancy I would say; but this I can say, with great truth, that I am, for ever, yours’s]’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XLVI, Pettigrew, ii, 391 except [].

325.22.05.1804 Victory ‘My dearest Emma, Your two letters *viâ* Lisbon ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 392.

326.27.05.1804 Victory ‘My dearest Emma, Yesterday, I took Charles Connor on board ...’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XLVII, continued on 30 May.

327.30.05.1804 Victory ‘[Charles is very much recovered. I write you, this day, by Barcelona. Your dear phiz – but not the least like you – on the cup, is safe: but I would not use it for the world; for, if it was broke, it would distress me very much. Your letters, by Swift, I shall never got back. The French Consul, at Barcelona, is bragging that he had three pictures of you from the Swift. I do not believe him; but, what if he had a hundred! Your resemblance is so deeply engraved in my heart, that there it can never be effaced: and, who knows? Some day, I may have the happiness of having a living picture of you! Old Mother L--- is a damned b---: but I do not understand what you mean, or what plan. I am not surprised at my friend Kingsmill admiring you and forgetting Mary; he loves variety, and handsome women. You touch upon the old Duke; but, I am dull of comprehension: believing you all my own, I cannot imagine any one else to offer, in any way. We have enough, with prudence; and, without it, we should soon be beggars, if we had five times as much.] I see Lord Stafford is going ... she is like her dear, dear mother. [I am sorry, if your account of George Martin’s wife is correct; he deserved a better fate. But, he is like Foley, gave up a great deal, to marry the relation of a great man: although, In fact, she is no relation to the Duke of Portland.] I wish, I could but be at dear Merton, ... and, particularly on the bridge. [I admire the seal; and God bless you, also! Amen. The boy, South, is on board another ship, learning to be a musician. He will return soon, when he shall have the letter and money. I hope, he will deserve it; but he has been a very bad boy: but good floggings, I hope, will save him form the gallows. Mr. Falcon is a clever man. He would not have made such a blunder as our friend Drake, and Spencer Smith. I hear, the last is coming, *via* Trieste, to Malta. Perhaps, he wants to get to Constantinople; and, if the Spencers get in, the Smiths will get any thing. Mr. Elliot, I hear, is a candidate for it. He complains of the expence of Naples, I hear; and, that he cannot make both ends meet, although he sees no company. The histories of the Queen are beyond whatever I have heard from Sir William. Prince Leopold’s establishment is all French. The Queen’s favourite, Lieutenant-Colonel St. Clair, was a subaltern; la Tour, the Captain in the navy, and, another! However, I never touch on these matters; for, I care not how she amuses herself. It will be the upset of Action; or, rather, he will not, I am told, stay. The King is angry with her; his love is long gone by.] I have only one word more ... and make mine to good Mr. Yonge. [What can I write him? I am sure, he must have great pleasure in attending you:] and, when you see sir William Scott, ... public and

- private character. [You will long ago have had my letter; with one to Davison, desiring he will pay for the alterations at Merton. I shall send you a letter of the hundred pounds a month, to the Bank.]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, continuation of letter XLVII, Pettigrew, ii, 393 except [].
- 328.30.05.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, I am writing this day by way of Gibraltar and Barcelona; to take both chances. I wrote you on the 22nd ... nothing new ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 394.
- 329.06.06.1804 Victory 'Since I wrote you, my dearest Emma, on the 30th and 31st of May, nothing new has happened except ... I am better, my dear, Emma, than I have been, and shall get through the summer very well[; and I have the pleasure to tell you, that Charles is very much recovered. There is no more the matter with his intellects, than with mine! Quite the contrary; he is very quick. Mr. Scott, who has overlooked all his things, says, his clothes, &c. are in the highest order he has ever seen. I shall place him in the Niger, with Captain Hilliar, when he joins; but, all our ships are so full, that it is very difficult to get a birth for one in any ship]. Would you conceive it possible! ... from six to seven weeks. [From you, I had letters, April 5th, and the papers to April 8th, received May 10th, with a convey. This goes through friend Gayner.] Sir William Bolton joined last night; ... I will order payment. [Remember me most kindly to Horatia, good Mrs. Cadogan, Charlotte, Miss Connor, and all our friends at dear, dear Merton; where, from my soul, I wish I was, this moment; then, I sincerely hope, we should have no cause for sorrow. You will say what is right to Mr. Perry Newton, Patterson, Mr. Lancaster, &c. you know all these matters. God in Heaven bless and preserve you, for ever! Prays, ever, your's most faithfully. ____]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XLVIII, Pettigrew, ii, 395 except [].
- 330.10.06.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, I wrote to you on the 6th ... I do not choose to say more on this subject. [With my kindest regards to Horatia and your good mother, Charlotte, Miss C. and all our friends, believe me, my dear Emma, for ever, your most faithful and affectionate ____]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter XLIX, Pettigrew, ii, 396 except [].
- 331.17.06.1804 Victory 'Not the least alteration has taken place ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 397.
- 332.18.06.1804 'Dr. Scott has just brought me from Barcelona one of your dear prints ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 398.
- 333.27.06.1804 Victory 'Last night, my dearest Emma, I received your three letters of ... You must not complain of my not writing, for I never miss an opportunity, as the following list will shew. ...' !!! list incomplete! '... by Rosas[; and be assured, my own Emma, that my fond attachment to you is greater if possible than ever]. You will see ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 406 except [], Morrison, ii, 232 (No. 764).
- 334.01.07.1804 Victory 'Although I have wrote you, my dearest Emma, a letter by Rosas, of June 27th, not yet gone ... as to England. [The Monmouth, which you complain of not hearing by, I knew nothing of her movements for some months before. The ships from Malta, with the conveys, pick up our letters at Gibraltar. Therefore, do not hurt my feelings, by telling me that I neglect any opportunity of writing.] Your letters of April 13th, ... Englishman into his house. [Gibbs is still at Palermo: I fancy, he will make a good thing of my estate; however, I wish it was settled. He wrote me, a short time since, that he wished I would give him a hint (but without noticing that it came from him) that I thought Mrs. Greaffer and her

child had better go to England; on pretence of educating her daughter, &c. But I would have nothing to do with any such recommendation. It would end in her coming to me, in England; and saying, that she could not live upon what she had, and that I advised her to come to England, or she should not have thought of it. In short, Gibbs wants to remove her. He is afraid of his pocket, I fancy; and the daughter is, I fancy, now in some seminary at Palermo, at Gibbs's expence. I wrote him word, fully, I would advise no such thing; she was to form her own judgment.] What our friends are after at Naples ... the obligations she was under to you, &c. [&c.] in very strong terms. [What could the name of the minister signify! It was the letters which was wanted to the Prime-Minister. But never mind; with prudence, we shall do very well. I have wrote to Davison, by land. Who, I am very sorry for; but, he never would take a friend's caution, and he has been severely bit. Your accounts of Merton delight me; and you will long ago have intended to have taken it from the hundred pounds a month.] You will not hear of my making prize-money. ... my [expences] {expenses} these last nine months. ... so Government don't care much for us. [Kiss my dear Horatia, for me! I hope you will have her at Merton; and, believe me, my dear Emma, that I am, for ever, as ever, your attached, faithful, and affectionate,] Nelson [& Bronte.] {and Bronté.}' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter L except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 407 except [].

335.01.07.1804 Victory '{My dearest Emma,} I have a moment, and but a moment ... Nothing from England since April 5th. [May God in Heaven bless and preserve you, my beloved Emma, for your ever most faithful & affectionate] {Yours.} All my public ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 409 except [] not marked by Morrison, Morrison, ii, 233 (No. 765) except {}.

336.09.07.1804 Victory 'Last night, my dearest Emma, I received your most kind letter of May 24th ... I have mentioned the date of every letter ... in March three; in April, six; in May, five; in June to the 19th three; ... always shut up in the Victory's cabin ... same conversation. [As for the great man at the P^y, I care nothing about him or her. She is a deep one.] Remember me ... Horatia for me.' – Pettigrew, ii, 409 except [], Morrison, ii, 234, 235 (No. 768).

337.11.07.1804 'We have the French news to June 28th. I have wrote to the qⁿ & lady at Naples about your pension. I think she must try & do something. God bless you.' – Pettigrew, ii, 409, Morrison, ii, 235 (No. 768).

338.12.07.1804 'We have Paris papers to June 27th. I believe we are never to hear from England again.' – Pettigrew, ii, 409, Morrison, ii, 235 (No. 768).

339.14.07.1804 'I wrote you, my dearest Emma, on the 8th, a letter dated June 27th, and July 4th, ... and 9th and 12th ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 411.

340.12.08.1804 Victory 'Although, my Dearest Emma, from the length of time my other letters have been getting to you, I cannot expect that this will share a better fate; yet, ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter LI.

341.13.08.1804 Victory 'If I could tell when to begin a letter to my dearest, beloved Emma, I could never tell when to stop. I want and wish to tell you all my thoughts and feelings, but that is impossible; for thoughts so rush upon thoughts, that I cannot, as I said before, know where to begin a letter. The jog-trot of [that] I have receiv'd, &c., &c., but ill accords with my feelings.] The Ambuscade brought me your letters to ... nor have I a scrap of a pen or newspaper from Davison. [What can be the meaning of all this? I do not understand it. Mrs. Voller has sent out her

son, but what can I do for a child who has never been at sea? for although he may have been borne upon ship's books, that will not make him a seaman. With all those advantages, or rather disadvantages, it must be some years before he can qualify himself to be a Lieut. Capt. Hardy has been so good as to rate him Mid. Here, and lent him to Capt. Durban, where, if he chuses, he may learn his profession. I know Mrs. Voller's uniform kindness to you and her goodness to the children upon every occasion, and therefore I should certainly be glad to do what I can to oblige her & good Mr. Voller; but I cannot, my dear Emma, do what is absolutely impossible. I have wrote her a civil letter. I have had the lad to diner, and I have requested Cpt. Durban, who is a very clever man, to keep him. I am equally obliged to good Hardy about Charles; if Capt. Hillier cannot rate him, Hardy will. Capel could do nothing for him in that way, therefore, from all circumstances, I have removed him entirely from the Phoebe and placed him in the Niger with a most excellent Captain, and who, I hope, will keep him until his time is served. I do not think he has yet learnt much of his business as a seaman, but I will answer his intellects are good enough. His eye is saved, and I do not think there will be a blemish. Mr. Magrath, the surgeon of the Victory, has been very kind and attentive to him. Mr. Scott had him every day to read and write. In the Phoebe he was allowed to do as he pleased, and to throw away money. Only think of 11pr. Of boots, half boots and shoes. We shall now sett (sic!) him off again, and he shall have 30l. a year, and that, I am sure, is abundance. The lad is well disposed, and I have no fears about him; nothing, my own Emma, shall be wanting on my part to be useful to him.] I do not believe one syllable of the intention of the late Admiralty ... the old Earl was led wrong [ag^t] {against} his better judgement many a time. I am not so [vex't] {vexed} with him ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 415 except [] not marked by Morrison, Morrison, ii, 238 (No. 777) except {}.

342.13.08.1804 'My beloved, how I feel for your situation and that of our dear Horatia, our dear child. ...' – Morrison, ii, 239 (No. 778).

343.13.08.1804 Victory 'I am now going to state a thing to you and to request your kind assistance, which, from my dear Emma's goodness of heart, I am sure of her acquiescence in. ...' – Morrison, ii, 239 (No. 779).

344.20.08.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, the Kent left us three days ago; ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter LII.

345.22.08.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, The ship was gone for Rosas, when the Spencer yesterday, nineteen days from Plymouth, joined us ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 419.

346.27.08.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, Your kind letters by Friend Gayner, ... to {July}[May] 19th. I do not[, my dear Emma,] believe ... I hope we shall live many years[and spend it together; the very thought of such bliss delights me]. ...*I do not expect much from it, never mind* [we shall never want with prudence]. ... *This goes by Triumph*. [Gibbs sends you a piece of Palermo silk, which I have requested Sir Robt. Barlow to send up from Portsmouth. He says there is nothing else worth your acceptance; he appears full of gratitude for your unremitted goodness to his daughter.] ... I will do it when I come home. [Mrs. Cadogan's account of your dress made me laugh. God in heaven bless you, my own dear Emma, and be assured that my only attachment is to you and at present my dear

Horatia.] ... You will see [your own dear] Nelson and Bronte.' – Pettigrew, ii, 420 except [], Sichel, p. 518 except {}, just additions.

347.31.08.1804 Victory – Say 30th, at evening. Therefore, I wrote, in fact, this Day, through Spain. 'My dearest Emma, Yesterday I wrote to you through Spain; ... for having any thing to do with us. [Mr. Greville is a shabby fellow! It never could have been the intention of Sir William, but that you should have had seven hundred pounds a year neat money; for, when he made the will, the Income Tax was double to what it is at present: and the estate which it is paid from is increasing every year in value. It may be law, but it is not just; nor in equity would, I believe, be considered as the will and intention of Sir William. Never mind! Thank God, you do not want any of his kindness; nor will he give you justice. I may fairly say all this; because my actions are different, even to a person who has treated me so ill. As to ---, I know the full extent of the obligation I owe him, and he may be useful to me again; but I can never forget his unkindness to you. But, I guess, many reasons influenced his conduct, in bragging of his riches, and my honourable poverty; but, as I have often said, and with honest pride, what I have is my own; it never cost the widow a tear, or the nation a farthing. I got what I have with my pure blood, from the enemies of my country. Our house, my own Emma, is built upon a solid foundation; and will last to us, when his house and lands may belong to others than *his children*. I would not have believed it, from any one but you! But, if ever I go abroad again, matters shall be settled very differently. I am working hard with Gibbs about Bronte, but the calls upon me are very heavy. Next September, I shall be clear; I mean, September 1805. I have wrote to both Acton and the Queen about you. I do not think she likes Mr. Elliot; and, therefore, I wish she had never shewn him my letters about you. We also know, that he has a card of his own to play. Dr. Scott, who is a good man – although , poor fellow! Very often wrong in the head – is going with Staines, in the Cameleon, just to take a peep at Naples and Palermo. I have introduced him to Acton, who is very civil to everybody from me. The Admiralty proceedings towards me, you will know much sooner than I shall. I hope they will do the thing handsomely, and allow of my return in the spring; but, I do not expect it.] I am very uneasy at your and Horatia being at the coast ... and happy shall I be, the day I join you. [*Gannam Justem*. Geatano is very grateful for your remembrance of him. Mr. Chevalier is an excellent servant. William says, he has wrote twice; I suppose, he thinks that enough.] This is written within three miles of the fleet in Toulon, who are looking very tempting. [Kind regards to Mrs. Cadogan, Charlotte, &c. and compliments to all our joint friends; for they are no friends of mine, who are not friends to Emma. God bless you, again and again!] Captain Hardy has not been very well ... Admiral Murray ... especially, since he has been promoted [... he expects his flag may get up. God bless you, my dearest Emma; and, be assured, I am ever most faithfully your's ____] {.'} – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter LIII except {}, part of the text at the end of the letter is left out, Pettigrew, ii, 422 expect []].

348.09.09.1804 Victory 'Since I wrote you, my dearest Emma, on August 30th, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 423.

349.22.09.1804 'Your two letters of August 7th and 13th ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 423.

350.29.09.1804 Victory 'This day, my dearest Emma, which gave me birth, ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter LIV.

- 351.02.10.1804 Victory 'It was only yesterday, my dearest Emma, ... Lord [M[oir]] {Moir}, in his letter to Davison, ... St. Vincent ... turned out for misconduct ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 425 except [], Morrison, ii, 239 (No. 782).
- 352.05.10.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, Hallowell is just arrived ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 426.
- 353.07.10.1804 Victory 2 P.M. 'I wrote you, my dearest Emma, this morning, by way of Lisbon; ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter LV, enumerated by Pettigrew (ii, 425) but not given.
- 354.10.10.1804 Victory 'This, my [own] dearest Emma, will, I dare say, be the last letter you will receive before you see [your own Nelson] {me}. Whatever ... I would wish you[, my Emma] to remain at Merton. ... You write so naturally that I fancy myself almost, not *quite*, in your [dear] company. ... with me. [Davison will pay all the bills, therefore you will not be more troubled on that matter.] I have much to say to you [but that I shall reserve to our happy, happy meeting. May God bless you, my dearest Emma, prays ever your faithful. You will to the Duke of Q., &c., &c., say everything that is civil. Love to Mrs. Cadogan, Charlotte, &c.].' – Pettigrew, ii, 427 except [], Morrison, ii, 241 (No. 783) except {}.
- 355.12.10.1804 enumerated by Pettigrew (ii, 427), but not given.
- 356.13.10.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, The dreadful effects of the yellow fever in Gibraltar ... and with dear Horatia. [The cutter returns with my answers directly; therefore, my own Emma, you must only fancy all my thoughts and feelings towards you. They are every things which a fond heart can fancy. I have not a moment; I am writing and signing orders, whilst I am writing to my own Emma. My life, my soul, God in Heaven bless you! Your letter is September 16th, your last is August 27th. I have not made myself understood about Mrs. Bolton's money. You give away *too* much. Kiss our dear Horatia a thousand times, for your own faithful Nelson. I send two hundred pounds, keep it for your own pocket money. You must tell Davison, and Haslewood, that I cannot answer their letters. Linton cannot be fixed; but you will know whether I come home, or stay, from Mr. Marsden. God bless you! Tell my brother, that I have made MR. Yonge a Lieutenant, into the Seahorse frigate, Captain Boyle. Once more, God bless my dearest Emma! ___ Write your name on the back of the bill, if you send any person for the money. I have scrawled three lines to Davison, that he should not think I neglected him in his confinement. I have received the inclosed from Allen. Can we assist the poor foolish man with a *character*?]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter LVI, Pettigrew, ii, 427 except [].
- 357.31.10.1804 Victory '{My dearest Emma,} Various circumstances make me rather ... The fleet is perfection, not one man ill of any complaint, ... sooner than this letter. [The cutter, I hope, my own Emma, arrived safe, and I have by her endeavoured to make some amends for the cruelty of Mr. Greville. What can he think of himself? However, I shall be happy in sharing my fate with yours. Believe, my dearest Emma, all I would say to you and what I think. But I must keep it to myself. I am expecting every hour the answer from the Admiralty.] The French fleet ... My cough is so so. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 432 except [], Morrison, ii, 245 (No. 790) except {}.
- 358.???.11.1804 Victory 'I yesterday, my dearest [beloved] Emma, had the happiness of receiving your [dear, kind, and affectionate] letters of ... That you have made them all happy I have no doubt, but you have made yourself poor. ... never was

ordered. [Mr Elliot, I believe, would not be satisfied anywhere. He has by this time, he writes me, 12 children, and is poor. Geo. Elliot is grown so proud that he scarcely deigns to own them for his cousins, and would scarcely speak to a very fine lad which Mr. Elliot has sent to sea, and is now on board the Amazon. Capt. Hardy says Geo. Elliot will turn out an ungrateful wretch, although he may be a good officer.] I have very attentive letters ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 433 except [], Morrison, ii, 245, 246 (No. 792).

359.06.11.1804 Victory 'Although I have wrote you by the Admiralty, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 434.

360.23.11.1804 Victory 'As all our communication with Spain is at an end, I can now only expect to hear [from my own dear Emma] by the very slow mode of Admiralty vessels, ... Minorca would at this moment have had English colours flying. [This letter, my dearest beloved Emma, goes – although in Mr. Marsden's letter – such a roundabout way, that I cannot say all that my heart wishes. Imagine every thing which is kind and affectionate and you will come near the mark.] Where is my successor? ... for a few months' rest I must have, very soon. If I am in my grave, what are the mines of Peru to me! ... I shall be with you before this letter. [May God bless you! Thomson desires to be most kindly remembered to his dear wife and children. He is most sincerely attached to them, and wishes to save what he can for their benefit.] As our means of communicating are cut off, ... idle rumour of battles, &c. &c. &c. [May Heavens bless your! Prays, fervently, my dear Emma, ever your most faithful and affectionate] Nelson [& Bronte.] {and Bronté.}' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter LVII except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 437 except [].

361.04.12.1804 Victory 'If any one could have told me that Admiral Campbell ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 438.

362.19.12.1804 Victory '{My dearest Emma,} Since I wrote you by the Ambuscade, ... I send this through Mr. [T.] {Falconet} at Naples, and as it will be read by the French and many others, I don't chuse to say anything more than I care for all the world knowing[, that I *love you*, more than anything in this world, and next my d^r H^a]. I keep everything packed up, ... My cough is still very, very bad, and I ought at this moment to have been snug at Merton; ... realize the fond wishes of my country. [May God Almighty keep you prays ever yours & only yours] {Yours, &c.} Remember me kindly to [good Mrs. Cadogan, Charlotte, Miss Connor, and] all our friends. I wish I could be with you all this [Xmas] {Christmas}, which I fully expected.' – Pettigrew, ii, 443 except [] not marked by Morrison, Morrison, ii, 251 (No. 802) except {}.

363.30.12.1804 Victory 'My dearest Emma, I received by the Swiftsure your letters ... our dear adopted Horatia ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 445.

364.14.01.1805 Victory 'Although, my dearest Emma, I have not heard that Mr. Falconet forwarded my other letter ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 450.

365.18.02.1805 Victory 'My dear Emma, When we passed the Faro, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 460.

366.20.02.1805 'Yesterday I was off Malta ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 461.

367.09.03.1805 Victory 'I do assure you, my dearest Emma, that nothing can be more miserable, or unhappy, than your poor Nelson. ...Captain Layman ... having ... lost all the dispatches and letters. ... It is now from November [2d] {2nd}, that I have had a line from England. ... I shall certainly go for dear England[, and a

thousand (times) dearer Merton. May Heavens bless you, my own Emma! I cannot think where Sir William Bolton is got to; he ought to have joined me, before this time. I send you a trifle, for a birth-day's gift. I would to God, I could give you more; but, I have it not! I get no prize-money worth naming; but, if I have the good fortune to meet the French fleet, I hope they will make me amends for all my anxiety; which has been, and is, indescribable. How is my dear Horatia? I hope you have her under your guardian wing, at Merton. May God bless her.] Captain Layman is now upon his trial. I hope he will come clear, with honour. ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter LVIII except { } continued on March 10th, Pettigrew, ii, 463 except [].

368.10.03.1805 'Poor Captain Layman has been censured by the Court, but I have my own opinion; I sincerely pity him ... but there will be an end of us all. [What has Charles Connor been about? His is a curious letter! If he does not drink, he will do very well; Captain Hilliar has been very good to him. Colonel Suckling, I find, has sent his on to the Mediterranean; taking him from the *Narcissus*, where I had been at so much pains to place him. I know not where to find a frigate to place him. He never will be so well and properly situated again. I am more plagued with other people's business, or rather nonsense, than with my own concerns. With some difficulty, I have got Suckling placed in the *Ambuscade*, with Captain Durban, who came on board at the moment I was writing.]' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, continuation of letter LVIII continued on March 31st, Pettigrew, ii, 463 except [].

369.13.03.1805 Victory, off Toulon, but not in sight 'Last night, my dearest Emma, I received your letters of ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 464.

370.30.03.1805 Victory 'Your letters, my [own dear beloved] dear Emma, by the *Ambuscade*, ... I am as anxious to see you as you can be to see me[for I love and revere you beyond all this world, because I feel you deserve it of me]; therefore I shall say no more upon that subject[but shall wait to give you much more efficacious proofs of my love than can be convey'd in a letter]. I admire dear Horatia's writing. I think her hand will soon be like her dear mother's, and if she is but as clever, I shall be content. ... any interest. [I am at this moment not a little vext (sic!) with Sir W^m Bolton; he is lazy, or he might have been worth £ 30,000, but he would not look after it. I never had such a chance, or I should have been a very rich man. I am more sorry for his family than himself. I have appointed him Post into the *Amphitrite*, and her and the *Renown* are prevented sailing for England from Gibraltar by waiting for him, and when I am likely to see him I can't tell. I am sorely vext (sic); he is a very good young man, but he never will do any good for himself, he has no activity. I move the whole fleet with ten times the rapidity than he does his brig. He might have been very rich and independent; this has vext me and all his friends here, for every man likes him as a good man. You will agree with me this is but a negative character.]' – Pettigrew, ii, 466 except [], Morrison, ii, 255, 256 (No. 813), incomplete.

371.31.03.1805 'The history of Suckling will never be done. ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, continuation of letter LVIII, continued on April 1st

372.01.04.1805 'I am not surprised that we should both think the same about the kitchen; ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, continuation of letter LVIII.

- 373.04.04.1805 Victory ‘My Emma, [and God forbid you should belong to any one else, that goose,] Sir W. Bolton has lost his frigate ... it vexes me. [The time draws near, my Emma, my love, my everything that’s dear ... and that we shall be happier, perhaps, if that is possible, than ever, and unless the French ... told you. [I need not say more except that I shall fly to Merton, dear, dear, Merton.] I shall take care ... will liberate me[(I must not say that) for my liberation makes me *all, all yours*. I dare not send a little letter, for what with sneaking and cutting all would be read. But let them read this, that I love you beyond any woman in this world, and next o]{. O}ur dear Horatia. How I long to settle what I intend upon her, and not leave her to the mercy of any one, or even to any foolish thing I may do in my old age. ... happy meeting [& very, very soon, prays your faithful]’ &c – Pettigrew, ii, 467 except [], Morrison, ii, 256 (No. 814) except {}.
- 374.05.04.1805 Victory, 9 p. m. ‘My dearest Emma, You will easily conceive my anxiety, ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 467.
- 375.19.04.1805 Victory ‘You will I am sure, my dearest Emma, feel for my cruel disappointment ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 469.
- 376.04.05.1805 Victory, Tetuan Bay ‘Your poor dear Nelson is, my dearest [beloved] Emma, very, very unwell. ... {,}[-]as yet I can get no {information}[confirmation] about them, ... but Providence {truly}{[, I rely,] will yet crown ... against untoward events. [You, my own Emma, are my first and last thoughts, and to the last moment of my breath they will be occupied in leaving you independent of the world and all I long in the world that you will be a kind and affectionate *Father* to my *dear* [a word obliterated - ‘own’?] DAUGHTER HORATIA, but my Emma your Nelson is not the nearer being lost to you for taking care of you in case of events which are only known when they are to happen and [to] an all wise Providence, and I hope for many years of comfort with you, only think of all you wish me to say and you may be assured it exceeds if possible your wishes. May God protect you and MY DEAR HORATIA; prays ever your most faithful and affectionate,]’ – Pettigrew, ii, 470 except [], Sichel, p. 517 except {}.
- 377.09.05.1805 Victory, off Cape St. Vincent ‘My dearest Emma, I think myself a little better, but I can neither drink porter nor eat cheese, ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 471.
- 378.09.05.1805 Noon ‘Captain Sutton has just joined. ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 472.
- 379.09.05.1805? ‘My dearest Emma, In case any thing should happen to the Wasp ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 473.
- 380.13.05.1805 Victory, 70 Leagues W.S.W. from Cape St. Vincent ‘My dearest Emma, No letter from any person for England ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 474.
- 381.16.05.1805 Victory at sea ‘My dearest Lady Hamilton, As it is my desire to take my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson, from under the care of Mrs. Gibson and to place her under your guardianship in order that she may be properly educated and brought up, I have therefore most earnestly to entreat that you will undertake this charge. ...’ – Sichel, p. 521.
- 382.20.05.1805 ‘Nothing yet have we seen, we are running nine miles *per hour*, 700 leagues from Barbadoes. ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 475.
- 383.04.06.1805 Victory, off Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes ‘My [own] dearest [beloved] Emma, [Your own Nelson’s pride and delight.] I find myself within six days of the enemy, ... the 6th of June will immortalize your own Nelson[, your fond Nelson]. May God ... {Admiral}[Adl.] Cochrane ... only pray for my success[, and

my Laurels I shall with pleasure lay at your feet, and a Sweet Kiss will be an ample reward for all your faithful Nelson's hard fag, for Ever and Ever I am your faithful ever faithful and affectionate] {Yours} Nelson and Bront{é}[e]. The {e}[E]nemy's fleet ... Tobago and Trinidad[a] ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 475 except [], Sichel, p. 518.

384.10.06.1805 Victory, off St. Lucia 'Your own dear Nelson, my Emma, is very sad - the French fleet have again escaped me. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 477.

385.11.06.1805 'We are under Montserrat, whence the enemy ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 477.

386.12.06.1805 Victory, 7 P.M. 'My own Emma, I have just anchored in St. John's road ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 479.

387.16.06.1805 Victory, 130 leagues from Antigua 'As I am sending a vessel to Lisbon ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 480.

388.18.06.1805 'As my letters are closed to the Admiralty, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 480.

389.20.07.1805 Victory, Gibraltar 'My dearest Emma, I am sure that you will feel my most severe affliction in not having met the enemy's fleet. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 481.

390.24.07.1805 Victory, off Ceuta 'I wrote you on the 20th, my Emma, by a merchant brig, ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 482.

391.25.07.1805 'This morning in the Gut, Captain Pettit of ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 482.

392.18.08.1805 Victory, Spithead 'I am, my dearest Emma, this moment anchored, ... I have not heard from {you}[my own Emma] since last April ... I have brought home no {honour} [honors] for my Country ... Riches that the Administration {took} care to give to others ... but I have brought home a most faithful & honourable [& beloved] heart [to my Emma & my dear Horatia. May Heaven bless you]. {The boat is waiting, and I must finish. This day two years and three months I left you. God send us a happy meeting, as our parting was sorrowful. Ever yours, Nelson and Bronté}' – Pettigrew, ii, 486 except [], Sichel, p. 517 giving an extract, except {}.

393.19.08.1805 Victory, Motherbank 'I am now, my dearest Emma, in quarantine, for the first time of my life ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 488.

394.14.09.1805 6 o'clock, George Inn 'My dearest Emma, I arrived here this moment, and Mr. Lancaster takes this. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 497.

395.15.09.1805 Victory 'My dearest Emma, Most probably some boat ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 497.

396.16.09.1805 Off Cunmore, 11 A.M. 'My beloved Emma, I cannot even read your letter. ... For a short time, farewell, Ever Yours, Nelson and Bronté.' – Pettigrew, ii, 498.

397.16.09.1805 Victory, off Portland, at noon, Wind West - foul 'I have read, my dearest Emma, your kind and affectionate letters of Saturday. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 499.

398.17.09.1805 victory, off Plymouth ... Nine o'Clock in the Morning. Blowing fresh at W.S.W. dead foul wind. 'I sent, my Dearest Emma, a letter for you, last night, in a Torbay boat, ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter LIX, continued on September 18th.

399.18.09.1805 Wednesday, off the Lizard. 'I had no opportunity of sending your letter yesterday, ...' – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, continuation of letter LIX.

- 400.20.09.1805 Victory, 30 [Leg^s] {leagues} S.W. from [Scilly] {Sicily} ‘My dearest Emma, A frigate is coming down, which we take to be the Decade, ... Kiss dear Horatia[. For ever yours,] {for Yours faithfully, Nelson and Bronté.}’ – Pettigrew, ii, 500 except [] not marked in Morrison, Morrison, ii, 266 (No. 839) except {}.
- 401.25.09.1805 Victory, off Lisbon ‘My dearest Emma, We are now in sight of the Rock of Lisbon, ... I have read[, my Emma,] with much interest your letters ... to after May 18th. {At first} I fancied that they had been {stopt}[stopped] by the Admiralty{, as}[on] the account of Sir {John Orde’s ... very long passage.} [John’s orders.] I mention all these circumstances that {you} [my dearest Emma] should never think that [her] Nelson neglects or forgets [her for one moment. No, I can truly say you are always present whereso ere I go]. I have this letter ready ... May God bless you[, my best, my only beloved,] and with my warmest affections to Horatia, be assured I am [for ever your most faithful and affectionat Nelson and Bronte.] {Yours, Nelson and Bronté.}’ – Pettigrew, ii, 500 except [], Sichel, p. 521 except {}, giving an extract.
- 402.01.10.1805 Victory ‘My dearest Emma, It is a relief to me to take up the pen and write you a line, for I have had, about four o’clock this morning, one of my dreadful spasms, ... and I am only quite weak{, but I do assure you, my Emma, that the uncertainty of human life makes the situation of you dearer to my affectionate heart}. The good people of England ... some hand in bringing it upon me. {I got round Cape St. Vincent the 26th, but it was the 28th before I got off Cadiz, and joined Admiral Collingwood, but it was so late that I did not communicate till next morning.} [I joined the fleet late on the evening of the 28th of September, but could not communicate with them until the next morning.] I believe my arrival was most welcome, not only to the commander of the fleet, but also to every individual in it, and when I came to explain to them the *Nelson touch*, it was like an electric [shock] {shot}. Some shed tears ... Some, my dear Emma, may be Judas’s, but the majority are certainly much pleased with my commanding them. {The enemy’s fleet is thirty-five or thirty-six sail-of-the-line in Cadiz. The French have given the Dons an old seventy-four to repair, and taken possession of the Santa Anna of 112 guns. Louis is going into Gibraltar and Tetuan to get supplies, of which the fleet is much in want; and Admiral Knight, as I am told, has almost made us quarrel with the Moors of Barbary; however, I am sending Mr. Ford and money to put us right again. God bless you Amen – Amen – Amen.}’ – *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton*, letter LX except {}, Pettigrew, ii, 506 except [].
- 403.01.10.1805 ‘... And when Louis’s squadron goes ...’ – Pettigrew, ii, 507, Morrison, ii, 267 (No. 843).
- 404.02.10.1805 ‘Last night I got your dear letters, September 18th, 19th, by Admiral Sutton. You must not complain of my short letters[, for all that I could write, was it a reason of paper, might be comprised in one short sentence, that I love you dearly, tenderly, and affectionately]. I have had, as you will believe, a very distressing scene with poor Sir Robert Calder. ... his best friends. [Our friend, Sir Evan, is a great courtier; whilst we are in prosperity, of that your face and voice may please him, he will be our admirer in different ways - me to feed his ambition, you to please his passion. But I can, and so can you, see into such friends. Why don’t (sic!) he serve poor Brent.] Louis, Hallowell, ... May God

- bless you[, my dearly-beloved Emma]. Kiss Horatia ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 507 except [], Morrison, ii, 267 (No. 843).
- 405.06.10.1805 Victory, 16 leagues west from Cadiz 'My dearest Emma, I wrote you on the 2nd, by the Nimble ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 510, Lloyd (1806), p. 190, contains more.
- 406.07.10.1805 'Since writing yesterday, I am more and more assured that the combined fleets will put to sea. ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 511.
- 407.19.10.1805 Victory, Noon, Cadiz, E.S.E. 16 leagues 'My dearest beloved Emma, the dear friend of my bosom. The signal has been made ...' – Pettigrew, ii, 515.
- 408.20.10.1805 'In the morning we were close to the mouth of the [Streights] {Straits}, ... which I suppose to be [34] {thirty-four} of the [Line] {line,} and six [Frigates] {frigates}. A group of them was seen off the lighthouse [off] {of} Cadiz this morning, but it blows so very fresh{, and} [&] thick weather{,} that I rather believe they will go into the [Bay] {harbour} before night. May God Almighty give us success over these fellows, and enable us to get a peace.' – Pettigrew, ii, 516 except [] not marked by Morrison, Morrison, ii, 269 (No. 847).
- 409.21.10.1805 codicil to Nelson's last will – Morrison, ii, 269, 270 (No. 848).

The following public collections contain a great part of the original manuscripts of the letters listed above:

National Maritime Museum,
Phillips Collection.

British Library,

Egerton Papers.

Add. MS. 34,274, f. 61. The catalogue of the manuscripts in the British Library remarks about this letter: 'Printed with large omission, in Pettigrew, ... ii, 78'. This letter is here listed as no. 157.

Add. MS. 34,989, f. 12. This letter is here listed as no. 5.

APPENDIX D

Example of a Discussion about Nelson's Involvement in Neapolitan affairs in 1799 between Badham and Mahan with a Final Comment by Laughton

Mahan's simple statement, in his life of Nelson, that a 'record of the court-martial [of Caracciolo] has not been preserved'¹ caused the following controversy with Badham in the *Athenaeum* under the heading 'Nelson at Naples'.

Badham: 'Sacchinelli prints in full Thurn's report to Ruffo'.²

Mahan: 'A report to Ruffo is not a record of a court martial ... Thurn's letter to Ruffo was a brief summary ...'.³

Badham: 'Capt. Mahan is indignant at my correcting his statement ... Whether the present U. S. practice prevailed a century ago in Naples is, I think, doubtful. And considering that in the official report sent to Ruffo it is stated that Caracciolo admitted the charges, only pleading extenuating circumstances, I was justified in imagining that Capt. Mahan had overlooked that report. To any one who has considered its contents, Capt. Mahan's whole remark will appear malapropos'.⁴

Mahan: 'Mr. Badham's persistence in confounding an official report – from Thurn to Ruffo – with a court-martial record, though vexatious to refute, is an amusing illustration of his inability to distinguish things which differ'.⁵

Badham: 'What Capt. Mahan says as to confusion on my part about a "verbatim" record of the court martial in Caracciolo's case is extraordinary, seeing that I characterized the whole idea of such a document as a grotesque anachronism. My charge against him was one of imperfect acquaintance with a record that actually exists'.⁶

¹ A. T. Mahan, 'Life of Nelson' (first edition, in 2 vols. 1897; Sampson Low, Marson: London, 1899), p. 390.

² *Athenaeum*, No. 3740, 1 July 1899, 36-37, 37.

³ *Athenaeum*, No. 3741, 8 July 1899, 65.

⁴ *Athenaeum*, No. 3742, 15 July 1899, 97-98, 98.

⁵ *Athenaeum*, No. 3744, 29 July 1899, 157-158, 158.

⁶ *Athenaeum*, No. 3745, 5 August 1899, 192.

In face of the whole controversy Laughton lost his patience and wrote enraged, but not without reason: 'Mr. Badham has for the last two years been busily employed in a violent attack on the fair fame of Nelson. ... he has really been working ... in the spirit of a vendetta which has presumably been nourished in his family ever since Capt. Foote discovered that the treaty to which he was a party had been branded by Nelson as infamous. And the methods by which he has carried this out are deserving of some attention'. After listing some of Badham's errors Laughton goes on: 'On a man who can gravely write such nonsense as that I have just quoted; who can persistently misquote and misrepresent the evidence of capable witnesses, and as persistently apply for support to the statements of a witness who is very plainly either incapable or dishonest; who is so ignorant of naval matters as not to know the difference between the record of a court-martial and a report of it, and so conceited as to describe Capt. Mahan's reference to the general and long-established usage as "a grotesque anachronism" – on which a man argument is thrown away, and the only course to adopt is to declare him beyond the pale of controversy'.⁷

⁷ *Athenaeum*, No. 3748, 26 August 1899, 290-291.

APPENDIX E: Synopsis of Accounts of the Death of Nelson that Have Some Claim to Authenticity

<p>Source</p>	<p>Letter written by the Rev. Alexander Scott to Mr. Rose, on 22 December 1805, published in: [Anon., A. and M. Gatty], <i>Recollections of the Life of the Rev. A. J. Scott, D. D. Lord Nelson's Chaplain</i> (London: Saunders and Otley, 1842), pp. 188-191.</p>	<p>James Harrison, <i>The Life of the Right Honourable Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson</i> (2 vols., [London]: C. Chapple, 1806), ii, 501-504.</p>	<p>William Beatty, <i>Authentic Narrative of the Death of Lord Nelson: with the Circumstances Preceding, Attending, and Subsequent to, that Event; the Professional Report on His Lordship's Wound; and Several Interesting Anecdotes</i> ([London]: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1807), pp. 35-85.</p>
<p>Subject</p>	<p>It is my intention to relate everything Lord Nelson said, in which your name was any way connected. ... I do not mean to tell you every thing he said. ...</p>	<p>... Dr. Scott ... except for a few moments, when he was sent to call Captain Hardy, he never left him. ...</p>	<p>... The Surgeon had just examined these two officers, and found that they were dead, when his attention was arrested by several of the wounded calling to him, 'Mr. Beatty, Lord Nelson is here: Mr. Beatty, the Admiral is wounded'. ... Mr. Burke was about to withdraw at the commencement of this conversation [with Captain Hardy]; but his Lordship, perceiving his intention, desired he would remain. ... His Lordship now requested the Surgeon, who had been previously absent a short time attending Mr. Rivers, to return to the wounded, and give his assistance to such of them as he could be useful to; 'for', said he, 'you can do nothing for me'. The Surgeon assured him that the Assistant Surgeons were doing everything that could be effected for those unfortunate men; but on his Lordship's several times repeating his injunctions to that purpose, he left him, surrounded by Doctor Scott, Mr. Burke, and two of his Lordship's domestics. ... The Surgeon, finding it impossible to render his Lordship any further assistance, left him ... It must occur to the reader, that from the nature of the scene passing in the cockpit, and the noise of the guns, the</p>
<p>Where does the information about Nelson's dying moments come from?</p>			

	Scott	Harrison	Beatty
			whole of his Lordship's expressions could not be borne in mind, nor even distinctly heard, by the different persons attending him. The most interesting parts are here detailed.
Was Nelson able to express himself sensibly?	He lived about three hours after receiving his wound, was perfectly sensible the whole time, but ...		
Was Nelson's speech affected by the pain he was suffering?	... compelled to speak in broken sentences, which pain and suffering prevented him always from connecting. ... adding in a hurried agitated manner, though with pauses ... - he was interrupted here by pain - after an interval he said, ... There were frequent pauses in his conversation. suffering the most extreme agony, suddenly exclaimed in a hurried manner ... This was afterwards repeated ... at intervals, in a low voice, ... speaking in low, though broken and unconnected sentences. ... he had, before, pronounced them [his last words] in a lower tone of voice ...	
Was Nelson calm or agitated?	... adding in a hurried agitated manner ... He repeated ... and told me to mind what he said, several times. Gradually he became less agitated, and at last calm enough to ask questions ... inquired with great anxiety, exclaiming aloud ... He grew agitated ... and doubted every assurance given him ... he instantly grew more composed ... Upon the Captain leaving him to return to the deck, Lord Nelson exclaimed very earnestly more than once, 'Hardy, if I live I'll bring the fleet to an anchor - if I live I'll anchor - if I	... This was afterwards repeated, in a calmer tone, to Dr. Scott; with whom he conversed, ... in a low voice, but perfectly collected. At times, the pain seizing him more violently, he suddenly and loudly expressed a wish to die. Then, again, he would grow calm and collected, and address himself to Dr. Scott; ... After each time of drinking, he was a short time calm and collected, and spoke a few sentences to dr. Scott; then, the pain again seizing him, he would heartily call out - 'Drink! drink!' Lord Nelson then enquired who were supporting him; and when the Surgeon informed him, his Lordship replied, 'Ah, Mr. Beatty! You can do nothing for me. I have but a short time to live: my back is shot through' ... [Beatty describes arrival of Scott and reports that Nelson addressed Scott:] 'Doctor, I told you so. Doctor, I am gone'; and after a short pause he added in a low voice, ...

	Scott	Harrison	Beatty
<p>What agitated Nelson? (1) Thoughts about Lady Hamilton and their daughter, Horatia.</p>	<p>live I'll anchor! – and this was earnestly repeated even when the Captain was out of hearing. ... After this interview [with Hardy], the Admiral was perfectly tranquil ...</p> <p>... adding in a hurried agitated manner, though with pauses, 'Remember me to Lady Hamilton! – remember me to Horatia! – remember me to all my friends. Doctor, remember me to Mr. Rose; tell him I have made a will, and left Lady Hamilton and Horatia to my country'. He repeated his remembrances to lady Hamilton and Horatia, and told me to mind what he said, several times. Gradually he became less agitated, 'Doctor, I was right – I told you so – <i>George Rose has not yet got my letter</i> – tell him! ... <i>Mr. Rose will remember</i> – don't forget, doctor, mind what I say'</p>	<p>... 'Doctor: remember me to Lady Hamilton, remember me to Horatia! Tell her I have made a will, and left her a legacy to my country'. ... He requested that Captain Hardy would bear his kindest remembrances to Lady Hamilton, and to Horatia; and inform them that he had left them as a legacy to his king and country, in whose service he willingly yielded up his life. 'Will you, my dear Hardy?' anxiously demanded his lordship. 'Kiss me, then!' Captain Hardy immediately kneeling, respectfully kissed the wan cheek of his adored commander. ...</p>	<p>... he added in a low voice, 'I have to leave Lady Hamilton, and my adopted daughter Horatia, as a legacy to my Country' ... Lord Nelson then said: 'I am a dead man, Hardy. I am going fast: it will be all over with me soon. Come nearer to me. Pray let my dear Lady Hamilton have my hair, and all other things belonging to me' after a pause of a few minutes, he added in the same tone [lower voice], 'What would become of poor Lady Hamilton, if she knew my situation!' ... his Lordship ... continued he [in his second conversation with Hardy], 'take care of my dear Lady Hamilton, Hardy: take care of poor Lady Hamiton. Kiss me, Hardy'. The Captain now knelt down, and kissed his cheek; when his Lordship said, 'Now I am satisfied. Thank God, I have done my duty'. Captain Hardy stood for a minute or two in silent contemplation: he knelt down again, and kissed his Lordship's forehead. His Lordship said: 'Who is that?' The Captain answered: 'It is Hardy'; to which his Lordship replied, 'God bless you, Hardy!' ... [after Nelson's confession Nelson said to Doctor Scott:] '<i>Remember</i>, that I leave Lady Hamilton and my Daughter Horatia as a legacy to my Country: and', added he, 'never forget Horatia'.</p>

<p>What agitated Nelson? (2) Waiting for Captain Hardy.</p>	<p>Scott ... [Nelson asked] questions about what was going on; this led his mind to Captain Hardy, for whom he sent and inquired with great anxiety, exclaiming aloud he would not believe he was alive, unless he saw him. He grew agitated at the Captain's not coming, lamented his being unable to go on deck, and do what was to be done, and doubted every assurance given him of the Captain's being safe on the quarter deck. ...</p>	<p>Harrison ... he ... soon grew prodigiously anxious to see Captain Hardy. His lordship had several times sent for him; and, not finding him come, began to imagine that he was no more. It was found difficult to efface this idea; and Dr. Scott felt it necessary himself to call Captain Hardy, who had been unwilling to quit his post at such an interesting period. ...</p>	<p>Beatty ... He evinced great solicitude for the event of the battle, and fears for the safety of his friend Captain Hardy. Dr. Scott and Mr. Burke used every argument they could suggest, to relieve his anxiety. ... Many messages were sent to Captain Hardy by the Surgeon, requesting his attendance on his Lordship; who became impatient to see him, and often exclaimed: 'Will no one bring Hardy to me? He must be killed: he is surely destroyed'</p>
<p>How did Captain Hardy inform Nelson about the course of the battle? How did Nelson react and what did he direct?</p>	<p>... Upon the Captain leaving him to return to the deck, Lord Nelson exclaimed very earnestly more than once, 'Hardy, if I live I'll bring the fleet to an anchor – if I live I'll anchor – if I live I'll anchor! – and this was earnestly repeated even when the Captain was out of hearing. ...</p>		<p>... They shook hands affectionately, and Lord Nelson said: 'Well, Hardy, how goes the battle? How goes the day with us?' – 'Very well, my Lord', replied Captain Hardy: 'we have got twelve or fourteen of the Enemy's Ships in our possession; but five of their van have tacked, and shew an intention of bearing down upon the Victory. I have therefore called two or three of our fresh Ships round us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing'. – 'I hope', said his Lordship, 'none of our Ships have struck, Hardy'. – 'No, my Lord', replied Captain Hardy; 'there is no fear of that'. ... [second visit, fifty minutes later] ... Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy shook hands again: and while the Captain retained his Lordship's hand, he congratulated him, even in the arms of death, on his brilliant victory; 'which', said he, 'was complete; though he did not</p>

¹ *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, ed. Nicholas Harris Nicolas (7 vols., London: Chatham Publishing, 1997, first edited 1844-1846), vii, 248, footnote 6: 'If, as the Victory's Log states, the Enemy's Van did not tack until half-past three, Captain Hardy could not have made this statement in *that* interview. ...'

	Scott	Harrison	Beatty
<p>Did Nelson speak about his death and the pain he was suffering? How did those present react?</p>	<p>... When I first saw him, he was apprehensive he should not live many minutes, and told me so, ... 'I shall die, Hardy', said the Admiral. 'Is your pain great, sir?' 'Yes, but I shall live half an hour yet - Hardy, kiss me'. The Captain knelt down by his side and kissed him. ...</p>		<p>know how many of the Enemy were captured, as it was impossible to perceive every Ship distinctly. He was certain however of fourteen or fifteen having surrendered'. His Lordship answered, 'That is well, but I bargained for twenty': and then emphatically exclaimed, '<i>Anchor, Hardy, anchor!</i>' To this the Captain replied: 'I suppose, my Lord, Admiral Collingwood will now take upon himself the direction of affairs'. - 'Not while I live, I hope, Hardy!' cried the dying Chief; and at that moment endeavoured ineffectually to raise himself from the bed. 'No', added he; 'do <i>you</i> anchor, Hardy'. Captain Hardy then said: 'Shall we make the signal, Sir?' - 'Yes', answered his Lordship, 'for if I live, I'll anchor' ...</p>
		<p>... At times, the pain seizing him more violently, he suddenly and loudly expressed a wish to die. ... At first, he expressed an eager desire for drink; saying - 'Drink! drink! drink, doctor!' and continually had lemonade given him. After each time of drinking, he was a short time calm and collected, and spoke a few sentences to Dr. Scott; then, the pain again seizing him, he would heartily call out - 'Drink! drink!' ... He frequently expressed much desire to have his face wiped; repeating, to Dr. Scott - 'Wipe my face, doctor! Doctor, wipe my face!' This being done, for a considerable time, he seemed to receive some comfort ... His lordship had, latterly, most vehemently directed Dr. Scott to rub his breast and pit of the stomach; where, (II 504) it seems probable, he now felt the</p>	<p>... his Lordship was requested by the Surgeon to make him acquainted with all his sensations. He replied, that 'he felt a gush of blood every minute within his breast: that he had no feeling in the lower part of his body: and that his breathing was difficult, and attended with very severe pain about that part of the spine where he was confident that the ball had struck; for', said he, 'I felt it break my back' ... but till after the victory was ascertained and announced to his lordship, the true nature of his wound was concealed by the Surgeon from all on board [including Nelson] except ... He now felt an ardent thirst; and frequently called for drink, and to be fanned with paper, making use of these words: 'Fan, fan', and 'drink, drink'. This he continued to repeat, when he wished for drink or the refreshment of cool air, till a very few minutes before he expired. Lemonade, and wine and water, were given to him occasionally. ... [Burke told Nelson] '... that he hoped his Lordship would still live to be</p>

	<p>Scott</p>	<p>Harrison</p> <p>blood beginning more painfully to flow, in a state of commencing congelation – ‘Rub me, rub me, doctor!’ he often and loudly repeated. This melancholy office was continued to be almost incessantly performed by Dr. Scott, till his lordship expired; and, indeed, for some time, afterward. ...</p>	<p>Beatty</p> <p>himself the bearer of the joyful tidings to his Country’. He replied, ‘It is nonsense, Mr. Burke, to suppose I can live: my sufferings are great, but they will all be soon over’. Dr. Scott entreated his lordship ‘not to despair of living’, and said, ‘he trusted that Divine Providence would restore him once more to his dear Country and friends’. – ‘Ah, Doctor!’ replied his Lordship, ‘it is all over’. ... Lord Nelson then said [to Captain Hardy]: ‘I am a dead man, Hardy. I am going fast: it will be all over with me soon. ...’ ... Captain Hardy observed, that ‘he hoped Mr. Beatty could yet hold out some prospect of life’. – ‘Oh! no’, answered his Lordship; ‘it is impossible. My back is shot through. Beatty will tell you so’. ... His Lordship now requested the Surgeon, who had been previously absent a short time attending Mr. Rivers, to return to the wounded, and give his assistance to such of them as he could be useful to; ‘for’, said he, ‘you can do nothing for me’. ... the Surgeon ... was called by Doctor Scott to his Lordship, who said: ‘Ah! Mr. Beatty! I have sent for you to say, what I forgot to tell you before, that all power of motion and feeling below my breast are gone; and <i>you</i>’, continued he, ‘very well <i>know</i> I can live but a short time’. ... The Surgeon answered, ‘My Lord, you told me so before’: but he now examined the extremities, to ascertain the fact; when his Lordship said, ‘Ah!, Beatty! I am too certain of it: Scott and Burke have tried it already.² <i>You know</i> I am gone’. The Surgeon replied: ‘My Lord, unhappily for our country, nothing can be done for you’; and having made this declaration he was so much affected, that he turned round and withdrew a few steps to conceal his emotions. His Lordship said: ‘I know it. I feel</p>
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	Scott	Harrison	Beatty
			<p>something rising in my breast', putting his hand on his left side, 'which tells me I am gone'. Drink was recommended liberally, and Doctor Scott and Mr. Burke fanned him with paper. ... upon the Surgeon's inquiring whether his pain was still very great, he declared, 'it continued so very severe, that he wished he was dead. Yet', said he in a lower voice, 'one would like to live a little longer, too' ... He then told Captain Hardy, 'he felt that in a few minutes he should be no more'; adding in a low tone, 'Don't throw me overboard, Hardy'. The Captain answered: 'Oh! no, certainly not'. - 'Then', replied his Lordship, 'you know what to do ...'. His thirst now increased; and he called for 'drink, drink', 'fan, fan', and 'rub, rub', addressing himself in the last case to Doctor Scott, who had been rubbing his Lordship's breast with his hand, from which he found some relief. ...</p>
What medical information is given?		<p>His lower extremities soon grew cold and insensible, and the copious effusion of blood from his lungs frequently threatened suffocation. ...</p>	<p>... The surgeon then examined the wound, assuring his Lordship that he would not put him to much pain in endeavouring to discover the course of the ball; which he soon found had penetrated deep into the chest, and had probably lodged in the spine. ... These symptoms [described by Nelson], but more particularly the gush of blood indicated to the Surgeon the hopeless situation of the case; ... He afterwards became very low, his breathing was oppressed, and his voice faint. ... [Beatty gives more detailed medical information after the death account, pp. 61-62, 67-71, 84-85]</p>
How did Nelson confess?	<p>... After this interview, the Admiral was perfectly tranquil - looking at me in his accustomed manner when alluding to any prior discourse. 'I</p>	<p>... 'Doctor, I have not been a great sinner; and, thank God, I have done my duty!' Then, as if asking the question, he repeated - 'Doctor, I have not been a great sinner?'</p>	<p>... He said to Dr. Scott, 'Doctor, I have <i>not</i> been a great sinner' ...</p>

	Scott	Harrison	Beatty
<p>What were Nelson's last words?</p>	<p>have not been a great sinner, doctor', he said.</p>	<p>Doctor Scott was too much affected immediately to answer. 'Have I?' he again eagerly interrogated. A paroxysm of pain now suddenly seizing him, he exclaimed, in a loud and most solemnly impressive tone – 'Thank God, I have done my duty! Thank God, I have done my duty!' After pronouncing these words, he had, apparently, suffered no pain; but gradually went off, as if asleep. ...</p> <p>... The last words the immortal hero uttered, were – 'Thank God, I have done my duty!' he had, before, pronounced them in a lower tone of voice: saying – 'Doctor, I have not been a great sinner; and, thank God, I have done my duty!' ... A paroxysm of pain now suddenly seizing him, he exclaimed, in a loud and most solemnly impressive tone – 'Thank God, I have done my duty! Thank God, I have done my duty!' ...</p>	<p>... The Captain now knelt down, and kissed his cheek; when his Lordship said, 'Now I am satisfied. Thank God, I have done my duty'. ... These words [drink, drink, fan, fan, rub, rub] he spoke in a very rapid manner, which rendered his articulation difficult: but he every now and then, with evident increase of pain, made a greater effort with his vocal powers, and pronounced distinctly these last words: 'Thank God, I have done my duty'; and this great sentiment he continued to repeat as long as he was able to give it utterance.</p>
<p>How did the actual death occur?</p>		<p>... After pronouncing these words, he had, apparently, suffered no pain; but gradually went off, as if asleep. Indeed, every person who surrounded him, except Dr. Scott, who had long felt the current of life sensibly chilling beneath his hand, actually thought, for some time, that he was only in a state of somnolency.³ It was, however, the sleep of death, the blood having entirely choaked up his incomparable heart. ...</p>	<p>... His Lordship became speechless in about fifteen minutes after Captain Hardy left him. Dr. Scott and Mr. Burke, who had all along sustained the bed under his shoulder (which raised him in nearly a semi-recumbent posture, the only one that was supportable to him), forbore to disturb him by speaking to him; and when he had remained speechless about five minutes, his Lordship's Steward went to the Surgeon, who had been a short time occupied with the wounded in another part of the cockpit, and stated his apprehensions that his Lordship was dying. The</p>

Scott		Harrison	Beatty Surgeon immediately repaired to him, and found him on the verge of dissolution He knelt down by his side, and took up his hand; which was cold, and the pulse gone from the wrist. On the Surgeon's feeling his forehead, which was likewise cold, his Lordship opened his eyes, looked up, and shut them again. The Surgeon again left him, and returned to the wounded who required his assistance; but was not absent five minutes before the steward announced to him that 'he believed his Lordship had expired'. The Surgeon returned, and found that the report was but too well founded: his Lordship had breathed his last, at thirty minutes past four o'clock; at which period Doctor Scott was in the act of rubbing his Lordship's breast, and Mr. Burke supporting the bed under his shoulders.
Which elements are from accounts that were published before Harrison's biography of Nelson?		... His eyes, however, appeared to brighten, and his spirits to revive, on hearing the cheers given by the crew of the Victory as the different ships of the enemy surrendered ... About half past four, however, Captain Hardy attended on his lordship; who eagerly enquired, how many ships were captured. On being informed, by the captain, that twelve, which he could see, had certainly struck; and that probably, more might have surrendered, as the victory seemed nearly compleat [sic] the dying hero hastily exclaimed – 'What, only twelve! There should have been, at least, fifteen or sixteen, by my calculation! However', added he after a short pause, 'twelve are pretty well!' ... The dying hero now desired that his affectionate regards	

	Scott	Harrison might be presented to his brave officers and men; and said, that he could have wished once more to have beheld his beloved relatives and friends, or even to have survived till he had seen the fleet in safety; but, as neither was possible, he felt resigned, and thanked God for having enabled him to do his duty to his king and country. ...	Beatty
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APPENDIX F: The Song 'The Death of Nelson' and Its Variations

<p>'The Death of Nelson' – first published as Finale to the 2nd Act of: 'The Americans, A Comic Opera, in Three Acts, Performing with Universal Applause at the Theatre Royal Lyceum. Written by S. Arnold Esq. The Music Composed by M. P. King & Mr. Braham.' (London, [1811])</p>	<p>'The Death of King Dirt. And Triumph of "Borax", Health & Beauty. <u>A Cosmetic Revolution</u> since The Death of Nelson. Arranged To the Original Air by "AAG". For The Patent Borax Company.'" (Birmingham: Patent Borax Works, [c. 1880])</p>	<p>Geoffrey Thom, "Twas in Trafalgar Square. Humorous Parody on "The Death of Nelson"" (London: Francis Bros. & Day, [1888]) Composed by Braham</p>
	<p>Picture on title page shows side-view of HMS Victory, below is says: 'Lord Nelson's Ship "The Victory" now at Portsmouth'</p>	<p>Picture on title page shows wild demonstration on Trafalgar Square, policemen beating demonstrators, hats flying through the air, orator standing on a board supported by barrels (only one visible) waving a red flag (only colour in picture) some poor men joining in declamations, elegantly dressed men look on with an earnest or even sombre view, on top of the music hall sheet cover is says: 'Sung by. Fred Lay, Horace Wheatley, J. Burgess, and the author.'</p>
<p><i>Recitative. Larghetto.</i> O'er Nelson's Tomb, with silent grief oppress'd BRTANNIA mour[n?]'d her Hero,</p>		<p><i>Larghetto. Recitative.</i> O'er freedom's doom, with silent grief oppress'd, This hero mourns with nothing on his</p>

<p>now at rest: But those bright laurels ne[']er shall fade with years, Whose leaves whose leaves are water'd by a Nations [sic] tears.</p>		<p>chest; And those bright morals, once receiv'd with cheers, Have been, have been quite flummux'd by a p'liceman's jeers.</p>
<p><i>Aria. Allegro.</i> [Trumpets, three times] 'Twas in Trafalgar's bay, We saw the Frenchmen lay each heart was bounding then We scom'd the foreign yoke, For our ships were British oak, And hearts of oak our men! Our Nelson mark'd them on the wave, Three cheers our gallant seamen gave, Nor thought of home or beauty, [twice] Along the line this signal ran, "England expects that every man, This day will do his duty." [line twice]</p> <p><i>Second Verse.</i> And now the cannons roar, Along th'affrighted shore, Our Nelson led the way, His ship the Victo'ry named. Long be that Vict'ry famed,</p>	<p><i>Allegro. Maestoso.</i> [trumpets, three times] In California's Bay 'Twas said the crystals lay, But who to trace and find? By enterprise and skill, Their missions to fulfil, As aids to humankind England's bold son the task essayed For washing and for laundry maid, With cheers for home and duty, [twice] And soon through lines of clothes there ran The news that this brave Englishman Had Borax found in plenty [line twice]</p> <p>And now from that far shore, Of Extract we've a store For every washing day. This extract, Borax named, Will long as soap be famed,</p>	<p><i>Allegro Maestoso.</i> [trumpets, several times] 'Twas in Trafalgar Square, I've lately spouted there, The roughs were bounding then; None fear'd the peeler's yoke, their staves were British oak, And hearts of coke our men; Three jeers those mounted p'licemen gave, As Warren mark'd them on the pave, For mutton bone and cookey, [twice] They cried as down the Strand we ran, Warren expects that every man, Will much exceed his duty. [line twice]</p> <p><i>Agitato.</i> I made a peeler roar, With a brickbat on his jaw, Then boldly ran away; I next another main'd, Where I should be ashamed,</p>

For Vict'ry crown'd the day!
But dearly was that conquest bought,
Too well the gallant Hero fought,
For England, home, and beauty! [twice]
He cried, as 'midst the fire he ran,
"England expects that every man
This day will do his duty." [line twice]

Third Verse.

At last the fatal wound,
Which spread dismay around,
The Hero's breast received

"Heav'n fights on our side,
The day's our own," he cried!
"Now long enough I've lived!
In honour's cause my life was past,
In honour's cause I fall at last
For England, home, and beauty!" [last
bit twice]

Thus ending life as he began,
England confess'd, that every man
That day had done his duty. [twice]

In wash house song and lay.
And cheaply can this boon be bought,
And Borax Extract now is sought
by every washing beauty; [twice]
Singing, as it they use, each one,
"I quickly get my washing done,"
"And now can do my duty" [line twice]

Borax Extract of Soap
Brings joy, with health and hope,
To wash with, scrub, or scour;

And now from every side,
We hear it boldly cried,
"Borax of soap the flower"
For Ladies, who've thro' troubles
pass'd,
The washing boon is found at last,
For home and health and beauty, [line
twice]

And, servants, if you've not begun,
Use Borax Extract, every one,
With ease to do your duty. [twice]

Exactly quite to say,
But dearly was that conquest bought,
Too well that damaged crusher fought,
For Scotland Yard and cookey. [twice]
He cried as for my head he ran,
Warren expects that every man,
Will spoil some fellow's beauty! [line
twice]

Largo e con espressione.

At length the bay'net wound,
Which spread dismay around,
This Hero's back, this Hero's back, this
... Hero's back receiv'd;

"The Guards fight on their side
I can't sit down!" I cried,
To think for this I've lived;
Three weeks in Pentonville I've passed,
I thank my stars I'm out at last,
With my limbs whole, and beauty; [line
twice]

I end this song as I began,
Warren confess'd that every man,
Had over done his duty,
Had proved himself a beauty.

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3.3 Poems and Songs, written after the Battle of Trafalgar

Collections of poetry referred to in the following list:

[Anon.], *Fairburn's Naval Songster or Jack Tar's Chest of Conviviality, For 1806: Being an excellent Cargo of celebrated, popular, and choice Sea-Songs, Intended to Commemorate the Last Glorious Victory, Death and Memory of Britannia's ever to be lamented, Immortal, and Gallant Hero, Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson!!! To Promote Mirth and Glee, and to fir the Honest Heart of a Sailor With Emulation to imitate his brave Deeds, Courage and Humanity; With a Narrative of the ever memorable, Gallant, and Daring Exploit of old Neptune's darling sons, the British Seamen!!! Led on by that heroic son of Neptune, Lieut. Yeo! At Muros Bay, June 4th, 1805, included in a Letter from Old Dick Grog, To all his Brother Tars in England or elsewhere; With a Particular List of the Naval Victories, and a well stowed Locker of New Toasts and Sentiments, Written expressly for this Work.* (Fairburn: London, 1806) [hereafter: *Fairburn's Naval Songster*].

[Anon.], *A Garland of New Songs. Containing. The Death of Lord Nelson. Tom's Triumph. The Jew Broker. Bacchus one Day.* (Penrith: [n. pub., printed by A. Soulby, c. 1812, though British Library assumes: c. 1820]) [hereafter: *A Garland of New Songs*].

[Anon.], *Neil's Pocket Melodist, or, Vocal Repository. To contain all the most-admired Songs in the English Language. Each Number embraces the NEW Songs, as they come out a the Theatre, &c.. The present Number contains several written on the much-lamented Death of Lord Nelson* ([London]: A. Neil, [1805]) [hereafter: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*].

Blagdon, Francis William: see Orme.

Collingwood, Adam, *Anecdotes of the Late Lord Viscount Nelson; Including Copious Accounts of the Three Great Victories Obtained over the Combined Forces of France, Spain, &c. off the Nile, Copenhagen & Trafalgar, Also, Or the various Engagements and Expeditions wherein his lordship signalised his Courage. An Authentic Account of His Death, with the circumstances attending the Passage of the Ship after leaving the Fleet, till its Arrival in England. To which is added, The Ceremonial of his Funeral, The Services, Anthems, and other solemn Rites. Also, Select Poetry, To commemorate the greatest Naval Victories that ever adorned the Page of History, and to add one small Tribute to the Name of Immortal Nelson* (London: J. Stratford, 1806) [hereafter: Collingwood].

Jones, John, *Biographical Memoirs of ... Nelson ...* (Dublin: John Jones, 1805) [hereafter: Jones].

Newbolt, Henry, *The Year of Trafalgar. Being an Account of the Battle and of the Events which led up to it, With a Collection of the Poems and Ballads Written*

Thereupon Between 1805 and 1905 (John Murray: London, 1905) [hereafter: Newbolt].

[Orme, Edward, and] Francis William Blagdon, *Orme's Graphic History of the Life, Exploits, and Death of Horatio Nelson, ... containing fifteen Engravings; and Intended as an Accompaniment to the three Celebrated Whole-Sheet Plates of His Lordship's splendid Victories, Viz. The Battles off St. Vincent's, the Nile, and Trafalgar, Which are Explained by References and keys* (London: Edward Orme, 1806) [hereafter: Orme].

Raleigh Trevelyan and others: *Luctus Nelsoniani: Poems on the death of Lord Nelson in Latin and English, written for the Turtonian medals* (F. Wingrave: London, 1807) [hereafter: *Luctus Nelsoniani*].

1. [Anon.], 'Ad Gallorum, ut Vocatur, Imperatorem'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 252.
2. [Anon., 'A. P.'], *An Acrostic Elegy on the much Lamented Lord Viscount Horatio Nelson* [music print].
3. [Anon.], 'Admiral Nelson's Victory' [to the tune of 'Hearts of Oak']; published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, pp. 101-102.
4. [Anon.], 'The Battle of Trafalgar' (Stirling: C. Randall, [n. d.]); published in: Newbolt, pp. 211-212.
5. [Anon.], 'The Battle of Trafalgar' (Glasgow: J. and M. Roberson, 1807); published in: Newbolt, pp. 213-217.
6. [Anon., 'Nauticus'], 'The Battle of Trafalgar'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1044-45.
7. [Anon., 'P.'], 'Britannia'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 455.
8. [Anon., 'Marino'], 'Britannia mourns! Her daring Nelson dead' [first line]; published in: Jones, p. 140.
9. [Anon., W.], 'Britannia's flag again triumphant flies' [first line]; published in: Jones, pp. 150-151.
10. [Anon.], 'Britannia, Mourn the Hero Slain' [to the tune of 'Rule Britannia']; published in: *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 31.
11. [Anon.], 'Britannia thinks her Victory nought!' [first line]; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 189.
12. [Anon., 'M. B.'], 'Cold damps of death ...' [first line]; published in: Jones, pp. 136-138.
13. [Anon.], 'Conquest in Death. Sung at a Dinner given by a noble Lord to the Volunteers of his District, Dec. 5, 1805' [to the tune of 'Rule Britannia']; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 61-62.
14. [Anon.], *Death of Lord Nelson* [on broadsheet with: *Undaunted Mary or the Banks of sweet Dundee*] ([n. pl.]: J. Catnach, [n. d.]).
15. [Anon.], 'The Death of the Hero'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 97.
16. [Anon.], 'Dialogue between the Muses [about 'their inability to write an Epitaph for his tomb']'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 253-254.
17. [Anon.], 'Dirge on the Death of Ld. Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1046.

18. [Anon.], 'Elegy'; published in: Collingwood, pp. 146-147.
19. [Anon.], 'England Expects Each Man Will Do His Duty' [to the tune of 'Rule Britannia']; published in: *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 29.
20. [Anon.], 'Epitaph'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 177.
21. [Anon., 'R.'], 'ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΝ ΝΕΛΣΩΝΟΣ'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 1151.
22. [Anon., 'ascribed to ... Baron Smith, of Ireland'], 'Epitaph on Lord Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 160.
23. [Anon.], 'Epitaph on Lord Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 1056.
24. [Anon.], 'Epitaph on Lord Viscount Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1048.
25. [Anon.], 'Epitaph proposed for the National Monument in St. Paul's Cathedral'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1047-48.
26. [Anon.], *Eulogium Sacred to the Memory and Genius of The Gallant Lord Nelson* (Edinburgh: R. Scott & J. Menzies, 20 January 1806).
27. [Anon., 'Eliza'], 'Eulogy on Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 62-63.
28. [Anon.], 'Eusebia and Britannia'; published in: Jones, pp. 133-134.
29. [Anon.], 'Extempore'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1047.
30. [Anon.], 'The following lines were written on the Anniversary of the ever-memorable 21st October, by one who has lost a limb in the service of his Country'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 77 (1807), 1146.
31. [Anon.], 'For a Trafalgar Cenotaph'; published in: Newbolt, p. 241.
32. [Anon.], *Funeral Ode For Music, to the Memory of the Immortal Hero, Lord Nelson* [music print] (London: J. Haddock, 1805).
33. [Anon.], *Grand Conversation on Brave Nelson* [on broadsheet with: *Barnet Races*] ([no publication details, after 1843]).
34. [Anon., 'A sailor'], 'Grand Ode. On the Death and Funeral of the Late Lord Nelson'; published in the author's collection: *The Son of Commerce, An Original Poem, in Thirty-four Cantos, written by a sailor. To which is added His Grand Ode. On the Death and Funeral of the Late Lord Nelson*. (London: Printed and sold by Moore & Son for the author, 1806).
35. [Anon., 'HAFIZ'], 'Hard is the Poet's task'; published in: John Jones, *Biographical Memoirs of ... Nelson ...* (Dublin: John Jones, 1805), pp. 131-133.
36. [Anon., 'Henricus'], 'Hark Britons hark! brave Nelson cried' [first line]; published in: Jones, pp. 155-156.
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39. [Anon.], 'The Hundredth Year. Drake, and Blake, and Nelson's mighty name'; published in: Newbolt, pp. 243-244.
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43. [Anon.], 'Lauri Cantabrigienses. Quas in Immortalem Nelsoni Victoriam nec minus immortale fatum Gulielmo Turton Ill'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 167-168.
44. [Anon.], 'Lines occasioned by reading an Account of the Monuments about to be erected to the Memory of Lord Viscount Nelson'; published in: Jones, p. 151.
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46. [Anon.], 'Lines. On the Death of Lord Viscount Nelson'; published in: [Anon.], *Memoirs of the Life and Death of the Right Honourable Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson, Vice-Admiral of the White, ...* (Liverpool: C. Goodchild, 1806), pp. 269-271.
47. [Anon., 'L. E. L[andon]'], 'Lines to Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy, G. C. B., Governor of Greenwich Hospital, 1826'; published in: Newbolt, p. 227.
48. [Anon., W. P.], 'Lines written on the Victory obtained over the combined Fleets of France and Spain, on the 21st October last'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1046-1047.
49. [Anon.], 'The Love of Glory'; published in: Orme, p. 64; *The Times*, 21 February 1806.
50. [Anon., 'Written by an Officer of the Royal Navy, and Spoken as a Monody, at the Theatre Royal, Richmond, December 3, 1805'], 'Lo! Where Trafalgar's rocks th'Atlantic brave' [first line]; published in: Orme, pp. 65-66.
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52. [Anon.], 'Mors Nelsoni'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 175-184.
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54. [Anon., 'Hafiz'], 'Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 160.
55. [Anon., 'A. E. N.'], 'Nelson'; published in: *The Navy League Journal*, 11 (1906), 289.
56. [Anon.], 'Nelson and Buonaparte'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1047.
57. [Anon.], 'Nelson and Collingwood'; published in: *Real Sailor Songs*, ed. John Ashton, p. 19 .
58. [Anon.], *Nelson and Trafalgar* ([no publication details, December 1805]).
59. [Anon.], 'Nelson, an Elegy'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 325.

60. [Anon., dated 'Glasgow College, May 30, 1806], 'Nelson. A Poem'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 185-216.
61. [Anon.], 'Nelsonia virtus'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 61-64.
62. [Anon.], 'Nelson's Death' [to the tune of 'Anacreontic Song']; published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, pp. 98-99; *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, pp. 30-31.
63. [Anon., 'a Young Lady Eight Years of Age'], *Nelson's Death, The Words by a Young Lady Eight Years of Age. The Music Composed by S. Ball. Organist Ipswich* (London: Printed for the Author, [c. 1805]).
64. [Anon.], 'Nelson's Glorious Victory', from: *Great Nelson's Laurels* (Seven Dials: J. Pitts, [n. d.]); published in: Newbolt, p. 219.
65. [Anon.], 'Nelson's Glorious Victory at Trafalgar'; published in: *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. C. H. Firth ([London]: Navy Records Society, vol. xxxiii, 1908), pp. 301-302.
66. [Anon.], *Nelson's Monument* [on broadsheet with: *Conversation betwixt the old and the new London Bridge*] ([no publication details]).
67. [Anon.], 'Nelson's tomb'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1047.
68. [Anon.], 'Nelson's Tomb, inscribed to the Army, Navy, and Volunteers of the United Kingdom'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 325.
69. [Anon., 'a Young Gentleman'], *Nelson's Tomb, The Words by a Young Gentleman. The Music Composed by S. Ball. Organist Ipswich* (London: Printed for the Author, [c. 1805]).
70. [Anon., 'C. L.'], 'Nelson, the gallant Nelson, is no more'; published in: Jones, pp. 143-145.
71. [Anon.], 'The New-Born Year'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 255.
72. [Anon.], 'A New Song Composed on the Death of Lord Nelson'; published in: *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. C. H. Firth ([London]: Navy Records Society, vol. xxxiii, 1908), pp. 302-304.
73. [Anon.], *A New Song on the Death of the Gallant Lord Nelson ... Tune: Rule Britannia* (London: J. Pitts, [n.d.]).
74. [Anon., 'R.'], 'Nil desperandum est'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 1151.
75. [Anon.], 'No Artist's hands the trophies column raise' [written by 'a traveller passing' and 'left upon the table of the Inn at Taynult', place of 'a pillar of rude granite, of about 17 feet in height, to the memory of the immortal Hero whose name it bears', erected by 'the Workmen of the Lorn Furnace Company']; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 80 (1810), 461.
76. [Anon.], 'No marble monument the Hero needs' [first line]; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 1056.
77. [Anon.], 'Ode'; published in: Orme, pp. 63-64.
78. [Anon.], 'Ode Graeca, in comitiis maximis, A. D. 1806'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 169-172.
79. [Anon.], 'Ode in Victoriam Trafalgar'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 149-154.

80. [Anon.], 'An Ode on the Victory and Death of Lord Viscount Nelson'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal*, 49 (1806), 95.
81. [Anon., 'W. P.'], 'Ode recited at Covent-garden Theatre upon the Anniversary of the Trafalgar Fight, a little altered to humour the poetical turn of Seamen'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 1052-53.
82. [Anon.], *Ode. To the Memory of the late Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, recited at Covent Garden Theatre. On the 21st October, 1806, Being the Anniversary of the Day on which the lamented Officer died.* ([no publication details, c. 1806]).
83. [Anon.], *Ode. To the Memory of the Officers and Men of the Squadron, under the Command of the deeply-revered Lord Nelson, who fell in atchieving [sic] the Victory of Trafalgar on the 21st October, 1805* ([no publication details]).
84. [Anon.], 'On Lord Nelson's being wounded through his Star. To the Enemy'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 656.
85. [Anon.], *On reading the Account of the VICTORY'S sailing for England with the Captured Flags of France and Spain, and the Body of Lord NELSON, after the Victory gained by the British Fleet off Cape Trafalgar, the 21st October, 1805* ([no publishing details, London, c. 1805]); published also in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 844.
86. [Anon., C. L.], 'On seeing prefixt to the Title of the Official Account in the Newspapers of the Death of Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, in the great Victory off Cadiz, Oct. 21, 1805, these words – "Nelson, the gallant Nelson, is no more!"'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1045.
87. [Anon., 'G. M.'], 'On the Death of Lord Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1046.
88. [Anon.], 'On the Death of Lord Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1047.
89. [Anon.], 'On the Death of Lord Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 952.
90. [Anon.], 'On the Death of Lord Nelson, and the Battle off Trafalgar, on the 21st of Oct. 1805'; published in: *Naval Chronicle*, xv (1806), 68.
91. [Anon.], 'On the Death of Lord Viscount Nelson'; published in: [Anon.], 'Memoirs of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Nelson ...' (Birmingham and London: Swiney & Ferrall/T. Curson Harsard, 1806), p. 45.
92. [Anon.], "'Per Mare et Terras". On the Achievements and Lamented Fall of the Immortal Nelson, the Saviour of His Country'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 103-147.
93. [Anon., J. A.], 'Preface'; published in: [Anon.], *The Life of the Right Honourable Horatio, Lord Viscount Nelson, Vice-Admiral of the White ...* (Edinburgh and London: Denham & Dick and T. Tegg, 1806), pp. iii-iv.
94. [Anon.], *The Progress of Glory in the Life of Horatio Lord Nelson, of the Nile. Palmam qui meruit ferat* (Whitehaven: printed for the author, 1806) [a life of Nelson in verse].
95. [Anon.], 'The Quarter-Gunner's Yarn'; published in: *Newbolt*, pp. 232-234.

96. [Anon.], 'Recitavit in Theatro, Johannes Latham, Coll. Aen. Nas. Commensalis Junii 18, 1806'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 165-166.
97. [Anon., 'Stella'], 'See, victory's banner triumphant wave ...' [first line]; published in: Jones, pp. 158-159.
98. [Anon., 'G. D. and E. B.', which stands for: George Daniel and Edwin Bentley], 'Stanzas on Lord Nelson's Death and Victory' (London: [n. pub.], 1806); according to note by George Daniel in the copy held at the British Library, the poem was written in November 1805, when both authors were about 16 years of age.
99. [Anon.], 'Tho' I do love my country's weal' [first line]; published in: Jones, p. 152.
100. [Anon.], 'Trafalgar'; published in: Jones, pp. 141-143.
101. [Anon.], 'Trafalgar'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 155-164.
102. [Anon.], *Trafalgar, as Sung by Mr. Bartleman, at the Vocal Concerts, Hanover Square, 1806. Set to music ... by Dr. Callcott* (London: printed for the author, 1806).
103. [Anon., 'Hafiz'], 'The Triple Loss [Nelson, Cornwallis, Pitt]'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 160.
104. [Anon.], *True Greatness; or, Tributary Stanzas to the Glorious Memory of Lord Viscount Nelson. Dedicated to The Committee of the Patriotick Fund*. (London: R. Scholey, 1806).
105. [Anon. (at the time), George Canning], 'Ulm and Trafalgar'; published in many prints at the time and in: Newbolt, pp. 190-193.
106. [Anon.], 'Veni, Vidi, Vici'; printed in: Jones, p. 156.
107. [Anon.], *Verses on the Death of Lord Nelson* (London: William Clarke, 1806).
108. [Anon., 'Lord Carlisle'], 'Verses on the Death of Lord Nelson'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal*, 49 (1806), 97.
109. [Anon., 'a naval officer'], 'Verses, written by a naval officer'; published in: Collingwood, pp. 145-146.]
110. [Anon., 'G. C.'], 'The Victory at Trafalgar'; published in: *Naval Chronicle*, xv (1806), 67-68.
111. [Anon.], *Victory in Tears; or the Shade of Nelson*'; published in: Newbolt, pp. 205-206; reviewed in: *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal*, 49 (1806), 321-22.
112. [Anon.], 'A Vision'; published in: Jones, p. 157.
113. [Anon., 'HAFIZ'], 'The Vulture streamed ...' [first line]; published in: Jones, p. 139.
114. [Anon., 'LEO'], 'Wandering from town to town, I go' [first line]; published in *Gentleman's Magazine* 76 (1806), 750.
115. [Anon.; 'a young Lady'], 'When battle raged ...' [first line]; published in: Jones, pp. 134-135.
116. [Anon.], 'When Nelson fell amid the Western flood' [first line]; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 656.

117. [Anon.], 'Yes, as he liv'd, so did the Hero fall' [first line]; published in: [Anon.], *The Life of Admiral Lord Nelson ...* (Birmingham: Martin, [1805]), p. 47.
118. Abbot, Charles, 'A Monody on the Death of the late universally-lamented Hero of the Nile, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar, the Right Hon. Horatio Lord Nelson, &c who fe[ll] gloriously off Cadiz, October 21, 1805'; reviewed in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 352; *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal*, 49 (1806), 96.
119. Arriaza, Juan Bautista, 'La tempestad y la guerra, o El combate de Trafalgar'; published in: *Poetas líricos del siglo XVIII*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 67, 1875), p. 67.
120. Arnold, [no first name given], 'A Tribute to the Memory of Lord Nelson. ... Composed as a Glee by Mr. G. T. Smart, And sung by Messrs. Gore, Leet, and the Composer, at the Grocer's annual Dinner, on Lord Mayor's Day'; published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, p. 68; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1045; *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 26 (under the title 'The Hero Conquers and Dies').
121. Arnold, S., 'The Death of Nelson'; published in the author's: *The Americans, A Comic Opera, in Three Acts, Performing with Universal Applause at the Theatre Royal Lyceum. Written by S. Arnold Esq. The Music Composed by M. P. King & Mr. Braham.* (London: [n. pub., 1811]); this song has gone through innumerable editions; for its text and variations of it see appendix F.
122. Ashley, [no first name given], 'Again, the loud-ton'd trump of Fame' [first line]; published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, p. 62; also published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1047; *The Times*, 7 November 1805 (first performed in 6 November, the day the news of the battle and Nelson's death reached London); *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 33.
123. Barrett, [no first name given], 'The Death of Nelson' [to the tune of 'The Arethusa']; published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, pp. 100-101; under the title of the first line 'to England's Fame Another Ray' also published in: *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 26; under the title 'Lord Nelson's Garland' also published in: [Anon.], *The Young Lasses' Song, or What wou'd a Young Lassie do wi' an Auld Man. And. Bonaparte o'er the Sea, Auld Gudeman Ye're a Drunken Body, Lord Nelson's Garland* (Falkirk: [n. pub., printed by T. Johnston, 1813?]), pp. 7-8.
124. Begbie, Harold, 'England's Day – The Twenty-First of October'; published in: *The Navy League Journal*, 6 (1901), 204.
125. Begbie, Harold, 'The First Line. October 21, 1805'; published in: *The Navy League Journal*, 6 (1901), 204.
126. Bellew, Robert, 'Trafalgar: a Rhapsody on the Death of Lord Nelson'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal*, 49 (1806), 221.
127. Bentley, Elizabeth, *An Ode on the Glorious Victory over the French and Spanish Fleets, on the 21st of October, 1805, and the Death of Lord Nelson* (Norwich: [n. pub., printed by: Stevenson & Matchett, November, 1805]); published also in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 252.

128. Beresford, James, 'The Battle of Trafalgar. Stanzas ... To which is added Nelson's Victory, a Song'; reviewed in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 60; *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal*, 48 (1805), 438-39.
129. Bland, R., 'Epitaph written in St. Paul's Cathedral at the Funeral of Nelson'; published in: Newbolt, p. 202.
130. Boman, M., 'Nilsonias, sive epicedium in fata praematura herois invictissimi, thalassarchi perillustris D:ni Horatii Nelson, ...'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 65-102.
131. Bouden, J., 'What means that sigh? ...' [first line]; published in: Jones, pp. 145-148.
132. Bowles, W. L., 'Toll Nelson's Knell'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1044.
133. Bray, Edward Atkyns, 'A Funeral Ode, in Two Parts, on the Death of Lord Nelson'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 322.
134. Bridges, Robert (Poet Laureate), 'Der Tag: Nelson and Beatty', published in: *October and Other Poems, With Occasional Verses on the War* (London: William Heinemann, 1920).
135. Bridges, Robert, 'He standeth in stone' [first line]; published in: Arthur Bryant, *Nelson* (Collins: London, 1970), frontispiece.
136. Brookes, J., *An Heroic Poem, Written on the Glorious Achievements of the Right Honourable Horation Lord Viscount Nelson, ... Under the British Flag, over the Combined Fleets of France and Her Allies* (Shrewsbury: printed for the author, 1810).
137. Browning, Robert, 'Home-Thoughts, from the Sea', published in: *The Complete Works of Robert Browning. With Variant Readings & Anotations*, ed. Roma A. King (16 vols., Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1969-1998), iv (1973), 188; the poem was first published 1845.
138. Butler, Samuel, 'Epicedium upon the Death of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, after a series of heroic and transcendent Services, fell gloriously in the Battle of Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805 "In the hour of Victory"'; published in: *Naval Chronicle*, xv (1806), 65; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1046 (giving the author only as 'S. B.').
139. Butler, Weeden, 'Nelson and Collingwood'; published in: *The Times*, 7 December 1805; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 62; *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, pp. 16-18; Collingwood, pp. 141-143.
140. Button, E., 'The Battle of Trafalgar ... composed by Mr. A Voigt'; published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, p. 77; *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 24.
141. Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord, 'Nelson was once Britannia's god of war' [first line]; first published in 1819, quoted from: *Byron's Don Juan. A Variorum Edition*, eds. Truman Guy Steffan and Willis W. Pratt (4 vols., Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957), ii, 23 [verse 4 of canto I].
142. Campbell, Thomas, 'Battle of the Baltic'; written between 1805 and 1808; published in: *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* (London: Edward Moxon, 1837), p. 81.

143. Carey, William, *Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronti, In the glorious victory obtained on the 21st of October, 1805, by the British Fleet, under his lordship's command, over the combined Fleets of France and Spain* (Sheffield: [n. pub.], Nov. 11, 1805).
144. Chanard, J. M., *Trafalgar. Poème en neuf chants, par ..., suivi d'un hommage a la marine ainsi qu'a l'armée de terre* (chez Fleury, Baume, l'Auteur : Toulon, 1847).
145. Chesterton, G. K., 'Blessed are the Peacemakers'; published in: *The Collected Poems of G. K. Chesterton* (7th edition, London: Methuen & Co, [1939]), pp. 123-124.
146. Chesterton, G. K., 'A Patriotic Song'; published in: *The Collected Poems of G. K. Chesterton* (7th edition, London: Methuen & Co, [1939]), pp. 28-29.
147. Craig, E., 'Nelson and Victory' [to the tune of 'True Courage']; published in: [Anon.], *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, pp. 64-65; published under the title 'Tom Splice' in: *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 23.
148. Craig, E., 'Tom Splice' [to the tune of 'True Courage']; published in: *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 23.
149. Croker, J. W., 'Songs of Trafalgar', published in: *Newbolt*, pp. 194-201.
150. Cumberland, R., 'In death's dark house the Hero lies' [first line]; published in: R. Cumberland, *A Melo-Dramatic Piece; Being an Occasional Attempt to Commemorate the Death and Victory of Lord Viscount Nelson. Written by R. Cumberland. The Overture and Music composed by M. P. King and Mr. Braham; And Represented at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane, On Monday, November 11, 1805.* (Lackington, Allen, and co.: London, [1805]), p. 4; *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, p. 71; *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 16.
151. Cumberland, R., *Nelson's Dirge, For Four Voices, Written by R. Cumberland, Esqr. The Music, Composed by J. Clark, M. B. Oxon.* (London: printed for the author, [c. 1806]).
152. Cumberland, R., *On The Death of Nelson, A Glee For 4 Voices, Words by R. Cumberland, Esqr. The Music, Composed by J. Clark, M. B. Oxon.* (London: printed for the author, [c. 1806]); also published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1044; *Naval Chronicle*, xiv (1805), 498.
153. Dane, Clemence (Winifred Ashton), *Trafalgar Day 1940* (London: William Heinemann, 1940).
154. Dibdin, Charles, 'The Arrival of Nelson's Corpse'; published in: *Newbolt*, p. 223.
155. Dibdin, T., 'Death and Victory, ... Sung by Mr. Hill, at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in the Interlude of Nelson's Glory, at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden' [to the tune of 'To Anacreon in Heaven']; published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, pp. 97-98; *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 15.
156. Dibdin, T., 'The Death of Nelson, on the 21st October, sung by Mr. Incedon in the Interlude of Nelson's Glory, at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden' [to the tune of 'The Storm']; published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, p. 96; *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, pp. 12-13.

157. Dibdin, T., 'The Great Nation [France]' [to the tune of 'The tight Little Island.']. Sung by Mr. Fawcett, in the Interlude of 'Nelson's Glory', performed at Covent Garden Theatre. ...' (Preston: London, [1805]); also published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, p. 93-95.
158. Farjeon, Eleanor and Herbert, *Nelson. 1758-1805. Two-part Song. Music by Colin Taylor. Words by ...* (Singing Class Music – Edward Arnold & Co's Series, London: edited by Thomas F. Dunhill, 1939).
159. Fernández de Moratín, Leandro, 'La sombra de Nelson'; published in: *Obras de Don Nicolás y de Don Leandro Fernández de Moratín* (Madrid: 'Biblioteca de Autores Españoles', 1944), pp. 609-610; extracts of the poem with English reviews can be found in *Monthly Review*, 1806, 526-27, and Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson* (7 vols., London: Chatham Publishing, 1997; first edition: 1844-1846), vii, 364-65.
160. Fitzgerald, W. T., 'An Address to England on Her Nelson's Death'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 75 (1805), 1044 (and review in 76 (1806), 59-60); *The Times*, 12 November 1805; *Naval Chronicle*, xv (1806), 71.
161. Fitzgerald, William Thomas, 'Nelson's Tomb'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 48 (1805), 441-42.
162. Flesher, Gilbert, 'The victorious sailor, to the memory of Admiral lord Nelson, Composed on the east Cliff, Ramsgate.' (Towcester: [n. pub.], 1828).
163. Fox, [no first name given], *Monody on the Ever-to-be-Lamented Death of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson* (London: Miles, 1806); the author also designed an accompanying mourning scene, see appendix A, plate 15.
164. Gallego, Juan Nicasio, 'A Quintana, por su oda al combate de Trafalgar'; published in: *Poetas líricos de siglo XVIII*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1911), p. 413.
165. Gálvez, María Rosa de, *Oda en elogio de la marina española* (Madrid, 1806).
166. Gibbon, [no first name given], 'Rest, rest in peace, bright Honour's son' [first line]; published in: [Anon.], *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, pp. 62-63; *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 34.
167. Goodwin, T., 'He died in Victory. Written by Mr. T. Goodwin. Composed by Mr. Shield, and sung by Mr. Incledon' [first line]; published in: *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 25.
168. Goodwin, T., 'Nelson's Victory ... Composed by Mr. Shield, and sung by Mr. Incledon, at Covent Garden Theatre'; published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, pp. 71-72.
169. Graves, Robert, '1805'; published in: *Collected Poems 1975* (London: Cassell, 1975), pp. 144-145.
170. Gray, H. B., 'Nelson'; published in: *The Navy League Journal*, 10 (1905), 318.
171. Green, W. H., 'The Departed Hero. A Ballad' [to the tune of 'The Mulberry Tree']; published in: *Neil's Pocket Melodist*, pp. 59-60; *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 21.

172. Grinfield, Charles V., 'Acrostic on Nelson'; published in: *The Navy League Journal*, 10 (1905), 318.
173. Halloran, Laurence, *The Battle of Trafalgar, a Poem. To which is added a selection of Fugitive Pieces. Chiefly Written at Sea.* (London: printed for the author, 1806).
174. Hamilton, Joseph, *Nelson Our Leader is Slain a Naval Ballad Sung with universal Applause at the Rotunda by Mr. Philipps. Composed by I. Cooke* (Goodwin's Music Shop, 20 Sackville St., Dublin, [1805]).
175. Hamper, W., 'Inscription respectfully proposed for a Pillar to the memory of the illustrious Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 159.
176. Hardy, Thomas, *The Dynasts. An Epic-Drama of the War with Napoleon, in Three Parts, Nineteen Acts, & One Hundred & Thirty Scenes. The Time Covered by the Action Being about Ten Years* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1910), particularly pp. 38-40, 85-89, 92-98, 100-102, 107-108 ('Song. The Night of Trafalgar).
177. Harley, George David, 'The Fight off Trafalgar. A descriptive Poem'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 317-18.
178. Harrington, J. P., *Nelson's Name. ... Music by James W.[illiam] Tate. Sung with Immense Success by Mr. George Leyton* (London: Published for C. Arthur Pearson and the "Daily Express" by Elkin & Co, 1905); this song was advertised in: *Pearson's Magazine*, October 1905, p. 385.
179. Hawke, Martin Bladen, 'Trafalgar; or, Nelson's Last Triumph'; published in: *Newbolt*, pp. 203-204.
180. Hennah, Richard, 'On the Glorious Victory off Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805'; published in: *Collingwod*, pp. 143-145.
181. Hicks, R. M., 'The Nelson Room'; published in: *The Nelson Despatch*, 1, part 9 (January 1984), 148.
182. Hughes, Thos Smart, 'Ode Latina Numismate Annuo Dignata, et in curia cantabrigiensi recitata, A. D. 1806'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 173-174.
183. Jefferson, Samuel, *A Nelson Garland. Being a Series of Poems for Nelson Day* (London: The Marlborough Press, 1905).
184. Johnston, John, *Lord Nelson: a poem, by John Johnston, a Surviving Veteran of Trafalgar. With a Biographical Sketch of His Life. By A. B. Todd* (London: Elliot Stock, 1874).
185. Knight, Reginald A., *The Nelson-Touch. A Naval Song. ... Music by Edward Lockton* (London: Metzler & Co, 1915).
186. Lewis, William, *Trafalgar. or, It was a Glorious Victory. ... Composed by H. W. May. Sung by Albert Rivers* (London: Francis, Day & Hunter, late Francis Bros. & Day: London, [1905?]).
187. Lilly, J., *Nelson's Grave, The Words by J. Lilly. The Music Compos'd by S. Ball. Organist Ipswich.* (Printed for the Author: London, [c. 1805]).
188. Lyster, Lynn, 'Trafalgar Marconigram. 1908 to 1805'; published in: *The Navy League Journal*, 13 (1908), 364.

189. McGonagall, William, 'The Battle of the Nile'; published in: *Last Poetic Gems Selected from the Works of William McGonagall*, ed. James L. Smith (Dundee/London: David Winter & Son / Gerald Duckworth & Co, 1968), pp. 20-24.
190. Mainwaring, Jacobo, 'In Nelsoni Obitum'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 37-60.
191. Male, [no first name given], 'The Fight off Trafalgar. Written by Mr. Male, of the Theatre Royal, Drury lane, and composed by Mr. Corri'; published in: *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, pp. 27-29.
192. Marsh, Avon, and Edward Teschenmacher, 'Songs of the Service', 1 – *Nelson's gone a-sailing*, 2-*A Soldier or a Sailor*. Words by Avon Marsh/Edward Teschenmacher, Music by Hermann Löhr (Chappell & Co: London, [1903]).
193. Marshall, Thomas, 'A Poem on the Death of Admiral Lord Nelson'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 97.
194. Mauri, Juan Maria, 'La agresión británica'; published in: *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 29 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1948), pp. 487-490.
195. Maxey, Samuel, 'The Victory of Trafalgar. A Naval Ode in Commemoration of the Heroism of the British Navy'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 316.
196. May, Frank, *Trafalgar. Grand Naval Divertimento Descriptive of teh Famous Battles and the Death of Nelson*. Composed by Frank May (Manchester: Marks & Spencer, 1906).
197. Meredith, George, 'Trafalgar Day'; in: *Poems* (3 vols, Memorial Edition, London: Constable and Company, 1910), iii, 100-101.
198. Mills, A. J., *Nelson from his monument. ... Composed by Bennett Scott* (London: The Star Music Publishign Co., 1906).
199. Mitchell, Elizabeth Harcourt, *The Battle of Trafalgar. A Ballad* (London: J. Masters and Co., 1887).
200. Mor de Fuentes, José, *El combate naval del 21 de octubre* (Madrid: Cano, 1805); extracts of the poem with English reviews can be found in *Monthly Review*, 1806, 526, and Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson* (7 vols., London: Chatham Publishing, 1997; first edition: 1844-1846), vii, 367, 368, where the author is misspelt 'Morales'.
201. Myers, T., 'Nelson Triumphant'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 317 (accused of plagiarism from Fitzgerald, 'Nelson's Tomb').
202. Odell, Jonathan, 'Song. To the Memory of Lord Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 749.
203. Orme, [no first name given], *Britannia Weeps – A Funeral Monody on the much lamented Lord Viscount Nelson*. Written by M^r Orme arranged with an accompaniment for the Piano Forte by G. Lanza jun^r [music print] ([no publication details]).
204. Palgrave, Francis T., 'Trafalgar. Ballad for chorus and Orchestra. ... The Music by Hugh Blair' (London: Novello and Company, 1905).

205. Pearce, Paulin Huggett, *The Funeral of Lord Nelson. A Poem* (London: [n. pub.], 1850).
206. Pearce, Paulin Huggett, *Lord Nelson's Battles and Swimming Treatise* (London: [n. pub., Roberts, printer, 1868]).
207. Pindar, Peter [pseud. of John Wolcot], 'A loyal Song, On Lord Nelson's Victory'; published in a booklet by the author: *Tom Halliard, A Ballad. To which is added, A loyal Song, On Lord Nelson's Victory, and the Sailor's Rant* (Penrith: Ann Bell, [c. 1810]).
208. Pindar, Peter [pseud. of John Wolcot], 'Tom Halliard'; published in a booklet by the author: *Tom Halliard, A Ballad. To which is added, A loyal Song, On Lord Nelson's Victory, and the Sailor's Rant* (Penrith: Ann Bell, [c. 1810]).
209. Pye, Henry James, *Ode, performed at St. James's, January 18, 1806, on the Anniversary of Her Majesty's Birthday* (London: Edward Orme, 1806); also published in: Orme, between pp. 62 and 63; Collingwood, 1806, pp. 140, 141; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 61; the author was poet laureate at the time.
210. Quintana, Manuel José, 'Al combate de Trafalgar', *Poesías completas* (Castalia : Madrid, 1969), pp. 294-300 (illustration on p. 264); extracts of the poem with an English review can be found in Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson* (7 vols., London: Chatham Publishing, 1997; first edition: 1844-1846), vii, 365-367.
211. Richards, George, 'A Monody on Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, after a series of transcendent and heroic Services, fell gloriously ... at the Battle of Trafalgar, at the Moment of obtaining the most brilliant and decisive Victory recorded in the Annals of Great Britain'; reviewed in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 142; *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 96-97.
212. Sánchez Barbero, Francisco, 'A la batalla de Trafalgar', *Poetas líricos de siglo XVIII*, vol. 2 (Madrid: 'Biblioteca de Autores Españoles', vol. LXIII, 1917), pp. 564-567.
213. Scott, Walter, 'Marmion'; published in: *Oxford Complete Edition of the Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott. With the Author's Introductions and Notes*, ed. J. Logie Robertson, M.A. (Henry Frowde: London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, New York and Toronto, 1904), the passage about Nelson in on p. 90.
214. Sinclair, Tollemache, 'Grand are the thought of thee, words of thee, deeds of thee' [first line]; published in: *The Navy League Journal*, 10 (1905), 248.
215. Stephenson, Robert Louis, *Lord Nelson and the Tar. A Poem and a Picture* (written about 1882, Introduction by James D. Hart, one of three hundred copies specially printed for The Silverado Museum by James E. Beard, St. Helena, California, September 1972).
216. Stewart, Edward, 'To the Memory of Lord Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 748-49.
217. Stockdale, Percival, 'A Poetical Tribute to the Memory of Lord Nelson'; published in: *The Times*, 21 November 1805.
218. Swinborne, Frederick W. P., *Trafalgar Day, 1905. And Nelson Memorial Sonnets, With Additions and Re-Prints* (3rd ed., Coggeshall: J. A. Dodds, 1906).

219. Swinburne, A. C., 'The Centenary of the Battle of the Nile'; published in: *The Poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (6 vols., London: Chatto & Windus, 1904), vi, 336-337.
220. Swinburne, A. C., 'Trafalgar Day'; published in: *The Poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (6 vols., London: Chatto & Windus, 1904), vi, 338-339.
221. Taylor, George, *An Elegy on the Lamented, Though Glorious Death of Admiral, the Right Honorable [sic] Horatio, Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronte, &c. Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean. With an Address to Britannia* (London: printed for the author, sold by W. W. Hall, 1805).
222. Tapsell, W., 'Admiral Lord Nelson' [to the tune of 'Admiral Benbow']; published in: *Fairburn's Naval Songster*, p. 22; under the title 'The Death of Lord Nelson', without acknowledgement of author, in: *A Garland of New Songs*, pp. 2-3.
223. Tennyson, Alfred (Poet Laureate), *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington* (London: Edward Moxon, 1852).
224. Tremenheere, William, *Verses on the Victory of Trafalgar and death and funeral of Lord Nelson* (Faulder, Chapple, Egerton, Ridgeway, White: London, [c. 1806]); reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 317.
225. Tresham, H., 'Lines by H. Tresham, which were embellished with an elegant portrait, and given in St. Paul's Cathedral at the time of the interment'; published in: Orme, between pp. 62 and 63.
226. Trevelyan, Raleigh, 'Mors Nelsoni'; published in: *Luctus Nelsoniani*, pp. 5-36.
227. Twells, John, *Nelson. The Golden Orb. A Sonnet History* (Derby: Ownart, 1995).
228. Usher, James, *Nelson* (London: J. F. Setchel, 1844).
229. Walker, Harriet, 'On the Death of the Gallant Admiral Lord Nelson'; published in: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (1806), 359.
230. Watlen, John, *The Glorious Battle off Trafalgar in Descriptive Music. The Cruizing of the British fleet off Cadiz, The Signals, ... an Elegy on the Death of Admiral Lord Nelson ...* ([no publication details]).
231. West, Joshua, 'A Sublime Monody, sacred to the Memory of the Illustrious Naval Hero Lord Viscount Nelson, &c.&c.'; reviewed in: *The Monthly Magazine*, 49 (1806), 325-26.
232. Wordsworth, William, 'Character of the Happy Warrior', in ed. William Knight, *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* (11 vols., Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882-1883), iv, 2-6.

I know of more poetry that I could not consider for my thesis, most notably a collection of about twenty poems, bound up in one volume in the library of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, that could not be found during the last few years, and some of the poems contained in a list of poetry compiled in the appendix of Timothy Jenks' doctoral thesis, which he was so kind as to supply me with: *'Naval Engagements': Patriotism, cultural politics, and the royal navy, 1793-1815* (University of Toronto, 2001), Appendix II. 'Published Trafalgar Poems'.

3.4 Novels and Plays

- [Anon., Lardier], *Mémoires de Robert Guillemard, sergent en retraite, suivis de documens historiques, la plupart inédits, de 1805 à 1823*. (2 vols., Paris: Delaforest, Bossange père, frères Baudouin, 1826, 1827). The author disclosed his identity in Lardier, 'Lettre de l'auteur des Mémoires du sergent Robert Guillemard, publiés en 1826 et 1827, qui déclare que tout ce qu'il a raconté sur la mort du vice-amiral Villeneuve est une fiction, et que Guillemard est un personnage imaginaire', *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales*, année 1830, 2^e Partie, tome 2, pp. 184-87. This account was often taken for authentic and reprinted as a historic account still in: 'Der Tod Nelsons', *Überall. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Armee und Marine*, 9. Jahrg. (1906/1907), Nr. 13 and 14. In Toulon a shopping centre is named after Guillemard, the supposed French hero of Trafalgar (I am grateful to Admiral Rémi Monaque for this piece of information).
- [Anon., by 'no juvenile Bard'], *Trafalgar; the Sailor's Play. In 5 Acts*, reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 77 (1807), 444-46.
- [Anon.], *Victory!* [based on works by Thomas Hardy, see chapter 14] performed throughout May and June 1989 at the Chichester Festival Theatre (*Nelson Dispatch*, 3 (1989), 143).
- [Anon., 'D.A.S.A.'], *Entrada pública del almirante Nelson en la corte de Pluton el día 23 de octubre de este año* (Cádiz: Manuel Ximénez Carreño, 1805).
- d'Agraives, Jean, *Le cimenterre de Tamerlan (L'espionne de Nelson)* Illustrations de Maurice Toussaint (Paris: Les Deux Sirènes, 1947).
- Alcarón, Pedro A. de, 'Mas viajes por España', in *Obras completas de D. Pedro A. de Alarcón de la Real Academia Española con un comento preliminar por Luis Martínez Kleiser* (Madrid: Ediciones Fax, 1943) [the original was written about 1885].
- D'Arcy, Margaretta; see: Arden, John.
- Arden, John, and Margaretta D'Arcy, 'The Hero Rises Up. A Romantic Melodrama' (Methuen: London, 1969).
- Barrington, E., *The Divine Lady. A Romance of Nelson and Lady Hamilton* (London: George G. Harrap, 1925).
- Balland, Sophie ; see: Mitton, Jean-Yves.
- Bars, Richard, und Leopold Jacobson, *Lady Hamilton. Operette in drei Akten ... Musik von Eduard Künneke. Vollständiges Regie- und Soufflierbuch eingerichtet nach der von Otmar Lang inszenierten Uraufführung am Schauspielhaus in Breslau* (Berlin: Arcadia Verlag, [1926]).
- Béarn, Pierre, *Le vaincu de Trafalgar* (Les œuvres libres, 351, Nouvelle série; Paris: A. Fayard, 1956).
- Bishop, Edward, *Emma, Lady Hamilton* (series: 'Women who made history'; Distributed by: Heron Books, Geneva: Editor-Service, 1969).
- Blond, Georges, *La Beauté et la Gloire. Nelson et Emma Hamilton* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1976).
- Böhl de Faber, Cecilia; see: Caballero, Fernán.
- Bohn, Georges-Augustin, *Un coup de Trafalgar* (illustrations de Michel Jouin, Presses de la Cité : Paris, 1967).

- Brest, René, *La Divine Lady our la symphonie des amours* (Paris: Les femmes célèbres de l'Histoire, Editions Mondiales, 1959).
- Burgos, Javier, *Trafalgar. Episodio nacional cómico lírico. En dos actos ... Música del maestro Jimenez* (Madrid: Zozaya, [1891]).
- Burgoyne, Alan Hughes; see: Clowes, William Laird.
- Burton, H. V. T., *Vanguard. The Payment of a Debt of Honour* (London: Methuen & Co, 1940).
- Caballero, Fernán (alias of: Cecilia Böhl de Faber), 'Una madre', *Obras de Fernán Caballero*, vol. iv (of v) (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol 139: Madrid, 1961), pp. 383-387. This short story was first published in *El Artista* 2 (1835), 232-236.
- Caldeiro, José; see: Cuevas, Julio de las.
- Chamier, Frederick, *Ben Brace: the last of the Agamemnon*s (London: R. Bentley, 1836).
- Clowes, William Laird, and Alan Hughes Burgoyne, *Trafalgar Refought* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, [1905]).
- Conrad, Joseph, *The Rover* (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923).
- Cornwell, Bernard, *Sharpe's Trafalgar. Richard Sharpe and the Battle of Trafalgar, 21 October 1805* (London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2000).
- Cross, John Keir, *Blackadder: a Tale of the Days of Nelson as Told by Some of Those Who Played Parts in it ...* (London: Muller, 1950).
- Corral Lafuente, José Luis, *Trafalgar* (Barcelona: Edhasa, 2002).
- Cubas, Manuel, *Cortesanas Célebres. Historias anecdóticas. Lola Montes, Ninón de Lenclós, Lady Hamilton* (Madrid: Colección española contemporanea, 1893).
- Cuevas, Julio de las, and José Caldeiro, *Glorias Españolas. Episodio lírico nacional del combate de ¡Trafalgar! En cinco cuadros y en verso. ... música del maestro Moreu. Representado por primera vez con extraordinario éxito en el Teatro de Maravillas la noche del 14 de Agosto de 1889* (Madrid: [s.n.], 1889).
- Cumberland, R., *A Melo-Dramatic Piece; Being an Occasional Attempt to Commemorate the Death and Victory of Lord Viscount Nelson. Written by R. Cumberland. The Overture and Music composed by M. P. King and Mr. Braham; And Represented at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane, On Monday, November 11, 1805* (Lackington, Allen, and co.: London, [1805]).
- Dickens, Charles, *David Copperfield* (first published 1849-50; ed. Nina Burgis; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).
- Drack, Maurice, *La San Felice. Drame en cinq actes, sept tableaux tiré du roman d'Alexandre Dumas. Représenté, pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre du Château-d'Eau, le 11^e novembre 1881* ([no publishing details]).
- Drury, W. P., *The Admiral Speaks. A Play in one Act* (London: Samuel French, 1912).
- Dubarry, Armand, *L'Amiral Nelson adultère. Amours scandaleuses de l'Amiral Nelson avec lady Hamilton* (H. Daragon : Paris, 1905).
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3.5 Films

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Death of Nelson (1905).

The Divine Lady (First National Pictures/Warner Brothers, USA, 1929); Director: Frank Lloyd; Producers: Richard A. Rowland and Walter Morosco; Screenplay: Agnes Christine Johnson and Forrest Halsey. Players: Corinne Griffith (Lady Hamilton), Victor Varconi (Nelson), Ian Keith (Greville), H. B. Warner (Lord Hamilton), Marie Dressler (Mrs. Cadogan).

I Remember Nelson: Recollections of a Hero's Life (Central Television, U.K., four one-hour weekly episodes commencing April 14, 1982); Director: Simon Langton, Producer: Cecil Clarke; Screenplay: Hugh Whitemore; Players: Kenneth Colley (Nelson), Anna Massey (Lady Nelson), Geraldine James (Lady Hamilton), Tim Pigott-Smith (Hardy), Philip Daniels (William Blackie).

Lady Hamilton; see: *That Hamilton Woman*.

Lady Hamilton (Richard Oswald Films, G, 1921); Director and Producer: Richard Oswald; Screenplay: Richard Oswald, adapted from Heinrich Vollrat Schumacher's *Liebe und Leben der Lady Hamilton* and *Lord Nelsons letzte Liebe*; Players: Liane Haid (Emma Lyon, later: Lady Hamilton), Coradt Veidt (Nelson), Werner Krauss (Lord Hamilton), Reinhold Schüntzel (Ferdinand IV, King of Neapel), Else Heims (Marie Caroline, Queen of Naples), Anton Pointner (Greville), ... Theodor Loos (George Romney), Hans Heinrich von Twardowski (Josuah Nesbit, Nelson's step-son), Gertrud Welcker (Miss Arabella Kelly), Adele Sandrock (warden of boarding school, to which Emma went for a short time), ... Louis Ralph (Tom Kid), ... Claire Krona (Emma Lyon's mother), The screenplay (that Oswald did not completely adhere to) is published in: dif [Deutsches Institut für Filmkunde] – Filmkundliche Mitteilungen, Nr. 3/4, December 1971, 11-48. Different versions of this film have survived: a Russian one is kept at the Bundesarchiv – Filmarchiv (Berlin), a confusingly cut German one at the British Film Institute (London).

Lady Hamilton, Zwischen Schmach und Liebe (Rapid Films of Munich / P.E.A. of Rome/S.N.C. of Paris/Peer Oppenheimer of Hollywood/Rank, 1968); Director: Christian-Jaque; Producer: Wolf C. Hartwig; Screenplay: Werner P. Zibasco, Jameson Brewer and Christian-Jaque; Players: Michèle Mercier (Lady Hamilton), Richard Johnson (Nelson), Mirko Ellis (John Payne), Harald Leipnitz (Harry Featherstone), Lorenzo Terzon (Charles Greville), John Mills (Lord William Hamilton), Boy Gobert (George Romney), Dieter Borsche (Dr. James Graham), Mario Pisu (King of Naples); Nadja Tiller (Queen of Naples); Claudio Undari (Hardy).

Lucky Break (Filmfour, in association with Senator Film, Paramount Pictures and Miramax Films, 2001); Director: Peter Cattaneo; Producers: Barnaby Thompson and Peter Cattaneo; Screenplay for *Nelson. the Musical* (play within the film): Stephen Fry; Players: James Nesbitt (Jimmy Hands/Nelson, in Nelson-musical), Olivia Williams (Annabel Sweep/Lady Hamilton, in Nelson-musical).

Nelson (British International Films / New Era, U.K., 1926); Director: Walter Summers; Producer: H. Bruce Wolfe; Screenplay: Walter Summers; Players: Cedric Hardwicke (Nelson), Gertrude McCoy (Lady Hamilton), Frank Perfit (Hardy).

Nelson: The story of England's Immortal Hero (Master-International Exclusives/Apex,

U.K., 1918); Director: Maurice Elvey; Producer: Low Warren; Screenplay: Eliot Stannard; Players: Donald Clathrop (Nelson); Malvina Longfellow (Lady Hamilton).

That Hamilton Woman [published in Britain under the title: *Lady Hamilton*] (Alexander Korda/United Artists, USA, 1941); Director and Producer: Alexander Korda; Screenplay: Robert C. Sherriff and Walter Reisch. Players: Vivien Leigh (Lady Hamilton), Laurence Olivier (Nelson), Henry Wilcoxon (Hardy), Alan Mowbray (Sir WH).

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3.6 Books and Essays

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II SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Nelson

1.1 Books

Note on referencing for anonymously published books: Because the titles of anonymously published, early biographies about Nelson are so similar, it could be easily confusing to group these biographies alphabetically according to their title. When the author uses a pseudonym, I have referred to this (these biographies are listed between the fully anonymous ones and the ones whose authors are given in the book itself). The biographies that do not give their authors' names are grouped alphabetically according to their publishers' (family) names and, in the absence of a publisher's name, according to the printer's (family) name.

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