







THE  
L I F E  
OF  
ADMIRAL LORD NELSON, K. B.  
*&c. &c. &c.*



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OF  
ADMIRAL LORD (NELSON) K.B.

FROM  
HIS LORDSHIP'S MANUSCRIPTS.

(ABRIDGED FROM THE QUARTO EDITION.)

BY  
*The Rev. JAMES STANIER CLARKE, F.R.S.*

Librarian to the Prince, and Chaplain of His Royal Highness's Household.

AND  
*JOHN M. ARTHUR, Esq. LL.D.*  
Late Secretary to Admiral Lord Viscount Hood.

CRESCERETQUE MIHI EX EO IPSO FIDUCIA, QUOD POSSIT IN HOMINIS  
UNIUS VIRTUTE TANTUM MOMENTI ESSE.

TIT. LIV. HIST. XXVIII. 43.

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*DEDICATION TO THE QUARTO EDITION.*

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS  
GEORGE AUGUSTUS FREDERICK  
**THE PRINCE,**

PRINCE OF WALES, DUKE OF CORNWALL AND ROTHSAÏ,  
LORD OF THE ISLES,  
FIRST KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,  
VICE ADMIRAL OF THE COASTS OF DEVON AND CORNWALL;—

SIR,

WHEN the United Kingdom expressed its sorrow at the death of the ever to be lamented NELSON, which even the Glory of the great Victory of Trafalgar could not abate; your Royal Highness, actuated by your own feelings, and by a greatness and benignity of Mind which have ever distin-



guished your Character, was graciously pleased to offer to represent the Nation's Grief, as Chief Mourner, at the Public Funeral which the Country voted to one of its brightest Ornaments. And afterwards, when the Annals of his life and services were to be given to the Public, your Royal Highness was moreover pleased to request, that the whole of the late Admiral's Manuscripts in the possession of the Right Hon. William Earl Nelson, as well as the Letters which had been addressed to His Royal Highness, Admiral, the Duke of Clarence, should be furnished to form the history of a Life, which is to be held out as an example of Heroism and professional Talent to future Generations.

The Life of Lord NELSON, Sir, with your permission, is now dedicated to your Royal Highness. Those Patriotic Principles which under your auspices were fostered and encouraged, are in the following pages with your sanction recorded, the sanction of the Prince of that Country for which NELSON

fought and died; of the Prince by whom he was cherished whilst living; and by whom his Memory, after death, was honoured in a manner that was congenial with the enthusiasm and tenderness of his distinguished Character.

JAMES STANIER CLARKE.

JOHN M'ARTHUR.



# ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

*QUARTO EDITION.*

IN addition to the sanction, and leading assistance, which this Life of Lord Nelson received from the Patronage of THE PRINCE, the communications of H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, and the uniform attention of William Earl Nelson; a very extensive Collection of the noble Admiral's Letters was sent, at the Viscountess Nelson's request, by Earl St. Vincent, and every assistance was afterwards given which his Lordship could bestow. The very interesting Correspondence with Lady Nelson, that marks through a long interval the private character and feelings of her Husband, in the vicissitudes and various professional incidents of his life, was kindly though reluctantly granted. The valuable Collection of Letters addressed to the late Lieut. Gov. Locker, was furnished by that Officer's daughter. Admiral Lord Hood directed the whole of his Naval Papers to be examined, and such of them to be inserted as tended to throw light on those operations in the Mediterranean, in which NELSON during Lord Hood's com-

mand had been engaged. Our thanks are also due to Lord Hotham, to Lord Keith, Sir Andrew Hamond, Sir R. Bickerton, and to the Admirals Lutwidge, Sir C. M. Pole, Sir J. T. Duckworth, Holloway, Foley, &c. &c. To the Captains G. Cockburn, J. E. Foote, Hon. H. Blackwood, Sir E. Berry, Sir T. M. Hardy, Hon. Courtney Boyle, and Captain W. S. Parkinson. To Major General Stewart, Right Hon. G. Rose, the Hon. F. W. Wyndham, Mr. F. Drake, Mr. Spencer Smith, Mr. H. Ross, Mr. Davison, Mr. Whidbey, Lieutenant Bromwich, and to many other Officers and Gentlemen; whose names are not omitted through any want of attention, but lest the insertion of such a number might have an appearance of ostentation. There remains, however, one Nobleman whose kindness cannot be passed unnoticed, the Earl of Egremont, without whom the interest of the work would have been considerably lessened; and our acknowledgments are due to a distinguished Friend, whose early and zealous countenance of this laborious undertaking will ever be remembered with gratitude.

The chief object in this Life has been to ascertain, and sometimes perhaps more minutely than the generality of readers may approve, the private feelings and motives of this extraordinary man, as well as the great principles of his public and professional character. Yet this has been a most arduous task; and its performance is more easy to cavil at than to accomplish—it has, however, been attempted.

The various services of the noble Admiral in the earlier parts of his Public Life, particularly at the conclusion of the American war and in the peace which followed, have been minutely traced: in order to mark, as far as could be, those troubles and disappointments which he encountered in common with other men, and the anxious moments and neglect which he endured, until at length his wishes were gratified in being again employed at the commencement of the French War in 1793.—Neither labour, nor expense, have been spared to complete the present undertaking; and the Life is now submitted to the Public, with a perfect consciousness that superior abilities, but not greater industry or impartiality, would have rendered it more worthy of the Fame of NELSON and of the patronage of his Country.

Το δε παθειν ευ, πρωτον αθλων·  
 Ευ δ' ακθειν δευτερα μοι—  
 ῥ' Αμφοτέροισι δ' ανηρ  
 Ος αν εγκυρση και ελη,  
 Στεφανον υψιστον δεδεχται.

(PINDAR, *Pythia Carmen I.*)

“ To enjoy Success is the first Happiness,  
 To be admired for great Actions is the second:  
 But the Man who has and enjoys both,  
 Receives the chief Crown of Honour.”



THE  
L I F E, &c.

BOOK I.

FROM 1770 TO 1778.

*Whilst serving on board his Majesty's ships Raisonable, Triumph, Carcase, Sea-Horse, Worcester, Lowestoffe, and Bristol.*

I. HORATIO NELSON was the son of the Rev. Edmund Nelson, Rector of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, and of Catherine his wife; who was sister to Captain Maurice Suckling, Comptroller of the Navy, and daughter of Doctor Suckling, prebendary of Westminster, whose grandmother had been sister to Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford.

He was born on the 29th of Sept. 1758, in the parsonage-house at Burnham Thorpe, and received the name of Horatio, which had previously been given to an elder brother who died young, from the late Earl of Orford, who was his godfather. At a proper age Horatio was sent to the high school at Norwich, and was afterwards removed to one at North Walsham.



Towards the close of the year 1770, during the Christmas holidays, when the Rev. Edmund Nelson was at Bath for his health, and the greater part of his family, then consisting of eight children, was left at the parsonage-house at Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk; Horatio, then in his thirteenth year, who had often expressed a wish not to be a burden to his father, happened to read in the County paper the appointment of his mother's brother, Captain Maurice Suckling, to the Raisonable of 64 guns. Upon which he exclaimed, 'Do, brother William, write to my father at Bath, and tell him I should like to go with uncle Maurice to sea.' William, who had been the constant companion of Horatio, and was little more than seventeen months older than his brother, wrote accordingly. Various disappointments with the difficulties of a narrow income, had chilled in the mind of Mr. Nelson all idea of patronage from his connections. The daring resolution, however, of his boy Horatio gradually warmed the less sanguine mind of the father; and infirm health rendering him anxious not to lose an opportunity, which seemed to offer so desirable a provision for one of his sons, he resolved to write to Captain Suckling. From the answer which Mr. Nelson received, the following passage is remembered; 'What has poor Horace done, who is so weak,

\* The present Earl Nelson.

that he above all the rest should be sent to rough it out at sea? But let him come; and the first time we go into action, a cannon ball may knock off his head and provide for him at once.'

Such were the domestic incidents which decided the profession of Nelson. The Reasonable not being ready for sea, the two brothers returned after their Christmas holidays were over to their school at North Walsham, where Horatio remained until the spring of 1771. During his continuance at this school, two anecdotes have been recollected which were descriptive of his future character. The master, the Rev. Mr. Jones, had some remarkably fine pears which his scholars had often wished for; but the attempt to gather them was in their opinion so hazardous, that no one would undertake it: when Horatio, on seeing all his companions staggered, came forward and offered to brave the danger. He was accordingly one night lowered down from their dormitory by some sheets tied together, and thus, at a considerable risk, secured the prize: but the boldness of the deed was all that the young adventurer regarded; for, on being hauled up again, he shared the pears among his school-fellows, without reserving any for himself; and added, *I only took them because every other boy was afraid.* Five guineas were offered the next morning to discover the plunderer: but young Nelson was too much beloved for any boy to betray him. The other anecdote is characteristic of that inflexible honour

which marked the subsequent actions of our noble countryman. When the brothers, William and Horatio, were once going to school on their ponies, William, who did not much like the journey, having advanced a short distance from his father's gate and found that a great deal of snow had fallen, returned with his brother to the parsonage, and informed Mr. Nelson, 'That the snow was too deep to venture.' *If that be indeed the case,* replied the father, *you certainly shall not go; but make another attempt, and I will leave it to your honour. If the road should be found dangerous, you may return: yet remember, boys! I leave it to your honour.* They accordingly proceeded; and although various difficulties presented themselves which offered a plausible reason for their return home, Horatio was proof against them all, exclaiming, *We have no excuse! Remember, brother, it was left to our honour.*

II. Having quitted the school of North Walsham, in the spring of 1771, Horatio accompanied his father to London, and was thence sent to join the *Raisable*, 64 guns, then lying in the *Medway*. On his arrival in the stage at Chatham, he was put down with the other passengers, and left to find his way alone to the ship. After wandering about without being able to find the means of getting on board, he was at last observed by an officer; who, happening to know his uncle, took Horatio home and gave him some refreshment. Captain Suckling did not come down until some days after

his nephew; whose health had been much impaired by an aguish complaint, and who was an utter stranger to every one.

The Reasonable did not long remain in commission, but was paid off on the amicable adjustment of our dispute with the Spaniards, respecting the harbour of Port Egmont in the Falkland islands. During the month of May, Captain Suckling was appointed to the *Triumph*, 74 guns, stationed as a guardship in the Medway; which being considered as too inactive a life for his nephew, he was sent to the West Indies in a ship belonging to the house of Hibbert, Purrier, and Horton, under the command of Mr. John Rathbone, who had served as master's mate with Captain Suckling, during the former war, in the *Dreadnought*. On their return home, Horatio was again received by his uncle on board the *Triumph* in July, 1772. Whether Mr. Rathbone had wished to retain his charge in the merchant service, or that some of his mates had inadvertently expressed sentiments reflecting on the hardships which officers endured in the king's service, <sup>b</sup> is now impossible to

<sup>b</sup> The horror which Nelson conceived against the royal navy may be contrasted with a recent instance of partiality for it, in the master of a merchantman: who at the age of twenty-one years felt such ardour for the King's service, that he actually gave up the lucrative command of a West-India ship for the station of midshipman, in the hopes of one day obtaining a higher rank in the royal navy. The insertion of his name would wound the great modesty of his character.

ascertain; but Nelson in his Memoir<sup>c</sup> says, ‘ If I did not improve in my education, I came back a practical seaman with a horror of the royal navy, and with a saying then constant with the seamen, *Aft the most honour, forward the better man*. It was many weeks before I got in the least reconciled to a man of war. However, as my ambition was to be a Seaman, it was always held out as a reward that if I attended well to navigation, I should go in the cutter and decked long-boat which were attached to the commanding officer’s ship at Chatham. Thus by degrees I became a good pilot.’

<sup>Anno</sup>  
<sup>Ætat. 15.</sup> III. The enterprise of Nelson appears to have been first called forth, on hearing of the Voyage which the Earl of Sandwich proposed to his Majesty in 1773, in consequence of an application from the Royal Society. The conduct of this voyage was given to the Hon. Capt. C. J. Phipps,<sup>d</sup> who had volunteered his services; and the Racehorse and Carcass bombs, as being the strongest sort of vessels, were fitted in the most complete manner for the undertaking. Two masters of Greenlandmen were employed as pilots for each ship, whose ordinary establishment was departed from by appointing an additional

<sup>c</sup> Quarto edit. pages 3 and 4.

<sup>d</sup> On the 16th of June, 1790, he was raised to the rank of a peer of Great Britain; and dying on the 10th of October, 1792, was succeeded by his brother, the Right Hon. Henry Phipps, now (1809) first lord of the Admiralty

number of officers, and entering effective men instead of the usual number of boys; which circumstance is alluded to by Nelson in his Memoir. The senior officer's ship was the *Racehorse*; and the *Carcass*, in which Nelson sailed as the captain's coxswain, was given to Skeffington Lutwidge, Esq. now Admiral of the White. From the same Memoir is also extracted the following passage.—‘ When the boats were fitted out to quit the two ships blocked up in the ice (August<sup>e</sup> 1st and 7th) I exerted myself to have the four-oared cutter *raised upon*, which was given me with twelve men; and I prided myself in fancying I could navigate her better than any other boat in the ship.’ Mr. d’Auvergne, now Captain Philip d’Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, who with Nelson had been appointed to the Expedition, made all the sketches that were taken during the voyage and afterwards engraved; he was also charged with the meteorological register.

There is an anecdote recollected by Admiral Lutwidge, which marked the filial attention of his gallant coxswain. Among the gentlemen on the quarter-deck of the *Carcass*, who were not rated midshipmen, there was, besides young Nelson, a daring shipmate of his to whom he had become attached. One night, during the mid-watch, it was concerted between them that they should steal together from the ship, and endeavour

<sup>e</sup> Quarto edit. vol. I. page 4, and 10—12.

to obtain a bear's skin. The clearness of the nights in those high latitudes rendered the accomplishment of this object extremely difficult: they however seem to have taken advantage of the haze of an approaching fog, and thus to have escaped unnoticed. Nelson in high spirits led the way over the frightful chasms in the ice, armed with a rusty musket. It was not however long before the adventurers were missed by those on board; and, as the fog had come on very thick, the anxiety of Captain Lutwidge and his officers was very great. Between three and four in the morning the mist somewhat dispersed, and the hunters were discovered at a considerable distance, attacking a large bear. The signal was instantly made for their return; but it was in vain that Nelson's companion urged him to obey it. He was at this time divided by a chasm in the ice from his shaggy antagonist, which probably saved his life; for the musket had flashed in the pan, and their ammunition was expended. *Never mind*, exclaimed Horatio, *do but let me get a blow at this devil with the but end of my musket, and we shall have him.* His companion finding that entreaty was in vain, regained the ship. The Captain, seeing the young man's danger, ordered a gun to be fired<sup>f</sup> to terrify the enraged animal: This had the desired effect; but Nelson was obliged to return without his bear,

<sup>f</sup> See in quarto edit. vol. I. page 6, an engraving of this scene from a design by R. Westall, Esq. R. A.

somewhat agitated with the apprehension of the consequence of this adventure. Captain Lutwidge, though he could not but admire so daring a disposition, reprimanded him rather sternly for such rashness, and for conduct so unworthy of the situation he occupied; and desired to know what motive he could have for hunting a Bear? The being thought by his Captain to have acted in a manner unworthy of his situation, made a deep impression on the high minded coxswain; who pouting his lip, as he was wont to do when agitated, replied, 'Sir, I wished to kill the bear, that I might carry its skin to my Father.'

On the return of the Racehorse and Carcass to England, they were paid off Oct. 15, 1773; when Mr. Nelson was soon recommended by his uncle to Captain Farmer, of the Sea-horse, 20 guns; attached to the squadron<sup>e</sup> destined for the East Indies, under the command of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, with his flag on board the Salisbury, 50 guns, Captain George Robinson Walters. In the Seahorse, Nelson found a sincere friend in the master, the present Captain Surridge; and commenced an intimacy with some of the most valuable of his professional connexions. Previous to the sailing of the squadron, he formed his first acquaintance with a young gentleman on board

<sup>e</sup> The other ships consisted of the Coventry, 28 guns, Captain B. Marlow; Dolphin, 24 guns, Sir John Clerke, Knt.; Swallow, 16 guns, Captain James Pigot.



the Salisbury, the present Admiral Sir Charles Pole; and afterwards became acquainted during the voyage, and their continuance in the East Indies, with the late Sir Thomas Troubridge, Captain B. Hallowell, Captain Thomas Bertie then named Hoare, and several other naval officers.

Nelson was stationed in the foretop of the Seahorse at watch and watch, as it is termed; and his exemplary conduct whilst on that duty, soon attracted the regard of his friend the master of the ship, in whose watch he was. This officer perceiving in the course of a long voyage that the young man was extremely attentive to his duty, and obedient to his superiors, recommended him to the particular notice of Captain Farmer; who then placed him on the quarter-deck, and rated him as midshipman. After he had thus obtained the first step to rank <sup>h</sup> as an officer in the British navy, he was frequently in fine weather indulged by the officer of the watch to tack the ship, which he performed like a thorough seaman, and gave his orders with all the authority of a lieutenant. His appearance at this time, according to the report of Captain Surridge, was that of a boy with a florid countenance, rather stout and athletic; but unfortunately, when he had been about eigh-

<sup>h</sup> It is a singular fact, and which deserves the attention of our government, that Midshipmen possess only a nominal rank in the service: as they receive no Commission they may be disrated at the pleasure of a Captain, and be made to serve before the mast.

teen months in India, he caught a malignant disorder which nearly baffled the power of medicine. He was thus not only reduced to a mere skeleton, but for some time entirely lost the use of his limbs; and if it had not been, as he acknowledges, for the kindness of Captain Pigot, who brought him home in the *Dolphin*,<sup>1</sup> his spirit would have been thus early extinguished. During his continuance in the *Seahorse*, no person of his years ever paid more attention to the duties of his profession: ‘His ardent ambition,’ adds Captain Surridge, ‘was to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the most minute part of a seaman’s duty.’

During their return to England, the spirits of young Nelson, which had been lowered by this severe illness, were frequently much depressed. The busy and interesting scene he had been obliged to forego, and the remembrance of friends whom he had left, altogether weighed so heavily on his mind, as quite to unman him: when one evening the following singular train of thought occurred, as he related it long afterwards to Mr. R. W. Spencer, during their walks amidst the romantic scenery of Downton Castle, the seat of Mr. Knight. ‘I felt impressed with an idea that I should never rise in my profession. My mind was staggered with a view of the difficulties I had to surmount, and the little interest I possessed. I could discover no means of reaching the object of my am-

<sup>1</sup> The *Dolphin* sailed from the East Indies in 1776.

bition. After a long and gloomy reverie, in which I almost wished myself overboard, a sudden glow of patriotism was kindled within me and presented my King and Country as my patron: My mind exulted in the idea.—‘Well then,’ I exclaimed, ‘I will be a Hero, and confiding in Providence I will brave every danger.’ The spirit of Nelson revived; and from that hour, in his mind’s eye, as he often declared to Capt. Hardy, a radiant orb was suspended which urged him onward to renown.

The humane attention of Captain Pigot, and the change of climate, were of the greatest service to the relaxed constitution of his friend. During his absence from England, Captain Suckling had succeeded Sir Hugh Palliser as controller of the navy in April 1775; an event which was favourable to the future prospects of his nephew. The *Dolphin* was paid off at Woolwich on the 24th of September 1776; and Nelson was immediately appointed by Admiral Sir James Douglas, to act as fourth lieutenant of the *Worcester*, 64 guns, Captain Mark Robinson,<sup>k</sup> then on the point of sailing with a convoy to Gibraltar. The testimony which that officer gave to his skill and judgment, previous to his obtaining a confirmation of the rank of lieutenant, is thus

<sup>k</sup> The first ship which this officer commanded, on being advanced to post rank, August 13, 1760, was the *Vanguard*; the first ship in which Nelson served as an Admiral, with the command of a squadron.

mentioned by him in his Memoir.<sup>1</sup>—‘ In this ship I was at sea with Convoys till April 2, 1777, and in very bad weather. But although my age might have been a sufficient cause for not intrusting me with the charge of a watch, yet Captain Robinson used to say, *He felt as easy when I was upon deck, as any officer in the ship.*’ On his arrival at Gibraltar with the convoy, he first beheld that sea which was destined to be the principal theatre of his future glory; and from the Worcester, soon after his return to England, he was confirmed in his rank as lieutenant.

Anno  
Ætat. 19. IV. The day on which Nelson passed his examination was the 8th of April, 1777. The following is all that has been remembered by his brother. On being shewn into the room, he at first appeared somewhat alarmed. At the head of the table sat his uncle Maurice, as Comptroller of the navy, who had purposely concealed his relationship from the examining captains. When his nephew had recovered from his confusion, his answers were prompt and satisfactory, and indicated the talents he so eminently possessed. The examination ended in a manner very honourable to him: Upon which his uncle immediately threw off his reserve, and rising from his seat introduced his nephew. The examining captains expressed their surprise at his not having informed them of this before: ‘ No,’ replied the indepen-

<sup>1</sup> Quarto edit. vol. I. page 5.

dent Comptroller, ‘ I did not wish the youngker to be favoured: I felt convinced that he would pass a good examination, and you see, gentlemen, I have not been disappointed.’ The next day, April the 9th, Nelson received his commission as second lieutenant of the *Lowestoffe* frigate, 32 guns, Captain William Locker, then fitting out at Sheerness for Jamaica; which not only advanced him to the second step in his profession, but was the means of introducing him to one of his earliest and most valuable friends.

As the first lieutenant of the *Lowestoffe* was absent on leave, Nelson was soon ordered to the rendezvous for pressed men, which at that time was opened near the Tower; there not being any vessel lying in the river to receive them. During this service he commenced his acquaintance and uninterrupted friendship with the present Lieutenant Bromwich, at that time a midshipman, who afterwards served under him for many years. This officer, who is now warden<sup>m</sup> of the dock-yard at Portsmouth, describes Lieutenant Nelson as being then so extremely ill and weak; that one cold night, whilst they remained on duty near the Tower, Mr. Bromwich was obliged to take him on his back, and carry him instantly to the rendezvous; where his recovery from a fainting fit was for a long time uncertain.

<sup>m</sup> A place which he obtained through the interest of his noble friend.

The Lowestoffe sailed from Spithead for the Jamaica station, on the 16th of May, 1777, with the Grasshopper sloop of war, Captain Truscott, to reinforce the squadron under Vice Admiral Clarke Gayton, an old and gallant officer, who had been appointed lieutenant in 1727, when Gibraltar was attacked by the Spaniards. On the 4th of July, the Lowestoffe, Grasshopper, and a convoy of eighteen sail of merchantmen, anchored in Carlisle bay, Barbadoes. On the 7th the Lowestoffe sailed for Jamaica, and arrived on the 19th in Port Royal harbour. The depredations of the Americans, and our inveterate enemy the French with American commissions, called at that time for all the activity of the squadron, and its cruisers were extremely alert. Much credit had been recently acquired by a Mr. Jordan, an acting lieutenant, whom the admiral had appointed to the Racehorse schooner of 10 guns, for his action with a rebel privateer called the Guest, 16 guns and 16 swivels; which, after a contest of upwards of two hours, had been resolutely carried by boarding. This circumstance, and the continued insults of our enemies, were not lost on the zealous emulation of Nelson, and rendered even a frigate not sufficiently active for the purposes of his ambition. He therefore got repeatedly appointed to the command of one of the Lowestoffe's tenders; and a similar situation was also given to one of Captain Locker's midshipmen, the present Captain Cun-

ningham, now commissioner of the dockyard at Woolwich.

It was the happy talent of Lieutenant Nelson, throughout every period of his eventful life, to gain the love and confidence both of his superiors and inferiors; and there cannot be a greater proof of this, than the following letter<sup>n</sup> which he addressed, during one of their cruises, to Captain Locker; whose state of health was more precarious than his own.

Lowestoffe, at sea,

Aug. 12, 1777.

“ MY MOST WORTHY FRIEND,

‘ I AM exceedingly obliged to you for the good opinion you entertain of me, and will do my utmost that you may have no occasion to change it. I hope God Almighty will be pleased to spare your life, for your own sake, and that of your family: but should any thing happen to you (which I sincerely pray to God may not), you may be assured that nothing shall be wanting on my part for the taking care of your effects, and delivering safe to Mrs. Locker such of them as may be thought proper not to be disposed of. You mentioned the word *Consolation* in your letter—I shall have a very great one, when I

<sup>n</sup> Captain Locker's collection of letters, belonging to his son, Edward Hawke Locker, Esq. now secretary to Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. Commander in Chief in the East Indies.

think I have served faithfully the best of friends, and the most amiable of women.

‘ All the services I can render to your family, you may be assured shall be done, and shall never end but with my life; and may God Almighty of his great goodness keep, bless, and preserve you and your family, is the most fervent prayer of your faithful servant,

‘ HORATIO NELSON.’

On the 26th of August, the *Lowestoffe*, and *Gayton* tender, took an American sloop laden with rice, and returned to Port Royal on the 1st of October to refit; whence they again sailed the 6th of November, on a second cruise, and on the 20th, between Cape Maize and Cape Nichola, they took ° the American letter of marque.

In the anecdote which Nelson has given of himself in his *Memoir*, when sent to board this vessel, his memory seems in a slight degree to have failed him. This error has been corrected through the information of Lieutenant Bromwich, who, with the present Captain Thomas Dundas, was at that time a midshipman on board the *Lowestoffe*. The first lieutenant alluded to, now an admiral on the retired list, never left the ship. On receiving his Captain's orders to board the prize, he went below to put on his hanger; the hanger

° See the *Memoir*, (quarto edit.) and an engraving representing this scene, page 16, from a painting by R. Westall, Esq. R. A.



was mislaid, and could not immediately be found. In the meantime Captain Locker came on deck, extremely anxious that the prize should be instantly taken in charge, as he apprehended it must otherwise founder. Perceiving, to his astonishment, that the Lowestoffe's boat was still alongside and in danger of being every moment swamped, from the heavy sea that was running, he exclaimed, *Have I no officer in the ship who will board the prize?* Lieutenant Nelson, with his usual goodness of heart, still waited for the return of his superior officer; but, on hearing the Master volunteer his services, immediately hastened to the gangway, and, getting into the boat, said, *It is my turn now, and if I come back it is yours.* The American vessel was so completely water-logged, from having carried an heavy press of sail, that Nelson's boat went in on deck and out again with the scud. When he at length got on board, he was long separated from the Lowestoffe by the gale; and for some time Captain Locker felt very uneasy for his safety.

On the 9th of December, 1777, the Lowestoffe sailed a second time from Port Royal, on a cruise between the northern side of Hispaniola and the Bahama Keys. During this cruise Lieutenant Nelson took the command of another tender which had been captured by the Lowestoffe, and was called *the little Lucy* after a daughter of Captain Locker. They cruised together until the 31st of the month, when the Lowestoffe re-

turned to Port Royal to heave down and new sheath her bottom; a custom which was then yearly observed by every ship on that station. Whilst this was doing, Lieutenant Nelson remained at sea in the little Lucy; and on the 9th of February, when off the West Corcos, sent some account to Captain Locker of a prize which he had taken.

Admiral Sir Peter Parker having been appointed to succeed Admiral Gayton, arrived at Port Royal March 3, 1778. On the 6th of May following, the Lowestoffe sailed on her third cruise, and with the Lucy tender again in company. On the 27th they chased a strange ship and schooner, in the Corcos passage; and, on coming up, they spoke the former and found her to be the Inconstant French frigate, commanded by the *Chevalier de Cuverville*, who seemed to be convoying an American schooner; as was then the custom with the French though at peace with England. Lieutenant Nelson immediately determined to examine the schooner, though actually under the very muzzle of the frigate's guns, and accordingly stood with the little Lucy ahead of the Lowestoffe. A volley of small arms was suddenly poured by the frigate into the tender, when Captain Locker threw out her signal to come under the Lowestoffe's stern: upon which Nelson hoisted out his boat, and eagerly asked his captain, *If it would not be advisable to bring the Tender's men on board, as a brush with the*

*Inconstant seemed inevitable.*—‘ At all events,’ replied Captain Locker, ‘ I am determined to examine the schooner.’ The Chevalier, perceiving they were resolutely bent on doing this, refrained from any further resistance. The schooner was accordingly examined, and proved to be French property.

On the 17th of June in the same year, 1778, despatches were brought out in the Bristol to Captain Locker; in consequence of which Lieutenant Nelson and his men were removed from the tender into the *Lowestoffe*, and on the 24th they returned to Port Royal. The increasing ill health of Captain Locker afforded but a faint hope, that he would be able to enjoy the benefit of a French war in the West-Indies.

Through the zealous friendship of this officer, who loved Nelson like one of his own children, the patronage of Admiral Sir Peter Parker<sup>p</sup> had been secured, on his succeeding Admiral Gayton. At the request of Captain Locker, Lieutenant Nelson was now appointed third of the flag ship the Bristol; and was succeeded in the *Lowestoffe* by Lieutenant Cuthbert Collingwood, from the *Hornet* sloop. The patronage of so valuable a friend as the Commander in chief, was at that time of the greatest importance to Lieutenant Nelson; who in the month of July had lost his uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling. The zealous and active

<sup>p</sup> Sir Peter Parker, created a baronet in 1782, succeeded Earl Howe in 1799 as Admiral of the Fleet.

disposition of Nelson soon recommended him to the particular notice of the worthy admiral, at whose house he became a welcome guest. In Lady Parker he found a second mother; and his merit soon advanced him to be first lieutenant of the flag ship. On the 5th of September, the Bristol, Captain Caulfield, in company with the Lowestoffe, Captain Locker, and some other ships, sailed from Port Royal and cruised off Cape François until the 17th of October. During this cruise the squadron took seventeen sail of French St. Domingo ships. On the 8th of December, 1778, Nelson terminated his services, as Lieutenant, on board the flag ship of Sir Peter Parker, and was again succeeded by Lieutenant Collingwood.<sup>9</sup>

Captain Nelson's promotion to the rank of Commander, took place at this time on his being appointed to the Badger brig; and as Captain Locker did not leave Jamaica for England, on account of his health, until the ensuing year, 1779, he must have witnessed the rapid success of his endeavours to serve this officer.

Anno  
Ætat. 21. V. The personal appearance of Captain Nelson at this period of his life, owing to his delicate health and figure, was far from ex-

<sup>9</sup> The present Admiral Lord Collingwood. Lieutenants Macnamara, Nelson, and Collingwood, were all made Commanders out of the Bristol within seven or eight months of each other. Captain Macnamara, who afterwards went into France with Captain Nelson, died an Admiral about five years since.

pressing the greatness of his intellectual powers. From his earliest years; like Cleomenes the hero of Sparta, he had been enamoured of glory, and had possessed a greatness of mind; Nelson preserved also a similar temperance and simplicity of manners: Nature, as Plutarch adds of the noble Spartan, had given a spur<sup>r</sup> to his mind, which rendered him impetuous in the pursuit of whatever he deemed honourable. The demeanour of this extraordinary young man was entirely the demeanour of a British seaman: When the energies of his mind were not called forth by some object of duty, or professional interest, he seemed to retire within himself and to care but little for the refined courtesies of polished life. In his dress he had all the cleanliness of an Englishman, though his manner of wearing it gave him an air of negligence; and yet his general address and conversation, when he wished to please, even at this time possessed a charm that was irresistible.

At the time of Nelson's appointment to the Lowestoffe, and the confirmation of his rank as lieutenant, Captain Maurice Suckling had drawn up for the use of his nephew, some admirable instructions relative to his conduct and professional duties. This interesting manuscript, of which only a very inconsiderable part has been recovered, was seen in the Lowestoffe by Mr. Bromwich,

<sup>r</sup> Κεντρον τι θυμη τη φυσει προσεκειτο, και μετα σφοδρωτητος ορημη προς το φαινομενον αι καλον. Plutarchi Cleomenes.

who also remembers the following introductory passage :

‘ My dear Horatio, Pay every respect to your superior officers, as you shall wish to receive respect yourself.’

His Father, the Rev. Edmund Nelson, had also early impressed the mind of his son, as may be seen from the first letter to Captain Locker, with a high sense of an overruling Providence, and of the sublime principles of Christianity. This sense, preserved by an affectionate correspondence between the father and his gallant son, laid the foundation of Nelson’s character and fame on a wide and solid basis, and gave peculiar value to his Friendship, his Valour, and his Patriotism.

END OF BOOK THE FIRST.

## B O O K II.

*From 1778 to 1797.*

I. **THE eventful Period, on which we are now entering, requires to be elucidated by every document that may throw light on those occurrences, which have had such an effect on the general aspect of Europe. The connexion of our American colonies with the mother Country, was at length destroyed by the assistance and machinations of France, insidiously conducted by her marine minister, M. de Sartine: Who thus unwarily prepared the misfortunes and ruin of his own monarch; and was, in great measure, the cause of that political earthquake, which has since destroyed the independence of nations, and shaken the pillars of the civilized world.**

The War commenced without any public official declaration from either government; except that, on the 18th of March, (the day after the French declaration of a Treaty of commerce with the Americans had been presented to the house of Commons,) the French had issued an order to seize all British ships that were in their ports; and on the 27th, an embargo had been laid by the English ministry on French vessels. Rear

Admiral Duff was sent to the Mediterranean, Rear Admiral Barrington to the Leeward Islands, and Vice Admiral Byron, on Lord Howe's desiring to be recalled from America, was appointed to succeed him on that station. Such was the general state of Naval Affairs, when the second book of this work commences.

It has been already mentioned, that Captain Maurice Suckling died in the month of July, 1778, during the time his nephew had been thus actively employed as a lieutenant in the West Indies. Captain Suckling for three weeks previous to his death, had been attended by Nelson's father, and their conversation one day turned upon the future prospects of their relation: 'At all events,' said Captain Suckling, 'we have made the young man a Lieutenant, and he may now fight his way along. It was my intention to have left him equally with the rest of your children, five hundred pounds; but I will send for my lawyer and do something more for poor Horace. Do not fear, brother; your son will never want friends.'—Soon after this, Captain Suckling experienced so severe a relapse, as to render it impossible for him to execute his intentions, which were soon entirely frustrated by death. His Sword which Nelson afterwards so much valued, became the property of his liberal friend, Mr. William Suckling, of the Custom-house, and was by him presented to Captain Nelson on his return to England. The history of this



sword is curious, but very difficult to ascertain. It was the opinion of a person, now dead, who was well acquainted with the Walpole family, that this Sword had originally belonged to the gallant Galfridus Walpole; who, on the 26th of March, 1711, lost his right arm in the Mediterranean, when commanding the Lion of 60 guns, in an Action with four French ships, each mounting 60 guns. On marrying a Walpole, Captain Maurice Suckling is thought to have received this Sword. His gallant nephew from the time he possessed it, wore it constantly when on service, and considered it as an old and faithful servant, that would never fail to support him in battle.

Captain Nelson remained so short a time as Commander in the Badger brig, to which he had been appointed at the beginning of December, 1778, that his name was never inserted in any of the printed lists. His services from that promotion, to his being made post into the Hinchinbrook, on the 11th of June, 1779, were confined at first, as he informs us in his Memoir, to the Mosquito shore, and the bay of Honduras; whence he returned with the unanimous thanks of the settlers. He was afterwards employed in protecting the northern side of Jamaica from the depredations of privateers; and the following letters to Captain Locker, give some account of the proceedings of the Badger, whilst on that station.

The first,\* in which mention is made of a prize that had been taken by the *Badger*, is dated off the N. E. end of Jamaica, April 30, 1779. ‘I hope, my dear Sir, with all my heart, you are much better than when I left you, and that you will not be obliged to go home on account of your health. I sincerely wish it was in my power to shew some small return, for the very many favours I have received; but I am sure you do not think me ungrateful. If you come on the north side and I hear of it, I will come in. I know you will be pleased with this little earnest of success; but we have had a good deal of plague with her, and were two days before we could find the French papers: at last we found them in an old shoe.’

On his return from this Cruise, being in want of men, he involved himself in some perplexity, by pressing a few hands from a vessel called the *Amity Hall*; and as this had given uneasiness to his friend, Captain Locker, it produced the following explanation: ‘I am very sorry, my dear Sir, that I made you so uneasy about the men pressed from the *Amity Hall*; but I will relate the story, in particular for Mr. Taylor’s satisfaction, whom I should be very sorry to disoblige, as he has been so exceedingly civil to me; and also upon your account. ‘When I first saw the

\* Captain Locker’s collection of letters.

‘Ibid. *Badger*, May 13, 1779.’

ships in Port Antonio, I took them for part of the Cork fleet; and sent the boat for men, with orders not to press from homeward-bound ships: They went on board two, and did not meddle with their people; but thirty-five men on board the Amity Hall tempted them to bring five. I was not pleased when they were brought on board, and came into port on purpose to return them; for I had not a thought of keeping any of them. The Master came on board in a most impertinent manner, and, with very abusive language, told me he should take the law.—I cannot say but I was warm to be talked to in such a manner. However, I immediately returned two men and a neutral; but told him I should keep the other two, for his improper behaviour: this is all the matter. If you tell the story, I beg you will mention, that the Master forgot to advertise, that he had on board two deserters from the Badger. I am afraid the Admiral has got the wrong end of the story: if you think proper, mention the truth. I see you are quite settled about going home, which in all probability may happen before you can hear from me again; but I shall always write to you in England. The friendship you have shewn me, I shall never forget; and though I lose my best friend by your going, I would not have you stay a day longer in this Country. May health and happiness attend you.'

His humanity and presence of mind were soon after this particularly noticed, whilst the Badger

was at anchor in Montego Bay, Jamaica. Early in the ensuing month of June 1779, his Majesty's ship Glasgow, 20 guns, commanded by Captain Lloyd, took fire soon after she had come to an anchor in the same bay. Captain Nelson immediately manned the Badger's boats, and forced the crew of the Glasgow who had thrown themselves into the sea, to return to their ship. He then directed them to throw their powder overboard, and to point their guns upwards: Owing to this resolute conduct, no lives, except that of the Master, were lost: but the ship was burnt to the water's edge.—On the 7th of June, he sent the following account of what had passed to Captain Locker, dated off St. Anne's. 'I suppose, before this, you have heard of the fate of the poor Glasgow, indeed it was a most shocking sight; and had it happened half an hour later, in all probability a great many people would have been lost. She anchored at half past three, and at six she was in flames, owing to the steward's attempting to steal rum out of the after-hold. Captain Lloyd is very melancholy indeed on the occasion; and I sincerely wish I was at Port Royal for his sake, and that of the ship's company, who are falling sick very fast with the constant rains we have had since we left Montego Bay: and we have no place on board the Badger to shelter such a number of men. I suppose I have letters at Port Antonio from you, but I have not been there these three posts; and am much afraid I shall be

obliged to go round the west end, and attempt the south side; the current having set us nine leagues to leeward these last twenty-four hours, although we have had favourable winds. I beg you will remember me very kindly to Mr. Ross, and Captain Deane, who I hope is got well. May health and happiness attend you.'

It was in the year 1779, and probably about this time, that Captain Nelson first became acquainted with that enterprising and gallant Seaman, the honourable Captain William Cornwallis; who has thus retraced the origin of their acquaintance. "His attention to me was, I believe, in consequence of the late Captain Walter Young, who might perhaps have said something in my favour to Nelson, when a lad: Captain Young had formerly served with Captain Suckling, and was afterwards five years a Lieutenant with me in the *Guadaloupe*; he was well known to be a most excellent officer, and I always found him a most honourable and disinterested man. From his advice and instruction, it is probable that Nelson early learnt to despise mercenary objects, and to turn his thoughts wholly to glorious deeds, in which he succeeded beyond all example."

II. In about a twelvemonth after the commencement of hostilities with France, her adepts in diplomacy succeeded in irritating the wretched government of Spain; which led her into a war with Great Britain, though contrary to the interests and even the inclination of the Court of

Madrid. The Spanish Ambassador accordingly received orders to return, having first presented a Manifesto, dated London, June 16, 1779; which was the next day laid before both Houses of Parliament. On the 19th a Proclamation was issued for making reprisals on Spain; and on the 13th of July, an admirable answer to the Manifesto was transmitted to their Ambassador, the Marquis D'Almodovar, by Lord Weymouth.

Amidst the various means that were then employed to call forth the energy and daring spirit of the Nation, the noble conduct of his Majesty cannot be passed by unnoticed; Who, on the 15th of June, entered his third son, Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence, as a Midshipman in the royal navy. This produced the following encomium from the Spanish Admiral Langara: "Well does Great Britain merit the Empire of the Sea, when the humblest stations in her Navy are supported by Princes of the Blood."

On the 11th of June, 1779, three days previous to his Royal Highness' being entered a midshipman on board the Prince George, Admiral Digby, his future friend, Captain Nelson, was made Post into the Hinchinbrook, 28 guns; one of the enemy's merchantmen sheathed with wood, which

<sup>a</sup> During the month of January, 1780. This anecdote, mentioned by Colonel Drinkwater in his history of the Siege of Gibraltar, (page 90) is not there quite correctly stated. Prince William did not inform Don Juan that his boat was ready; nor was his Royal Highness then on board.

had been taken, and purchased into our service. Captain Nelson was at sea in this ship, when the arrival of Count d'Estaing at Hispaniola from Martinico, with a powerful fleet and army, threatened the safety of Jamaica. With his usual zeal, Nelson immediately proffered his services both to the Admiral, and Governor General Dalling, and was accordingly appointed to command the important batteries at Port Royal. In a letter to Captain Locker, dated from that place, Aug. 12, the measures are described that had been taken to secure Jamaica.

' Jamaica is turned upside down since you left it. The Count d'Estaing is at the Cape with twenty sail of the line; and a flag ship, with eight or nine more, are at Port-au-Prince: The latter fleet fell in with the Charon and Pomona in the night, but they got off by good sailing. They say that there are twenty thousand men at the Cape ready to embark, and five thousand at Port-au-Prince. He arrived at the Cape last Saturday fortnight with one hundred and twenty-five sail, men of war and transports, and passed Captain Lambert's squadron, which arrived here yesterday, in a very thick day; so that all our ships are in port, except the Hinchinbrook, Hound, and Porcupine; which we have reason to believe are taken, as reports are very strong from the Bahama Islands.—Now I have told you what we may expect, I will tell you the measures taken to defend the Island. Five thousand men are encamped

between the ferry and Kingston, one thousand in Fort Augusta, three hundred at the Apostles Battery, and we expect to have five hundred in Fort Charles. Lion, Salisbury, Charon and Janus, are in a line from the Point to the outer Shoal, Ruby and Bristol are in the Narrows going to Kingston, to rake any ships that may attack Fort Augusta; the Pomona, and Speke Indiaman above Rock Fort, and Lowestoffe at the end of the Dock-wall. Expresses go to-morrow morning to all quarters. Resource and Penelope are to cruise off the east end. Four fire-ships are down here, two of them commissioned.

‘ I have fairly stated our situation, and I leave you in England to judge what stand we shall make: I think you must not be surprised to hear of my learning to speak French. I hope you have had a good passage, and are now in peace and plenty with your family. Ross\* has behaved in a very public spirited manner; he has sent the Gayton and his vessels to the admiral, and even his negroes into the batteries. I know we shall have your wishes for success. May health, peace, and happiness, always surround you and your good family, to whom I beg to be kindly remembered, is the constant wish of your devoted humble servant, Horatio Nelson.’

Notwithstanding the force collected by d’Estaing, and which if it had been brought against

\* Hercules Ross, Esq.



Jamaica with the promptness and skill of a Nelson, might have inflicted a severe blow on our West India colonies, nothing was done by the enemy. General Dalling, therefore, was left at liberty<sup>y</sup> to execute a plan, which originated in himself, and had been highly approved of by Lord George Germain, then Secretary of State for the American department; to take Fort San Juan, on the Rio San Juan, which runs from the great American lake Nicaragua into the Atlantic, and thus to obtain possession of the cities of Granada and Leon: by which means the communication of the Spaniards would have been cut off, between their northern and southern dominions in America.

III. The command of the naval force was given to Captain Nelson, and that of the troops to Captain John Polson.<sup>z</sup> The following letter<sup>a</sup> to Captain Locker, dated Port Royal, January 23, 1780, notices this appointment. ‘I sailed in the Hin-

y It is a singular circumstance, and one that has been noticed by Mr. Macpherson in his late valuable *Annals of Commerce*; that the planters, and others concerned in the island of Jamaica, should have taken this opportunity to present a petition to the House of Commons, February 10, and another to the House of Lords, February 21; Wherein they represented, ‘that Jamaica was totally destitute of defence, and owed its being a British colony, to the mere accident of the forces of the enemy being directed to another object.’

<sup>z</sup> Who had, for that service, the brevet rank of Major; now Colonel Polson.

<sup>a</sup> Captain Locker's collection.

chInbrook from Port Royal in the middle of September (1779) to join the Niger and Penelope. We took four sail, for which I shall share about eight hundred pounds sterling. You, and many others, will be very sorry to hear of the death of that worthy good man, Captain Joseph Deane. He died on the 12th of January, and was buried the next day at Green Bay, <sup>b</sup> amidst the tears of his officers and ship's company and his many friends. . . . Our mess is broke up: Captain Cornwallis and myself live together. I trust I have made a friend of him; which I am sure, from his character, you will be glad to hear.

‘ The Admiral says he will give me the first frigate: he has appointed me to go with an Expedition, which is now on foot, against the city of Granada upon the lake of Nicaragua: how it will turn out, God knows. I do not expect to return before the beginning of June. Collingwood desires to be very particularly remembered to you, and Mrs. Locker. The Admiral sails with the fleet on Tuesday next the 25th of January, to meet, if he can, the Count de Grasse; who has been cruising these some weeks past, between Capes Nichola and Maize, with five sail of the line. You must not be surprised to see me in England after this trip; for if my health is not much better than it is at present, I shall certainly come home: all the doctors are against my stay-

<sup>b</sup> A burying-place for seamen in Jamaica.

ing so long in this country. You know my old complaint in my breast? it is turned out to be the gout got there. Cuba, and all your acquaintance in this part of the world desire to be kindly remembered to you, and none more so than Captain Cornwallis, who has, I assure you, a very high esteem for your character. Glover is very ill; I hardly think he will get over this cruise. I have been twice given over, since you left this country, with that horrid disorder the gout. I must now bid you adieu; wishing you every thing you can desire in this life.'

Anno  
Ætat. 22. Captain Nelson's orders from the Admiral, were strictly confined to the Convoy of the transports to the Spanish main, and the landing of the troops; after which he was to leave the Expedition to Captain Polson. Jealousies, such as often render our best<sup>c</sup> concerted plans ineffectual, had not been dormant on this occasion, so that Nelson, who was insensible to every thing that did not promote the glory of his Country, on reaching the Spanish main, found it absolutely necessary to take an active part.

<sup>c</sup> The command of this Expedition was originally destined for General Garth, accompanied by his brother, at present aid de camp to his Majesty: The present Earl of Harrington to be second in command, with his own regiment, in which were Lord Mulgrave, Major Richard Crewe, the Hon. General Paulet, Lord Henry Fitzgerald, the Hon. Henry Lascelles, the Hon. Frederick, now General St. John, and many others. Dr. Moseley was appointed Surgeon General of the Expedition, but remained with the army at Jamaica.

The Expedition<sup>d</sup> sailed at the beginning of the year, (1780). The small army which was destined for it, consisting of about two hundred regulars of the 60th and 79th regiments, one hundred men of Major Dalrymple's Loyal Irish corps, and two hundred Jamaica volunteers; embarked on board the several transports that had been prepared; and left Port Royal on the 3d of February, under convoy of the *Hinchinbrook*, Captain Nelson. Their course was first directed for the Mosquito shore, to receive some of the Indians on board. On the 14th of February they arrived at Cape Gracias à Dios, a town of Honduras; where the soldiers were encamped on a large plain, about a mile from the sea, called *Wank's Savanna*. The soil of this plain was found to be swampy, affording water at only a foot or two below the surface. Between this *Savanna* and the sea was a large river, called also *Wank's*, surrounded by *Scot's grass* and mangroves, to a considerable distance; so as to generate unwholesome air and to seclude the sea breezes from the camp. Whilst at this place,

<sup>d</sup> Two accounts have been published of this Expedition. One by Dr. Moseley, in his *Treatise on Tropical Diseases*; and the other by Dr. Dancer, who was physician to the troops that were sent. His account has become extremely scarce, and, from Dr. Dancer's having been an eye-witness of what passed, it has been principally referred to for the following account. It was originally printed at Jamaica in 1781, and is dedicated to General Dalling the Governor.

however, the whole number in the hospital did not exceed thirty; until they were joined by Captain Dalrymple and Mr. Schomberg, from Black River, with a party of men of the 79th regiment, whose health was in a most deplorable state. The troops being re-embarked on the 10th of March, they in a few days left Cape Gracias à Dios; and after anchoring at several places on the Mosquito shore, the appointed rendezvous for the Indians who were to proceed with them, they arrived on the 24th<sup>c</sup> at the River San Juan: the men in general being in good health, and in great spirits, from the idea of having so nearly reached their destination.

Here, as already observed, according to the orders which Nelson had received from Sir Peter Parker, the services of the Hinchinbrook were to terminate; as her Captain had convoyed the troops to the Spanish Main. But, to use his own words, preserved in some memoranda taken at that time, 'There not being a man who had ever been up the river, or had an idea of the distance of any fortification from its mouth, Capt. Nelson manned the Mosquito shore craft, and two of the Hinchinbrook's boats, and carried the soldiers up to the castle of San Juan.'

About two hundred regulars, being now disembarked from the transports with the necessary

<sup>c</sup> From Dr. Dancer: according to the Nelson papers it was on the 28th.

equipment of ammunition and stores, proceeded up the river with the Indians in their several crafts. It being the latter end of the dry season, the river <sup>f</sup> contained very little water and was full of shoals and sandy beaches, which rendered the passage exceedingly difficult: the men were frequently obliged to quit the boats, and unite their utmost exertions in getting them along through a number of shallow channels which had previously been explored by the Indians, who were sent before for that purpose. This labour continued for several days after they left the mouth of the river, until they arrived in deeper water, when they made a quicker progress. But the men were much exposed to injury from the violence of the sun, for seven or eight hours every day; besides a still more intense heat that was reflected from many dry shoals, covered with a whitish sand which sometimes rendered the air intolerable; and this was followed by as dangerous an exposure to the heavy dews at night. The brunt of this arduous fatigue occasioned by rowing up the boats such a length of way, notwith-

<sup>f</sup> The river San Juan, according to Dr. Moseley, has many unwholesome marshes on its sides, and the adjacent trees grow so thickly, as to intercept the rays of the sun; consequently the earth beneath their branches is covered with rotten leaves and putrid vegetables. The torrents of water that fall for weeks together, during the periodical rains which begin about the middle of April, give the river a tremendous aspect. The blackness of the nights, accompanied with horrible tempests of lightning and thunder, constitute a magnificent scene of terror.

standing the currents, shoals, and rapids or falls, which impeded their progress, was chiefly sustained by the British seamen, and Indians: 'The soldiery,' adds Dr. Dancer, 'partly from ignorance in those matters, and partly from that indolence which was the natural effect of their situation, were frequently of very little use.'

On the 9th of April, 1780, this advanced party arrived at a small island in the river, called San Bartholomew, which commanded the navigation in a rapid and difficult part. This island, situated about sixteen miles below the Castle, was defended by a small semicircular battery, mounting nine or ten swivels; and was employed by the Spaniards as a look-out, with twelve or eighteen of their soldiers stationed there. This Out-post was *boarded* by Captain Nelson, to use his forcible<sup>s</sup> expression: With an intrepidity, that was irresistible, he headed a few of his seamen, and leaped upon the beach. The place, on which he had precipitated himself, was so muddy, that he found considerable difficulty in extricating himself; but he would admit of no delay, and, advancing without his shoes, he stormed the battery. In this gallant exploit he was bravely supported by Captain Despard. The Spaniards were panic struck at the daring promptness of the attack, and in vain endeavoured to escape, being stopped by the Indians, who had been posted higher up for that purpose.

<sup>s</sup> See Memoir, quarto edit. p. 22.

Capt. Nelson, during this march, had been in imminent danger from one of the poisonous Serpents of the Country. Being excessively fatigued, he had ordered his hammock on one of their halts, to be slung under some trees. During his sleep, that extraordinary animal called the Monitor<sup>h</sup> Lizard, from its faculty of warning persons of the approach of any venomous animal, passed across his face; which being observed by some of the attendant Indians, they shouted and awoke him. He immediately started up, and throwing off the quilt, found one of the most venomous of the innumerable American serpents, curled up at his feet. From this providential escape, the Indians, who attended, entertained an idea that Nelson was a superior being under an especial protection; an idea, which his wonderful abilities and unwearied exertions tended to confirm.

By the 11th of April, 1780, they came in sight of the Castle of San Juan, and on the 13th the Siege commenced; which, with so small an army, was not carried on without much fatigue and difficulty. The Castle surrendered on the 24th of April, and soon afterwards the disaffection and desertion of the Indians became general. Captain Nelson's memoranda make it, April 29th. Previous to this, their want of provisions had been so great, that they were obliged chiefly to

<sup>h</sup> For an account of this beautiful animal, see Shaw's *Zoology*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 214.



subsist on a broth made by boiling the Monkeys that were caught. A sort of food, which Nelson often declared nothing could induce him to touch, after seeing their appearance in the Copper. ‘So general,’ says Dr. Dancer, ‘was the illness at this time, and ever afterwards, that independent of the few who were well enough to do garrison duty, we had not orderly men sufficient to assist the sick.—From the month of April, when the Castle surrendered, until <sup>i</sup> October when the army returned to Bluefields, and for some time afterwards, the rains continued with now and then an interval of a few days to fall in prodigious quantities; and occasionally with the most dreadful thunder storms. The exhausted and debilitated state which most of the men were in, on being re-embarked for Bluefields, an English settlement about twenty leagues to the northward, rendered the situation and air of a ship’s hold mortal to them, and a great number died on their passage.’

Dr. Moseley, in mentioning this illustrious Officer, subjoins the following testimony to the skill and valour which he then displayed: ‘It was on our San Juan Expedition, that he commenced his career of glory. When unfortunate contentions had slackened the ardour for the

<sup>i</sup> Dr. Moseley informs us, that a few of our men, who were the most likely to live, were left behind in the Castle; in order if possible to keep possession of it, until further orders were received from Jamaica.

public service, Captain Nelson did not suffer any narrow spirit to influence his conduct. He did more than his duty; where any thing was to be done, he saw no difficulties: not contented with having carried the armament safe to the harbour of San Juan, he accompanied and assisted the troops in all their difficulties. He was the first on shore at the attack of Saint Bartholomew, followed by a few brave seamen and soldiers, in the face of a severe fire. The undauntedness of the act frightened the Spaniards, who from the nature of the ground might have put him and his party to death: but they ran away and abandoned the battery. By his example and perseverance, the Indians and seamen were encouraged through their toil in forcing the boats against the current up the river; otherwise not a man would have seen San Juan Castle. When they arrived at the Castle, as prompt in thought as bold in action, he advised the carrying it instantly by assault: He knew the seasons were at hand, and that there was no time to be lost.—Misunderstandings, oppositions, and delays, the ruin of many military operations, were the origin of the failure of this: but even these perplexities and disappointments, great as they were, would not have defeated the Expedition; had the first detachment that General Dalling sent, taken San Juan castle in two hours, instead of sitting down formally before it for eleven days.'

On the arrival of the Victor sloop, which sailed

from Jamaica, with a reinforcement, on the 10th of April, Captain Nelson received the intelligence that he had been appointed by Sir Peter Parker to the command of the *Janus*, forty-four guns; vacant by the death of Captain Bonovier Glover.<sup>k</sup>

Captain Nelson was succeeded in the *Hinchinbrook* by Captain, now Lord Collingwood, and returned to the harbour at Bluefields only one day previous to the surrender of the Castle; and thence embarked for Jamaica in the *Victor* sloop, which was commanded by Captain Samuel Hood Walker, a nephew of Lord Hood, who was afterwards lost in a hurricane, as it was supposed, off *Savannah la Mar*. Captain Nelson found Mr. Tyson<sup>l</sup> in this sloop, who had been his purser in the *Badger* the whole time he commanded her. Nelson was so completely debilitated by the dysentery and worn out by fatigue, that on the arrival of the *Victor* at Port Royal, they were obliged to take him on shore in his cot; and in this manner he was first conveyed to the lodging house of his former black nurse Cuba Cornwallis, who has saved the lives of many naval

<sup>k</sup> A brave officer, who expired just before Commodore Cornwallis's gallant action with a very superior force, on the 20th of March, 1780. From ill health, he died as the noble Commodore expressed himself, 'in the very hour he so ardently wished to see.' He was the son of the celebrated author of *Leonidas*.

<sup>l</sup> Mr. Tyson was afterwards secretary to Lord Nelson, and was with him in that capacity at Naples in 1799.

officers, and obtained her freedom from the brave and noble Admiral of that name.

In the despatches to General Dalling which announced the surrender of Fort San Juan, and came to Jamaica in the Victor sloop; Major Polson made the following, and first official acknowledgment of Nelson's professional merit. ' Captain Nelson, then of the Hinchinbrook, came up with thirty-four seamen, one serjeant, and twelve marines: I want words to express the obligations I owe that gentleman. He was the first on every service, whether by day or night. There was not a gun fired but was pointed by him, or Captain Despard, chief engineer, who has exerted himself on every occasion. I am persuaded if our shot had held out, we should have had the fort a week sooner. As Captain Nelson goes to Jamaica, he can inform you of every delay and point of service, as well as I could, for he knows my very thoughts. The bearer, Lieutenant Mounsey, can inform your Excellency of many things that may escape my memory: he is a very good officer, and commanded the party I sent to reconnoitre the look-out; and began the attack of it in concert with Captain Despard and Captain Nelson; who with his seamen volunteered that duty.'

The Spaniards retook Fort San Juan, as soon as the season permitted; but previous to this, our troops had reached the lake Nicaragua.

Captain Nelson soon after his arrival at Port

Royal sent his congratulations to General Dalling, the Governor of Jamaica, on the taking of Fort San Juan; and received the following complimentary answer, dated Kingston, May the '30th. 'Thanks to you, my friend, for your kind congratulations: to you, without compliment, do I attribute in great measure the cause.'

The private letter which General Dalling afterwards sent from Jamaica to Lord George Germain, will close the account of Captain Nelson's services on the San Juan Expedition.

'*June 29, 1780.* My Lord, I have hitherto neglected a piece of justice, due to the services of Captain Nelson, of H. M. S. Hinchinbrook, who convoyed the first detachment of troops to St. John's. On his arrival there, the commanding officer experienced every kind of assistance and attention from him: he left his ship in the harbour, and accompanied the first division up the river to the fort, with some of his seamen; he then dedicated himself to erecting the batteries, and afterwards to fighting them. Unfortunately for the service he was obliged to return to the harbour, being appointed to another ship at this island; but he remained at the fort until the day before it surrendered. I most humbly entreat that his Majesty will be graciously pleased, through your Lordship, to manifest a satisfaction of Captain Nelson's conduct; and in case that a co-operating squadron should have been determined on for the Southern Ocean, that he

may be employed on that service. Captain Nelson's constitution is rather too delicate for the service under my direction on this northern one. As such minds, my Lord, are most devoutly to be wished for government's sake, I once more venture to urge this suit.'

IV. As soon as his health was in the smallest degree re-established, Capt. Nelson took the command of the *Janus*; but, experiencing a relapse, could only retain it for a short time: during which he commenced his acquaintance and future intimacy with the Captains Duckworth, Macnamara, Russel, &c. Towards the end of August, 1780, his indisposition had so greatly increased, that the faculty declared he could not recover in the West Indies, and Dr. Moseley in particular urged the absolute necessity of his immediate return to Europe. The Admiral's permission is dated September the 1st, and soon afterwards Nelson embarked on board his Majesty's ship the *Lion*, commanded by the truly noble and gallant William Cornwallis.

In the Commander of the *Lion*, Capt. Nelson had already found a mind congenial with his own; the same Valour, Zeal in service and Simplicity of manners appeared in their respective characters. They had recently distinguished themselves under the Commander in Chief, and were now returning to enjoy their well earned laurels in the bosom of their beloved Country. The conversation and kindness of such an Officer was par-

ticularly grateful to Nelson, both during the voyage and on their arrival in England; and he often afterwards was heard to declare, that under Providence, he considered Captain Cornwallis as the<sup>m</sup> second preserver of his life. The hospitality which he had received at the penn of Sir Peter Parker in the West Indies, was renewed at the Admiral's residence in London.

When the *Lion* had arrived in England, Captain Cornwallis immediately forwarded to the Reverend Edmund Nelson, an account of his son's health, and requested him to come to London, that he might accompany his son to Bath. On the 23d of January, 1781, Captain Nelson sent the following account of himself from Bath, to Captain Locker.—‘ I have been so ill since I have been here, that I was obliged to be carried to and from bed in the most excruciating tortures. But, thank God, I am now upon the mending hand. I drink the waters three times a day, and bathe every other night; besides drinking wine, which I think the worst of all.’—In another letter, January 28th, he adds, ‘ I do not sit very easy under the hands of a doctor: although I give myself credit this once, for having done every thing, and taken every medicine that was ordered; so that Dr. Woodward, who is my physician, says he never had a better patient. I have not quite recovered the use of my limbs,

<sup>m</sup> See Memoir, quarto edit. Part II, page 23.

yet my inside is a new man.'—To this letter succeeded a third from Bath, dated February 15, 1781. 'My health, thank God, is very near perfectly restored, and I have the complete use of all my limbs except my left arm. I most sincerely wish to be employed and hope it will not be long. If I am not employed, I intend coming to town in March, and expect when I come to see a fine trio (of naval portraits) in your room. Pray give my best compliments to Captain Pole, and tell him I hope we shall renew our acquaintance. I must now wish you a good night, and drink your health in a draught of my physician's cordial and a bolus. Adieu!'—After eleven weeks bathing he entirely recovered the use of his limbs: when on going to settle with Dr. Woodward, the smallness of the demand produced a generous altercation between them. 'Pray, Captain Nelson,' exclaimed that worthy physician, 'pray allow me to follow what I consider to be my professional duty. Your illness, Sir, has been brought on by serving your King and Country; and, believe me, I love both too well to be able to receive any more.'

Anno  
Ætat. 23.

V. On the 16th of August, 1781, he was appointed to commission the *Albemarle* frigate, 28 guns, at Woolwich; and on the 21st he wrote to Captain Locker: "I have been very busy in getting my ship's company in order for service, they are, in my opinion, as good a set of men as I ever saw, indeed I am per-



fectly satisfied with both officers and ship's company; all my marines are likewise old standers. I have been so ill as hardly to be kept out of bed, and have been but twice from the ship since her arrival." His orders arrived soon after this, and are dated October 23, 1781: he was to take the *Argo*, and *Enterprise*, under his command, and proceed to *Elseneur* for the homeward bound trade. He was also informed, that he might probably be reinforced by some ships from *Commodore Stewart's* squadron, who was off the *Texel*. It would be difficult to fix on any station, more fatally adapted to destroy the feeble constitution of an officer, worn out by the sultry heats of *San Juan* and the climate of the *West Indies*, than the cold and aguish atmosphere of the *North Sea*. This appointment certainly made a deep impression on *Nelson's* mind; since long afterwards, as appears from his *Memoir*, when alluding to this circumstance, he added, "And it would almost be supposed, to try my constitution, was kept the whole winter in the *North Sea*."—Such ideas do not remain in the mind of any *Seaman*, without producing very serious evils in the *Service*; and it is the more necessary to mark this, since the same neglect being afterwards repeated at intervals, had nearly deprived this *Country* of the achievements of a *NELSON*.

On the 29th of *October*, 1781, the *Albemarle*, with the *Enterprise*, 28 guns, *Captain J.W. Payne*, and the *Argo*, 44, *Captain Butchart*, sailed from

the Nore for the Baltic, and arrived at Elsinour on the 4th of November. The armed Neutrality was then nearly at a close, and a usual jealousy of this Country prevailed in some of the northern courts. On coming to anchor off Elsinour, the Danish Admiral merely sent a midshipman on board the Albemarle, desiring to be informed what ships had arrived, and to have their force written down. "The Albemarle," exclaimed Nelson, 'is one of His Britannic Majesty's ships; you are at liberty, Sir, to count her guns as you go down the side, and you may assure the Danish Admiral, that if necessary they shall all be well served.'" Reciprocal civilities afterwards took place, and the neglect of the Danish commander was forgiven, in not sending an officer of higher rank on board the Albemarle.

On the 19th of November, 1781, Captain Dickson arrived in the Sampson, 64 guns, and as the senior officer took the command of the squadron. On the 8th of December ensuing, they left Elsinour with 260 sail of merchantmen and arrived in safety in Yarmouth Roads, whence, on the 22d, 1781, Captain Nelson, in writing to his friend Capt. Locker, said, "What fools the Dutch must have been not to have taken us into the Texel. The Convoy consisted of 260 sail, and they behaved as all Convoys, that ever I saw did, shamefully ill; parting com-

pany every day. One hundred and ten sail are now in the Roads.”

During this voyage to Elsinour, Captain Nelson gained a considerable knowledge of the Danish coast and its soundings, which afterwards proved of such advantage to his Country; and he also commenced an intimate friendship with a brother officer, whose greatness and goodness of mind were congenial to his own, that ever to be lamented character John Willett Payne. The Albemarle arrived in the Downs, on the 3d of January, 1782, from Yarmouth Roads, when Captain Nelson went on shore to call on the senior officer, the Hon. Keith Elphinstone. During his absence from the ship, there came on so heavy a gale that almost all the vessels on that station drove, and the Brilliant store ship, belonging to the ordnance, came athwart hawse of the Albemarle. After much difficulty, Captain Nelson got on board his ship which had lost her bowsprit and foremast.

On the 3d of February, 1782, the Albemarle arrived at Spithead, and on the 2d of April he wrote to Captain Locker, dated Portsmouth, April 2d, ‘ I am ordered to Cork to join the *Dædalus*, Captain Pringle, and to go with a Convoy to Quebec; where, worse than all to tell, I understand I am to winter. Many of my naval friends have advised me to represent my situation to Admiral Keppel, and they have no doubt

but he would give me other orders, or remove me; but as I received my orders from Lord Sandwich, I cannot help thinking it wrong to ask Mr. Keppel to alter them. I am exceedingly happy at Charles Pole's success: in his seamanship he shewed himself as superior to the "Don, as in his gallantry, and no man in the world was ever so modest in his account of it.'

The Albemarle, having been blown out to sea from Kingsale Roads, during the night of the thirteenth, anchored on the eighteenth in the Cove of Cork; when Lieutenant Osborn second of the Albemarle being appointed to the Preston, Captain Nelson procured an acting order of the senior officer, Captain Bennett, for his old shipmate and follower Mr. Bromwich. On the 20th of April, he sent Captain Locker word of their safe arrival: "I know your goodness will say, *I wonder how Nelson does?* I answer, He is quite well, better than for a long time past; and he hopes by his return all your complaints will be removed. Remember me kindly to the Bradley's, and do not forget me to Commissioner Kirk, nor to Charles Pole when you see him—never was there a young man who bore his own merits with so much modesty." On the 27th of May they made St. John's Harbour, Newfoundland, and came to an anchor there. By the 1st of June, Captain Nelson heard overland that his Commo-

<sup>n</sup> Capture of the Santa Catalina, Spanish frigate, by the Success, Captain C. M. Pole.

dore was in Capelin Bay, about twenty leagues to the westward; and on the same day in writing to Captain Locker, he said, " We have heard the news ° from the West Indies, but not the particulars: It is reported that the Duke blew up in the action.—I hope to God it is not true, I had rather the French were at the devil than to have lost Captain Gardner, ° he is a real loss to the service. My second Lieutenant was appointed to the Preston and left the ship at Cork, the other lieutenant not having joined, I gave Bromwich an order to act as one. He does his duty exceedingly well as an officer, indeed I am very well off, they are all good. The Albemarle joined the Commodore and convoy in Capelin Bay on the 5th of June, whence they sailed on the 17th; and having been escorted by the Leocadia and Æolus frigates to the entrance of the river St. Lawrence, they arrived with their convoy at the Isle of Bec, in that river, on the second of July.

On the 4th of June, 1782, the Albemarle sailed on a cruise, and on the 14th captured an American fishing schooner belonging to Cape Cod; which had nearly completed her voyage, and contained in her cargo nearly all the wealth which the master of her possessed. Not having any officer on board who was acquainted with Boston

Sir George Rodney's Victory, April 12.

° The late Admiral Lord Gardner.

Bay and the adjacent shoals, Captain Nelson ordered the master of the fishing schooner to come on board the *Albemarle*, and act as her pilot. The poor fellow, whose name was Carver, had a large family that anxiously expected his return, earnestly hoping that this trip might prove fortunate. He instantly obeyed without a murmur; and, leaving his little vessel, exerted himself to discharge the orders of Captain Nelson with fidelity. But his conduct was not unnoticed by that great and good man, who at length thus addressed his prisoner: "You have rendered us, Sir, a very essential service, and it is not the custom of English Seamen to be ungrateful. In the name therefore and with the approbation of the officers of this ship, I return your schooner, and with it this certificate of your good conduct. Farewell! and may God bless you!"

The American, full of astonishment and gratitude, returned on board his little vessel blessing the noble Captain of the *Albemarle* and his generous crew: When, on opening the paper, he found the following security in case he should again be captured.—*These are to certify, that I took the Schooner Harmony, Nathaniel Carver, master, belonging to Plymouth;<sup>¶</sup> but, on account of his good Services, have given him up his Vessel again. Dated on board His Majesty's ship Albemarle, 17th of*

¶ On the western shore of Cape Cod Bay, in the State of Massachusetts, the first town that was built in New England.

*August, 1782. Horatio Nelson.* The original manuscript, so highly honourable to the British Navy, is framed and hung up in the <sup>r</sup> house of Isaac Davis, Esq. a gentleman of Boston. May similar instances of liberality and forbearance, on each side, destroy those jealousies between England and America, which it is so much the interest of their enemies to foment.

The grateful Master of the schooner came off to the Albemarle afterwards, at the risk of his life, with four sheep, some poultry, and a quantity of vegetables, as a present to her Captain; and a most valuable one it proved, since the scurvy was raging in the ship. For a long time Carver peremptorily refused to be paid, but was at length reluctantly compelled to receive it, lest he should offend Captain Nelson: and here again that illustrious Seaman displayed another instance of his humanity, for the whole of the American's present was shared equally amongst the sick.

On the 14th of August, 1782, at two P. M. the Albemarle was chased by four French sail of the line and the Iris frigate, who had come out of Boston harbour. Captain Nelson immediately wore; and, on finding that 'they all beat him in sailing,' as is described in his <sup>s</sup> Memoir, 'he boldly ran amongst the numerous shoals of St. George's Bank.' Owing to this presence of mind,

<sup>r</sup> From the information of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart.

<sup>s</sup> Quarto edit. page 33, where he seems to have forgotten the exact number of ships.

and that skill in pilotage on which he so justly valued himself, he effectually separated his ship from the superior force of the enemy. The frigate warily continued the pursuit, on which the Albemarle at six o'clock shortened sail and hove to. This seemed to stagger the Iris, who by sunset had nearly got within gun-shot of her antagonist, and during the night she escaped; on which the Albemarle again stood into Boston Bay, but saw nothing of the frigate.

By the 23d of August, so many of his crew had suffered, and were daily sinking under the scurvy, that Captain Nelson ordered his ship to stand away for Quebec, intending to have gone through the strait of Canso. Owing to contrary winds, it was the 9th of September before they could get up to the Isle of Bec, where they procured a pilot; who, on the morning of the 15th, anchored the ship abreast of Cape Torment. At six A. M. they weighed, and made sail with light airs of wind through the north traverse; but at nine it fell calm, and the ship drifted amongst the Shoals. The pilot, who was frightened out of his senses, earnestly entreated the Captain to go back to the anchorage they had left in the morning. *No*, replied Nelson, *I have a great number of men sick on board: I am bound to Quebec, and there I will go:* 'Upon which,' adds Lieutenant Bromwich, 'we turned to, and warped the ship through the north traverse, to the utter astonishment of



the pilot. On the 17th we anchored at Quebec, and sent our sick to the hospital.'

During these repeated visits to Quebec, Captain Nelson first became acquainted with Mr. Alexander Davison, at whose house he experienced the utmost hospitality, and from whom, both at this time, and long afterwards, he received innumerable acts of kindness. The sanguine mind of Nelson often required the cool and steady reason of a friend to regulate the common occurrences of private life: his extraordinary character displayed no inconsiderable portion of knight-errantry, and like the most celebrated warriors in the annals of chivalry, ' he devoted himself equally *a la Guerre, at a l'Amour*.

The Albemarle sailed on the 20th, from Beekman's roads for New York, in company with the Pandora, Captain Inglis, and 23 sail of transports; and on the 11th of November arrived at Sandy-Hook, where Captain Nelson found Admiral Lord Hood in the Barfleur, with twelve sail of the line. When he waited on Admiral Digby, Lord Hood was present and saw the Captain of the Albemarle for the first time. *You are come, said Admiral Digby, on a fine station for making Prize money. Yes, Sir, replied Nelson, but the West Indies is the station for Honour:* He soon afterwards went

† ' La Guerre, l'Amour, et la Religion, formoient, comme on sait, la base de cette institution singuliere.' *Histoire Litteraire des Troubadours*, (tom. i. p. 35.)

on board the *Barfleur* and anxiously requested Lord Hood to ask for the *Albemarle*: a favour which was not obtained from Admiral Digby without much difficulty, so highly was Nelson's professional merit then esteemed. It was in America, and at this period, that Nelson became acquainted with a distinguished Officer, he afterwards so much regarded, his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence; who had been serving in the capacity of a midshipman under Admiral Digby, but on Lord Hood's arrival went, by his Majesty's directions, on board the *Barfleur*. His Royal Highness has been pleased to describe this first interview with Captain Nelson, and his personal appearance at that time: 'I was then <sup>u</sup> a Midshipman on board the *Barfleur*, lying in the narrows off Staten Island, and had the watch on deck; when Captain Nelson of the *Albemarle* came in his barge alongside, who appeared to be the meekest boy of a Captain I ever beheld, and his dress was worthy of attention. He had on a full laced uniform, his lank unpowdered hair was tied in a stiff Hessian tail of an extraordinary length; the old-fashioned flaps of his waistcoat added to the general quaintness of his figure, and produced an appearance which particularly attracted my notice, for I had never seen any thing like it before, nor could I

<sup>u</sup> From minutes of a conversation with his Royal Highness at Bushey Park.

imagine who he was, nor what he came about. My doubts were, however, removed, when Lord Hood introduced me to him. There was something irresistibly pleasing in his address and conversation; and an enthusiasm, when speaking on professional subjects, that shewed he was no common being. Nelson after this went with us to the West Indies, and served under Lord Hood's flag during his indefatigable cruise off Cape François. Throughout the whole of the American War, the height of Nelson's ambition was to command a line of battle ship; as for Prize-money, it never entered his thoughts: he had always in view the character of his maternal uncle. I found him warmly attached to my Father, and singularly humane. He had the honour of the King's service, and the independence of the British Navy particularly at heart, and his mind glowed with this idea as much when he was simply Captain of the Albemarle, and had obtained none of the honours of his Country, as when he was afterwards decorated with so much well earned distinction.'

There is an anecdote respecting him, whilst on this station, which cannot be better related, than in the words of Lieutenant Bromwich. "The day before we sailed, Captain Nelson went on board the *Barfleur*; when Lord Hood said to him, "I suppose, Sir, from the length of time you were cruising amongst the Bahama Keys, you must be a good pilot there." "My Lord," replied Nelson, "I am well acquainted with them; but

my second lieutenant is far my superior in that respect.”—‘ I was therefore,’ adds Mr. Bromwich, ‘ sent for by Captain Knight, who asked me many questions respecting the Bahama Keys, as it was expected that the French would attempt some of the passages between them, and I was in consequence ordered to hold myself in readiness for that service. I never heard of this proof of my worthy Captain’s good intentions towards me from himself, but by means of some officers who were present.’

The Albemarle sailed with Lord Hood’s fleet for the West Indies, on the 22d of November. On which the French squadron, under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, left Boston, intending to go to Cape François, off which Lord Hood had stationed his fleet; but as the enemy were informed of this by a neutral vessel, they in consequence pushed through the Mona Passage and got into Porto Cavallo, on the coast of the Caraccas. In writing to Captain Locker, *Feb. 25, 1783*, Nelson said, ‘ My situation in Lord Hood’s fleet must be in the highest degree flattering to any young man, he treats me as if I were his son, and will, I am convinced, give me any thing I can ask of him. Nor is my situation with Prince William less flattering: Lord Hood was so kind as to tell him (indeed I cannot make use of expressions strong enough to describe what I felt) that if he wished to ask questions relative to Naval Tactics, I could give him as much information as any officer in the

fleet. He will be, I am certain, an ornament to our Service. He is a Seaman, which you could hardly suppose, every other qualification you may expect from him; but he will be a disciplinarian, and a strong one. A vast deal of notice has been taken of him at Jamaica, he has been addressed by the Council, and the House of Assembly was to address him the day after I sailed. He has his levees at Spanish Town, they are all highly delighted with him: With the best temper and great good sense, he cannot fail of being pleasing to every one.'

The Albemarle, on the 29th of March, looked into Porto Cavallo, and found there eleven sail of the line, two frigates, a ship armed *en flute*, and several merchantmen. The next day they examined Curaçoa harbour; and, when between Porto Cavallo and la Guira, took a King's launch belonging to the Spaniards with an illustrious foreigner the Count de deux Ponts, M. Lynch, and several French officers of distinction, who formed a part of the French squadron and had been on a visit to Caracca de Leon. After endeavouring to procure what intelligence he was able, Captain Nelson, with a liberality which his distinguished captives well knew how to appreciate, immediately granted them their liberty. The Albemarle returned to Port Royal; and, on the 9th of May, accompanied His Royal Highness Prince William, who was on board the *Fortunée*, Captain Christian, on his visit to the Havannah. H. R. H. was also attended by the

Captains Goodall, Rowley, and Merrick. Lord Hood \* followed with the fleet, and remained off the place until His Royal Highness' return.

On the 11th of May, the Albemarle sailed from the Havannah for St. Augustine, East Florida, with despatches from Lord Hood; on the 19th she stood for England, and on the 25th of June, 1783, anchored at Spithead. The ship was paid off in Portsmouth harbour on the 3d of July. Captain Nelson immediately went to London, whence, on the 12th, he thus continued his correspondence with Captain Locker, from lodgings in Salisbury Street. 'My time, ever since I arrived in town, has been taken up in attempting to get the wages due to my Good Fellows, for various ships they have served in during the war. The disgust of the Seamen to the Navy, is all owing to the infernal plan of turning them over from ship to ship; so that men cannot be attached to their officers, nor their officers care the least about the men. My ship was paid off last week, and in such a manner as must flatter any officer, particularly in these turbulent times; the whole ship's company offered, if I could get a ship, to enter for her immediately. But I have no thoughts of going to sea, for I cannot afford to live on board in such a way as is going on at pre-

\* His Lordship sent as a present to the Governor of the Havannah, a sirloin of beef that had been roasted and a buttock that had been boiled in England.

sent. Yesterday Lord Hood carried me to St. James's, where the King was exceedingly attentive. On Monday, or Tuesday, I am to be at Windsor, to take leave of Prince William previous to his embarkation for the continent. Captain Merrick, a young man of Lord Hood's bringing up, is to be with him.'

The following letter to Mr. Ross, gives an interesting display of Nelson's feelings at the close of the American War, it is dated from Salisbury Street, August 9, 1783. 'My dear friend, I am sure you are well convinced that nothing but my being ignorant where to direct to you, could have hindered you from being troubled with my nonsense. The innumerable favours I have received, be assured I shall never forget; and any opportunity that shall offer of my making some small return, you may always command—but I have done. You have long looked on me with a favourable eye, and I believe that I don't want gratitude. I have closed the War without a fortune; but I trust, and from the attention that has been paid to me believe, that there is not a speck in my character; True Honour I hope predominates in my mind far above riches.'

Anno  
Ætat. 26. VI. In a preceding letter to Captain Locker, Nelson had expressed his determination to remain unemployed during a Peace; and this he said, not only from motives of economy, but from an inclination at the moment to indulge the natural independence of his disposi-

tion. But the stagnation of an inactive life on shore, soon produced that restlessness which forms a peculiar feature in the character of our seamen. He therefore resolved to visit France, in company with his friend Captain Macnamara since dead, that he might acquire that knowledge of the French language which is of so much service to a naval officer. The only account that remains of their Tour, is contained in the following letters to Captain Locker; the first of which is dated from St. Omer, Nov. 2, 1783.

“ Our Travels, since we left you, have been extended to much greater length than I apprehended; but I must do Captain Mac the justice to say, it was all my doings, and in a great measure against his advice: however experience bought is the best, and all my inexperience I have paid pretty dearly for. We dined at Canterbury the day we parted from you, and called at Captain Sands’s house, but he was just gone out to dinner in the country, therefore we did not see him. We slept at Dover, and next morning at seven o’clock put to sea with a fine N.W. wind; and at half past ten we were safe at breakfast in Monsieur Grandsire’s house at Calais—his mother kept it when Hogarth composed his Gate of Calais. Sterne’s Sentimental Journey is the best description I can give of our Tour. Mac advised me to go first to St. Omer, as he had experienced the difficulty of attempting to fix in any place where there are no English. After dinner we set off in-



tending to go to Montrieul, sixty miles from Calais. They told us we travelled *en poste*, but I am sure we did not get on more than four miles an hour. At Marquees, we were shewn into an inn, they called it, I should have called it a pigsty. We were put into a room with two straw beds, and with great difficulty they mustered up clean sheets, and gave us two pigeons for supper upon a dirty cloth, and laid wooden handled knives. O what a transition from happy England! But we laughed at the repast, and went to bed with a determination that nothing should ruffle our tempers.

“ Having slept very well, we set off at day-light for Boulogne, where we breakfasted: this place was full of English, I suppose because wine is so very cheap. We went on after breakfast to Montrieul. Next day, Saturday, we proceeded upon our tour; leaving Montrieul with great regret, we reached Abbeville at eight o'clock. I determined, with Mac's advice, to steer for St. Omer, where we arrived last Tuesday. We lodge with a pleasant French family and have our dinners sent from a *traiteurs*. There are two very agreeable young ladies, daughters, who honour us with their company pretty often; one always makes our breakfast and the other our tea, and we play a game at cards in the evening: therefore I must learn French, if it is only for the pleasure of talking to them, for they do not speak a word of English. If Charles Pole is arrived, and you write to

him, give my kind respects; I esteem him as a brother."

His next letter is dated from the same place, "St. Omer, Nov. 26, 1783. My mind is too much taken up with the recent account of my dear Sister's death, to partake of any amusements. If I am not in England before the winter is over, I shall go to Paris in the spring; where I have received a most polite invitation from the Officer whom I detained off Porto Cavallo. I did not know his rank at that time, nor afterwards until I came here—he went by the name of the Count de Deux Ponts. He is a Prince of the empire, a general of the French army, knight of the grand order of St. Louis, and was second in command at the capture of York Town: his brother is heir apparent to the electorate of Bavaria, and the Palatinate. The present elector is eighty years of age, and this nobleman's brother is upon his death-bed. So most probably I shall have had the honour of taking prisoner a man, who will be a sovereign prince of Europe, and bring into the field near a hundred thousand men."

During this continuance at St. Omer, the intimacy which they had formed with some agreeable daughters of an English clergyman, Mr. Andrews, fascinated the susceptible heart of Nelson. To one of these ladies he became gradually much attached, and she was in every respect worthy of his attentions. There was only one obstacle that prevented their union, but that was an imperious one—neither

of them was sufficiently independent. Nelson was therefore reluctantly obliged to retreat, and to hope for better days. But his connexion with this worthy family did not entirely terminate on this occasion: Miss Andrews had a brother, now a Captain in the royal navy, who commenced his career in the profession in 1778, under the auspices of Lord Howe; and had returned to his family at the late peace. This gallant officer, who has since been rendered incapable of service, by the fatigue and hardships he experienced in the discharge of his duty, became from that time a follower of Captain Nelson.

At the beginning of 1784, he appears to have returned to England, and was soon asked by Lord Howe, who then presided at the Admiralty, if he wished to be employed? To which he answered in the affirmative. Accordingly at the end of March he was appointed to the *Boreas*, 28 guns, destined for the Leeward Islands.

Captain Nelson was desired to carry out Lady Hughes and family to Sir Richard, who commanded on that station; and in this ship, the Rev. William Nelson became again, as he had been at school, the companion of his gallant brother, and embraced the opportunity of visiting the West Indies: he also occasionally officiated as chaplain, as, from the rate of the ship, the *Boreas* could not have one appointed. Some occurrences which took place after the *Boreas* had left the river, are detailed in the following letter

to Capt. Locker.—“Portsmouth, April 21, 1784. Since I parted from you, I have encountered many disagreeable adventures. The morning after I left you, we sailed at day-light, just after high water. Wednesday I got into a quarrel with a Dutch Indiaman who had Englishmen on board; which we settled though with some difficulty: the Dutchman has made a complaint against me; but the Admiralty fortunately have approved my conduct in the business, a thing they are not very guilty of where there is a likelihood of a scrape. And yesterday, to complete me, I was riding a blackguard horse that ran away with me at Common, carried me round all the works into Portsmouth by the London gates, through the town, and out at the gate that leads to Common, where there was a waggon in the road, which is so very narrow that a horse could barely pass. To save my legs, and perhaps my life, I was obliged to throw myself from the horse, which I did with great agility; but unluckily upon hard stones, which has hurt my back and my leg, but done no other mischief. It was a thousand to one that I had been killed. To crown all, a young girl was riding with me, and her horse ran away with mine; but most fortunately a gallant young man seized her horse's bridle a moment before I was dismounted, and saved her from the destruction which she could not have avoided.”

<sup>Anno</sup>  
<sup>Ætat. 26.</sup> VII. On the 19th of May, 1784, the *Boreas* sailed for her station at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands. Captain Nelson was at that time a very young man, and had not been many years on the Post list; yet he thoroughly understood every branch of the naval service, and with the utmost zeal and perseverance daily and hourly studied every thing that could possibly tend to promote its advantage. A time of profound peace would seem unlikely to offer opportunities, for a display of those talents which his comprehensive mind possessed; but, as he himself often said, “a Captain of a man of war, if he does his Duty, will find sufficient to occupy his mind, and to render service to his Country, on any station, either in peace or war.”

The *Boreas* arrived at Madeira on the first of June; and on the second, after breakfast, the Governor sent the Major of his guards, with his state barge, to convey Lady Hughes and her suite on shore, which was politely declined. At half past ten, the ship being completely manned, Lady Hughes and her daughter, attended by Captain Nelson, two lieutenants, the lieutenant of marines, and the Rev. William Nelson, went into the barge; and as soon as she was got to a convenient distance, she was saluted with eleven guns and three cheers, which were returned from the barge. Captain Nelson was also ac-

accompanied by ten midshipmen; so that nothing could have a more respectable appearance. This was his constant mode of paying visits of ceremony: because, in his opinion, it was highly beneficial to his young gentlemen in their professional career; and it is to be lamented that this mode, from its great utility, is not more generally adopted in the service.

On Tuesday, June the 8th, 1784, the Boreas got under sail. From the experience which he possessed of the pernicious effect of the West India climate on Europeans, who had not been accustomed to it, he gave such directions as proved of wonderful utility, and tended in a very remarkable degree to preserve the health of his crew, during the vicissitudes of a four years station. The Boreas arrived at Barbadoes on the 26th of June. It was no small degree of satisfaction to Captain Nelson, to find himself senior Captain and second in command on that station. During the passage of the Boreas down to Antigua, to be laid up for the hurricane months, he paid a visit to Fort Royal, and St. Pierre, Martinico. On quitting Martinico they stood over for English Harbour, Antigua, where they found the Latona with a broad pendant hoisted. The surprise of Captain Nelson on seeing this was rather increased than lessened, on reading the following Order which had been issued by Admiral Sir R. Hughes:

**MEM.** In consequence of the Orders given

by my predecessors, Lord Rodney, and Admiral Pigot, directing the Commanders of his Majesty's ships and vessels to put themselves under the command of Sir John Laforey, during their stay in English Harbour, &c. You are hereby required and directed to obey the orders of Resident Commissioner Moutray, during the time you may have occasion to remain in English Harbour; and the said Resident Commissioner has my Orders to hoist a broad pendant for that purpose, on board any of his Majesty's ships, in that port, that he may think proper.

Signed,

R. HUGHES.

Captain Nelson, having well weighed the Admiral's Order, and the tenor of it, concluded that he could not, and ought not, to put himself under the command of a Resident Commissioner; and as this Resident Commissioner's hoisting a broad pendant was not consistent with the service, since he only enjoyed a civil situation, he exclaimed, "I know of no superior Officers besides the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and my seniors on the Post List." He therefore determined to resist this innovation; and the moment that his ship had anchored, he sent an order to Captain Sandys of the *Latona*, to strike the Commissioner's broad pendant, and return it to the dockyard, which was done accordingly: But to prove that he was not actuated by any other motive in this proceeding, than the good of the Service, he went on that very day and dined with the Com-

missioner, and brought him the first intelligence of his pendant being struck. Admiral Sir R. Hughes, who was then lying at Barbadoes, as soon as he heard of what had taken place, sent an account of it to the Admiralty, who approved of Captain Nelson's conduct.

When the hurricane months were over, and whilst the Boreas remained at anchor in Nevis road, a French frigate passed to leeward close along shore. According to Captain Nelson's information, which proved to be correct, this frigate had been sent to make a survey of our West India islands, and had on board two general officers and some engineers. He therefore gave orders to accompany the French ship, that he might prevent them from executing their intentions. The Boreas accordingly got under weigh, and pursuing the frigate, found her the next day at anchor in the road of St. Eustatia. Captain Nelson anchored at about two cables length on the frigate's quarter. After the interchange of salutes and other mutual civilities, both himself and his officers were the next day invited by the Dutch governor to dinner, to meet the French officers; and an opportunity was thus afforded Captain Nelson of making known his intentions, which he gladly embraced: He informed the Captain of the frigate, with a courtesy worthy of an experienced Statesman, "that understanding it was the wish of the French to honour the British West India islands with a visit, he had



taken the earliest opportunity in his power to accompany them in his Majesty's ship the *Boreas*, that such attention might be paid to the officers of his Most Christian Majesty, as every Englishman in the Islands would be proud of an opportunity of shewing." The French officers having made repeated attempts to elude his vigilance, but without effect, abandoned their project and beat up to Martinico. The *Boreas* immediately beat up for Barbadoes, and never lost sight of the frigate until she was safe in Martinico, whence she had originally sailed.

Anno  
Ætat. 27. VIII. At the close of this year and the beginning of the ensuing one, 1785, Captain Nelson, having no declared enemies to contend with, began to pay an extraordinary attention to the commercial interests of his Country, in the West Indies: which proved an effectual support to his Majesty's order in council, July the 2d, 1783, respecting the American trade thither, and became highly honourable to Nelson's professional abilities. His active spirit would never allow him to remain idle on any station, even during a time of peace, nor to suffer the smallest wishes of his Sovereign to be neglected. He observed, that our West India islands swarmed with American vessels, to the great detriment of the British trade and commerce. For the Americans, taking advantage of the registers of their vessels prior to their independence, and issued, as they said, whilst they

were British subjects, were uniformly countenanced by the planters, merchants, and officers of the customs of our different islands, to the aggrandizement of individuals, and the injury of the commerce of the mother country. He therefore was determined to put a stop, as soon as possible, to this illicit trade. It was on this occasion, and from the cabal formed by men whose duty it particularly was to aid and support the patriotic spirit of Nelson, that a correspondence commenced between him and General Sir Thomas Shirley, Governor of the Leeward Islands; in which the former clearly pointed out the steps to be taken at so important a crisis. But this zeal and unusual mode of giving advice to a superior, awakening the military jealousy and irritating the pride of the governor, he replied, “That old Generals were not in the habit of taking advice from Young Gentlemen.”—The indignation of Nelson was roused, and his answer was remarkable: *I have the honour, Sir, of being as old as the Prime Minister of England, and think myself as capable of commanding one of his Majesty's ships as that Minister is of governing the State.*

Captain Nelson was well aware, that after the ratification of the Peace in 1783, the Americans became as much foreigners as any other nation; and therefore, by the 12th of Charles the Second, which said, “That no foreigners, directly or indirectly, shall have any trade or intercourse with his Majesty's West India islands; the ships to be

British built, and navigated at least by three-fourths British Seamen;”—he on that authority, notwithstanding the message he had received from the governor, and the powerful opposition that was forming against his individual exertions, ordered all American vessels to quit the Islands in forty-eight hours; and declared, that in case of refusal, or their presuming to land their cargoes, he would seize and prosecute them in the court of admiralty.

Thus did the astonishing capacity of Captain Nelson, with that firmness which denotes a great mind, at once discern how deeply and dangerously the best and dearest interests of his Country would be affected by the infraction of our <sup>7</sup>inalienable Naval Rights; not only sanctioned by our navigation acts, but established by the law of nations. He determined, therefore, to continue his utmost exertions, whilst he remained on that Station, in checking the illicit trade then carrying on between the United States and our islands in the West Indies, in vessels belonging principally to the Americans. Without any other information, he knew generally, that its Navigation Acts did no more than adapt government to the circumstances of this Country and its Colonies. Experience taught him, that pursuing the wise policy of this system, our naval strength had advanced to that greatness of which he was a

<sup>7</sup> From the notes of the Right Hon. George Rose.

most competent witness; and he had, within his own observation, evident proofs of the evils that would arise, as well to our commerce, as our shipping, by pursuing a different line of conduct. Since on board almost every vessel that was stopped under his orders, were found large quantities of the manufactures of other nations, intended for the supply of our islands.

Actuated by the strong <sup>z</sup>impression made on him by these considerations, he adopted very effectual means for preventing evils of so much magnitude; taking upon himself, thereby, a severe and extensive responsibility, and certainly without sufficient light to have guided almost any other man in the same situation. With the public interest always in view, he never thought of personal consequences; and with an intelligence, spirit, and energy, almost peculiar to himself, he checked the mischievous practices, which have been alluded to, by repeated seizures, at the risk of damages and expenses that might have involved him in ruin. His judgment, however, proved to be equal to his zeal.

In the mean time, the Americans, who had so considerably profited by this intercourse, encouraged by their friends on shore, as well as by the Collectors and Comptrollers of the different customs of the islands, resisted the threats and orders of Captain Nelson.

<sup>z</sup> From the notes of the Right Hon. G. Rose.

The innumerable difficulties under which he had long laboured, now continually increased. The Planters were to a man decidedly hostile to his conduct. The Governors and Presidents of the islands gave him no support; and the Admiral, wavering between both parties, and having no decided opinion, merely addressed a memorandum to Captain Nelson, advising him, "to be guided by the wishes of the presidents of the council," which not being an Order, the intrepid commander of the *Boreas* steadily pursued his course. On the arrival of the *Boreas* at Nevis, 1785, he found four American vessels there, deeply laden, and with what are termed the island colours flying, which are white with a red cross. These vessels were immediately visited, and the masters of them directed, as they knew they were American vessels and had American cargoes on board, to hoist their proper colours and leave the island in forty-eight hours. They denied being Americans, and refused to obey the orders of Captain Nelson. Upon which an examination of their crews took place on board the *Boreas*, in the Captain's cabin, and before the judge of the admiralty, who happened to be on board; when they all confessed that they were Americans, and that their vessels and cargoes were wholly American property. They were accordingly proceeded against in the court of admiralty at Nevis; and notwithstanding the opinions and pleadings of the greater part of the learned council of the

different islands, who had assembled to defend the Americans—in the hope of proving that Captain Nelson, without a deputation from the customs, was not authorised to seize the traders; that great officer pleaded his own cause so ably, and refuted their specious arguments so completely, that the four vessels with their cargoes were condemned as legal prizes to the Boreas.

The American masters on going ashore with their respective followers, were interrogated by an attorney, who had been purposely prepared by the cabal, as to the place, and the manner, in which the depositions had been taken; and now a new scene of duplicity ensued. The Masters, led on by this attorney, were induced to declare, that when they gave their depositions they had been put into bodily fear; for a man with a drawn sword (the sentry as is usual at the cabin door) had stood over them during the whole proceeding. Other similar falsities, equally ridiculous, were added; and in consequence, an action of damages to a considerable amount was immediately commenced against Capt. Nelson: owing to which, he was confined to his cabin for many weeks, Sundays excepted. The Marshal frequently came on board to arrest him, but by fair words, the first lieutenant, Mr. James Wallis, was always able to elude his vigilance.

In a letter to Captain Locker, dated March 5, 1786, he entered at large on this business; and, after some previous observations, thus described

the delicacy of his situation with Sir R. Hughes. . . . "I must either disobey my Orders, or disobey Acts of Parliament: I determined upon the former, trusting to the uprightness of my intentions, and believing that my Country would not allow me to be ruined, by protecting her commerce. I first sent to Sir Richard, expatiated on the Navigation Laws to the best of my ability, told him I was certain some person had been giving him advice, which he would be sorry for having taken, against the positive directions of Acts of Parliament; and that I was certain he had too much regard for the commerce of Great Britain, to suffer our worst enemies to take it from us. At a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve to suppress illegal trade at home, which only affected the revenue, I hoped we should not be singular in allowing a much more ruinous traffic to be carried on under the King's flag, and, in short, that I should decline obeying his Orders, until I had an opportunity of seeing and talking to him, at the same time making him an apology. At first, I hear he was going to send an officer to supersede me; but having mentioned the business to his Captain, the latter said, " he believed all the Squadron thought he had sent illegal orders; therefore did not know how far they were obliged to obey them." This being their sentiments, he could not try me here; and now he finds I am right and thanks me for having put him so.

“ I told the Custom-houses, I should after such a day seize all foreigners I found in our islands, and I kept them out to the utmost of my power until that time. The Custom-houses fancied I could not seize without a deputation, therefore disregarded my threats; in May last I seized the first. I had the governor, the customs, all the planters upon me: subscriptions were soon filled to prosecute me, and my Admiral stood neuter, although his flag was then in the roads. Before the first vessel was tried, I had seized four others; and having sent for the masters on board to examine them, and the marines on board the vessels not allowing some of these masters to go on shore, I had suits taken out against me, and damages laid at the enormous sum of 40,000*l.* sterling. When the trial came on, I was protected by the judge for the day; but the marshal was desired to arrest me, and the merchants promised to indemnify him for the act. The judge however having declared he would send him to prison if he dared to do it, he desisted. I fortunately attached myself to an honest lawyer; and, don't let me forget, the President of Nevis offered in court to become my bail for 10,000*l.* if I chose to suffer the arrest; he told them I had only done my duty; and although he suffered more in proportion than any of them, he could not blame me. At last after a trial of two days we carried our Cause, and the vessels were condemned. I was a close prisoner on board for eight weeks; for, had I been taken,



I most assuredly should have been cast for the whole sum. I had nothing left but to send a memorial to the King, and he was good enough to order me to be defended at his expense, and sent orders to General Shirley to afford me every assistance in the execution of my duty; referring him to my letters, as there was contained in them what concerned him not to have suffered.

“The Treasury, by the last packet, transmitted thanks to Sir Richard Hughes and the officers under him, for their activity and zeal in protecting the commerce of Great Britain. Had they known what I have told you, and if my friends think I may without impropriety tell the story myself, I shall do it when I get home, I do not think they would have bestowed thanks in that quarter, and neglected me. I feel much hurt that after the loss of health and risk of fortune, another should be thanked for what I did, and against his orders. I either deserved to be sent out of the Service, or at least to have had some little notice taken of what I had done: They have thought it worthy of notice and yet have neglected me. . . . But I have done my Duty, and have nothing to accuse myself of.

“Most probably the next time you see me will be as a Benedict—I think I have found a woman who will make me happy. I will tell you more of this shortly, for my paper is full. Adieu, my dear friend; and believe that I am, with the most unfeigned regard and esteem, yours faithfully.”

Amidst the variety of occupation which thenceforward continued to harass and distract his thoughts, Captain Nelson does not seem to have given his friend the account of this attachment which he had intended. Mrs. Nisbet, the young and accomplished widow of Dr. Nisbet, who had been physician to the island of Nevis, was the daughter of Mr. Woolward, and had not attained her eighteenth year when she became acquainted with Captain Nelson. Mrs. Nisbet was at St. Kitts, when Captain Nelson, in 1784, paid his first visit to her uncle Mr. Herbert, the president of Nevis, whose liberality at the trial of the Americans has been mentioned; and a letter from a female friend gave her the following account of her future husband:

“We have at last seen the little Captain of the Boreas, of whom so much has been said. He came up just before dinner, much heated, and was very silent; yet seemed, according to the old adage, to think the more. He declined drinking any wine; but after dinner when the president as usual gave the three following toasts, the King, the Queen and Royal Family, and Lord Hood, this strange man regularly filled his glass, and observed that those were always bumper toasts with him; which having drunk, he uniformly passed the bottle and relapsed into his former taciturnity. It was impossible, during this visit, for any of us to make out his real character; there was such a reserve and

sternness in his behaviour, with occasional sallies though very transient of a superior mind. Being placed by him, I endeavoured to rouse his attention by shewing him all the civilities in my power; but I drew out little more than Yes and No. If you, Fanny, had been there, we think you would have made something of him; for you have been in the habits of attending to these odd sort of people."

The following letter, so honourable to his character, is one of the first that was addressed to Mrs. Nisbet: "Boreas, English Harbour, *September* 11, 1785. I had buoyed myself up with hopes, that the Admiral's schooner would have given me a line from you; but the tidings she brought of the release of poor Mrs. Herbert from this world, sufficiently apologise for your not thinking of an absentee. Yet this believe from my heart, that I partake in all the sorrows you experience; and I comfort myself that however great your grief at this moment may be, at losing a person who was so deservedly dear to you, as your good aunt, yet when reason takes place, you must rather have pleasure in knowing she is released from those torments, she had undergone for months past. Time ever has, and in the present instance I trust may have a tendency to soften grief into a pleasing remembrance, and her unspotted character must afford you real comfort. Call Religion to your aid; and it will convince you that her conduct

in this world, was such as insures everlasting happiness in that which is to come.

“ I have received a letter from Mr. Herbert, in answer to that which I left at Nevis for him. My greatest wish is to be united to you; and the foundation of all conjugal happiness, real love and esteem, is I trust what you believe I possess in the strongest degree towards you. I think Mr. Herbert loves you too well not to let you marry the man of your choice, although he may not be so rich as some others, provided his character and situation in life render such a union eligible. I declare solemnly, that did I not conceive I had the full possession of your heart, no consideration should make me accept your hand. We know that riches do not always insure happiness; and the world is convinced that I am superior to pecuniary considerations in my public and private life, as in both instances I might have been rich.—But I will have done, leaving all my present feelings to operate in your breast; only of this truth be convinced, that I am your affectionate Horatio Nelson.”

On the 3d of March, 1786, when off the island of Deseada, he addressed the following letter to Mrs. Nisbet; which, together with the sincerity of his attachment, displays his religious turn of mind and affectionate fraternal disposition: “ Separated from you what pleasure can I feel? none, be assured: All my happiness is centred with thee, and where thou art not, there I am not

happy. Every day, hour, and act, convince me of it. With my heart filled with the purest and most tender affection, do I write this; for were it not so, you know me well enough to be certain, that even at this moment I would tell you of it. I daily thank God, who ordained that I should be attached to you. He has, I firmly believe, intended it as a blessing to me, and I am well convinced you will not disappoint his beneficent intentions. Fortune, that is money, is the only thing I regret the want of, and that only for the sake of my affectionate Fanny. But the Almighty who brings us together, will, I doubt not, take ample care of us and prosper all our undertakings. No dangers shall deter me from pursuing every honourable means of providing handsomely for you, and yours; and again let me repeat, that my dear Josiah shall ever be considered by me as one of my own. That Omnipotent Being who sees and knows what passes in all hearts, knows what I have written to be my undisguised sentiments towards the little fellow."

In order to support himself against the swarm of open and concealed Enemies, which his conscientious attention to his professional Duty had brought upon him, and to which he alludes in his letters to Mrs. Nisbet, he had employed every prudential means which the then limited circle of his political connexions in England afforded. Besides his memorial to the King on this subject, he had represented the whole of these transactions, with

the conduct of the different officers of the revenue in the West India islands, to the then Secretary of State; and had suggested to him the only mode that could be adopted, to remove every shadow of pretence for the intercourse of the Americans with these islands to the general prejudice of British subjects, as well as the authority that should be given to Officers of the Navy to seize all illicit traders, without being deputed by the officers of the customs and the excise. The step he recommended government to take was, to change the registers of all vessels; and he also proposed many other similar improvements and commercial regulations connected with our West India trade, which form the act that was passed under the appellation of the Register Act, <sup>a</sup> the judicious restrictions of which have materially contributed to our naval superiority. By this act it was amongst other things established, "That after the first day of August, 1786, no vessel should be accounted British, unless she were built in the British dominions, or taken as a prize. Every vessel was ordered to have her name, with that of the port she belonged to, conspicuously painted on her stern; and a register to be taken out, wherein, amongst other things, should be mentioned the names of the owners, who were all to reside in

<sup>a</sup> 26 Geo. III. c. 60, entitled An Act for the further increase and encouragement of Shipping and Navigation.

the British dominions, unless some of them were members of British factories abroad. No ship built in the United States of America, during the existence of any prohibitory acts, was entitled to be registered unless an especial order to the contrary was issued by the privy council, in consequence of services rendered to the public by its owners.”—But the whole of this act,<sup>b</sup> as originating in the judgment of this zealous officer, is well worthy of attention; and, with other acts of a similar nature, demands the minute investigation of professional men in the navy.

Whilst Captain Nelson was so long confined to his ship by the shameful prosecution that had been allowed to be instituted against him, some one of his indignant officers, when in conversation, happened to use the word Pity—*Pity!* exclaimed Nelson, *Pity, did you say? I shall live, Sir, to be envied; and to that point I shall always direct my course.*

The following letter to Mrs. Nisbet is descriptive of his character, and is dated “Bo-reas, May 4, 1786, *Barbarous* Island.—Never, never, do I believe, shall I get away from this detestable spot: Had I not seized any Americans, I should now have been with you: But I should have neglected my duty, which I think your regard for me is too great for you to have

<sup>b</sup> Four copies of this Act were amongst Lord Nelson's papers, and also two copies of the act 26 Geo. III. c. 40. entitled, an Act for regulating the production of manifests, &c.

wished me to have done—Duty is the great business of a Sea Officer. All private considerations must give way to it, however painful it may be. I trust that time will not have lessened me in the opinion of her, whom it shall be the business of my future life to make happy.—Bless you, bless you. Ever, with the greatest affection, your  
Horatio Nelson.’

About the month of July, 1786, Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, being recalled, was directed to deliver up his command to Captain Nelson; who was the senior officer then left on that station.

The following letter displays the exquisite sensibility of his feelings, and also forcibly marks how much his mind had been harassed by a conscientious discharge of his professional duty.

“ Boreas, English Harbour, *August 19th*, 1786.  
My dearest Fanny: Having seen in this day’s newspaper that a vessel cleared out from St. John’s to Nevis a few days ago, I feel vexed not to have had a letter in the office for you: however, if I can help it, I will not be behind-hand again. To write letters to you, is the next greatest pleasure I feel to receiving them from you. What I experience when I read such as I am sure are the pure sentiments of your heart, my poor pen cannot express; nor indeed would I give much for any pen or head that could describe feelings of that kind; they are worth but little when that can happen. My heart yearns to you, it is with you, my mind dwells upon nought else



but you. Absent from you I feel no pleasure, it is you, my dearest Fanny, who are every thing to me. Without you I care not for this world, for I have found lately nothing in it but vexation and trouble.

“ These, you are well convinced, are my present sentiments, God Almighty grant they may never change. Nor do I think they will: indeed there is, as far as human knowledge can judge, a moral certainty they cannot; for it must be real affection that brings us together, not interest or compulsion which makes so many unhappy. As you begin to know something about Sailors, have you not often heard that salt water and absence always wash away love? Now I am such a heretic as not to believe that faith, for behold, every morning since my arrival, I have had six pails of salt water at day-light poured upon my head, and instead of finding what the Seamen say to be true, I perceive the contrary effect; and if it goes on so contrary to the prescription, you must see me before my fixed time. At first I bore absence tolerably, but now it is almost insupportable; and by and by I expect it will be quite so. But patience is a virtue, and I must exercise it upon this occasion whatever it costs my feelings. I am alone in the Commanding Officer’s house while my ship is fitting, and from sun-set until bed time I have not a human creature to speak to; you will feel a little for me I think. I did not use to be over fond of sitting alone. The mo-

ment old Boreas is habitable in my cabin, I shall fly to it to avoid mosquitoes and 'melancholies.'

His feelings were at this time much hurt, at not receiving any thanks or approbation from our government at home: He alludes to this in a letter to Captain Locker, dated Boreas, English Harbour, *Sept. 27, 1786.* "It is an age since I had the pleasure of hearing from you, yet be assured, my good friend, that my gratitude for the many favours I have constantly received, does not fail; no, they are fresh in my remembrance.—If you got my letter from Barbadoes in May last (I ought to be ashamed of the date) you will have some idea of my troubles. Nor will they ever end, as I plainly perceive, while I am in this country. This must always be the case, where officers neglect their duty; then rogues thrive, and certainly there is not a custom-house officer, governor, &c. that I have met with, who has done his duty; therefore the latter party is kept up and my hands remain full of business. It is not more strange than true, that I was not only obliged to support myself against the most violent prosecutions that could be laid against an officer, but instead of being supported by my Admiral, I was obliged to keep him up, for he was frightened at this business; which, although I hope it is now completed, he appeared

c All these letters to Mrs. Nisbet, before her marriage with Captain Nelson, have been furnished by Mrs. Ross, her Ladyship's relation.

ready I thought, when he got home, to receive any thanks that might be offered him for his alertness and attention to the Navigation of Great Britain. God knows, I envy no man's praises; but don't let them take what is due to others. I have been since June so very ill, until lately, that I have only a faint recollection of any thing which I did. My complaint was in my breast, such a one as I had going out to Jamaica. The doctors thought I was in a consumption, and gave me quite up: but that Great Being who has so often raised me from the sick bed, has once more restored me and to that health which I very seldom enjoy."

This indefatigable servant of his Country now turned his mind towards correcting the abuses in the dock-yard at Antigua, as well as amongst the contractors, prize agents, Greenwich hospital money, &c. which, both on this station and on his return home, he pursued with his usual ardour. But in the progress and accomplishment of this great national service, on which his mind was now so constantly employed, he was during the month of November, 1786, joined and supported by his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, Captain of the *Pegasus*.<sup>d</sup> The friendship that had before subsisted between these illus-

<sup>d</sup> His Royal Highness arrived in November, 1786, on the Leeward Island station from Halifax in Nova Scotia, which place he had reached on the 8th of October.

trious Seamen, had been kept up by an occasional correspondence; and they now formed that permanent regard for each other, which became so highly honourable and beneficial to both. From the month of November, 1786, to the end of the spring in 1787, when the Prince went down to Jamaica, his Royal Highness and Captain Nelson dined alternately with each other. "It was this era, as his Royal Highness acknowledges, \* that first formed his character as a naval officer, and was employed in a manner highly gratifying to his feelings. It was then, added the Prince, that I particularly observed the greatness of Nelson's superior mind. The manner in which he enforced the spirit of the Navigation Act, first drew my attention to the commercial interests of my Country. We visited the different Islands together, and as much as the manœuvres of Fleets can be described off the headlands of Islands, we fought over again the principal naval actions in the American war. Excepting the naval tuition which I had received on board the Prince George, when the present Rear Admiral Sir R. G. Keats, K. B. was lieutenant of her, and for whom both of us equally entertained a sincere regard, my mind took its first decided naval turn from this familiar intercourse with Nelson."

\* From minutes of conversation with his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence:

The high opinion which Nelson entertained of Prince William Henry, is fully marked in a letter to Captain Locker, dated English Harbour, *December 29th*, 1786. “ You must have heard long before this reaches you, that Prince William is under my command: I shall endeavour to take care that he is not a loser by that circumstance. He has his foibles, as well as private men, but they are far overbalanced by his virtues. In his professional line he is superior to near two thirds, I am sure, of the list, and in attention to orders and respect to his superior officer, I hardly know his equal—this is what I have found him.”

On the first day of the new year, 1787, in which his marriage took place, the correspondence with Mrs. Nisbet is thus continued. “ What is it to attend on Princes? let me attend on you and I am satisfied. Some are born for attendants on great men, I rather think that is not my particular province. His Royal Highness often tells me he believes I am married, for he never saw a lover so easy, or say so little of the object he has a regard for: When I tell him I certainly am not, he says, “ Then he is sure I must have a great esteem for you, and that it is not what is (vulgarly) I do not much like the use of that word, called love.” He is right, my love is founded on esteem, the only foundation that can make the passion last. I need not tell you, what you so well know, that I wish I had a fortune to settle on you; but I trust I have a Good Name, and that

certain events will bring the other thing about, it is my misfortune, not my fault. You can marry me only from a sincere affection; therefore I ought to make you a good husband, and I hope it will turn out that I shall. You are never absent from my mind in any place or company. I never wished for riches but to give them to you; and my small share shall be yours to the extreme. A happy new year! and that many of them may attend you, is the most fervent wish of your affectionate Horatio Nelson."

" Boreas, Moutserat, *Feb.* 11. I anticipate with pleasure our meeting, for never do I feel truly happy when separated from you. Length of time often, too often, gives proof of the failings of human nature, and how difficult it is to be perfect; you have given me a proof that your goodness increases by time. These I trust will ever be my sentiments; if they are not, I do verily believe it will be my folly that occasions it. Never think otherwise, than that I am in the fullest sense of the word most affectionately your Horatio Nelson."

The marriage of Captain Nelson and the accomplished Frances Herbert Nisbet, at length took place in a very private manner at Nevis, on the 11th of March, 1787. The bride was given away by his Royal Highness, who with many others congratulated their friend in having borne off the principal favourite of the island. An early opportunity was taken to inform Cap-

tain Locker of this long-wished-for event: “ Boreas, on her passage to Tortola, *March 21, 1787.* My time since November, my dear friend, has been entirely taken up in attending the Prince on his tour round these Islands. However, except Granada, this is the last; when I shall repair to English Harbour and fit the Boreas for a voyage to England. Happy shall I be when that time arrives. No man has had more illness, or trouble on a station than I have experienced; but let me lay a balance on the other side—I am married † to an amiable Woman, that far makes amends for every thing. Indeed, until I married her, I never knew happiness, and I am morally certain she will continue to make me a happy man for the rest of my days. I shall have great pleasure in introducing you to her. Prince William did me the honour to stand her father upon the occasion; and has shewn every act of kindness, that the most sincere friendship could bestow. His Royal Highness leaves this country in June, by which time I hope my orders will arrive, or that somebody will be appointed to the command. The wonder to me is, that any independent man will accept it, for there is nothing pleasant to be got by it. Farewell, my dear Sir, and believe me to be ever your affectionate Horatio Nelson.”

† His sister had just before this been married, February 26th, to George Matcham, Esq. at Bath.

There were, however, some of his brother officers, who feared lest so early a marriage might abate the Enterprise and Patriotism of their friend; and their apprehensions on this occasion, form an additional proof of the great expectation which professional men then entertained of his future eminence. It was the remark of his and Mrs. Nisbet's intimate acquaintance, the late brave Capt. Pringle, <sup>z</sup> when he met one of the Commodore's officers, on the day after his marriage—*The Navy, Sir, yesterday lost one of its greatest ornaments, by Nelson's marriage. It is a national loss that such an officer should marry: had it not been for that circumstance, I foresaw that Nelson would become the greatest man in the service.* But this excellent officer did not sufficiently know the woman whom Captain Nelson had married: she possessed all the attractions of her sex, with a sound judgment, and a cultivated understanding. And her husband often declared, as many of his followers have asserted, that he considered this marriage of equal service to his character, as any naval exploit he had accomplished. No step was ever taken, nor any letter despatched, without first being submitted to the opinion of this respected counsellor.

That neither his professional zeal nor ardent patriotism were abated by the above event, is evident from some letters that were found

<sup>z</sup> Who died an Admiral in Scotland.



amongst his papers, addressed to Sir C. Middleton, now Lord Barham, and to the late Duke of Richmond; which prove how much Captain Nelson was afterwards harassed, by resolutely persevering in the detection of public frauds in the West India Islands.

‘ I enclose you the accounts of the fraud from March to June, 1782. . . . It will be necessary I should tell you who these gentlemen are, that have given the information: they were the partners of — —\*\* Mr. W. is a very shrewd sensible man. Mr. H. is likewise a man of business. W. has been in various departments of government, in St. Lucia, Barbadoes, &c. and assures me, he can discover all the frauds committed there, as easy as these, if government think proper to reward them. Indeed they do not seem to be playing the fool; for if nothing is recovered they desire nothing, and of what is actually recovered, only a certain per centage.’

The following is the letter which he sent to the Duke of Richmond, on that subject. “ My Lord, the subject of this letter will, I trust, render all apologies unnecessary for my addressing myself to you. A few days ago, Mr. H. and W. merchants in the island of Antigua, came to English Harbour, to communicate to his Royal Highness, and myself, that they were privy to great frauds which had been committed upon government. . . . The Ordnance being in your Grace’s department, I shall not trouble you with any

other, but be as explicit as I am able. As his Royal Highness could not attend to this business, he desired me to make the necessary inquiries, and to take such steps as I should think proper. . . . These gentlemen, as will appear by the enclosed letters, are not publishers of this fraud merely for the honour of serving the public; interest has its weight. I send you an account of one quarter's fraud, and I examined several in the books: but they declined my having more, until they were satisfied government would reward them in proportion to the frauds discovered. As a man, who has more than once stood forward to detect and bring to punishment those who are guilty of defrauding the public, I may venture to express myself freely. . . . In Antigua, in the different departments, at least they say 300,000*l*; at St. Lucia as much; at Barbadoes not far short; and at Jamaica, upwards of a million. What of this may be recovered, if any, I know not: however, this good effect it surely will have, that of preventing the like in future.

‘ Probably by the time your Grace receives this letter, the Boreas will have sailed for England, where I shall ever be ready to give your Grace any information you may wish to receive. But there is one observation, which I beg leave to make: It will be said, “Vouchers are produced, and merchants have attested that they are at the market-price:” In this country the market-price is what an article will sell for; and there is no merchant here, but

will declare, that in signing Vouchers for each other, they never look at the article, saying, *A thing is always worth what it will bring* : therefore Vouchers are, my Lord, no check in this country. I have the honour to remain, &c.'

Such were the unwearied and successful exertions of the renowned and envied Captain of the *Boreas*; who, even in a time of peace, opened a series of intrepid Duty, by which he might establish the solid foundation of his future eminence. It was thus that this great officer raised himself into public notice, without the adventitious aid of Interest. The great connexions which he gradually formed, were brought on by an admiration of his extraordinary merit; they had neither been solicited with abject flattery, nor were they preserved by any mean subserviency.

The dignity with which Captain Nelson supported the character of Senior Officer on the *Lee-ward Island Station*, under many circumstances new and unprecedented, will be long remembered by all who had the honour to serve under him during that period; for no Commander ever studied more to render the station agreeable to to all classes, of officers and men, than he uniformly did. During the term of three years that Captain Nelson commanded the *Boreas* in the West Indies, not a single officer or man died out of her whole complement; a similar circumstance of good health can scarcely be produced. The mode he adopted was as follows. He never

suffered the ship to remain longer than three or four days in any island at a time; the Boreas was always on the wing, and when it happened that any other ships were in company, Captain Nelson was continually forming the line, exercising the men, and enaging. In the hurricane months, when he was obliged to remain at anchor in English Harbour, he encouraged music, dancing, and cudgelling, on board; and the officers, particularly the younger ones, acted plays, which kept up the spirits of the ship's company, and caused their minds to be constantly employed.

The Boreas sailed for England, in the month of June, 1787. The first step which he seems to have taken after his arrival, respecting his proceedings in the West Indies, was an immediate communication with Mr. Pitt; to which in a few days the following answer was returned from that Minister's private Secretary, Mr. Smith, dated "Downing street, 31 July, 1787.—Sir, I am desired by Mr. Pitt to acquaint you, that he has received the favour of your letter of the 26th instant; and that the papers, which you have had the goodness to transmit, are now under the consideration of the Board of Treasury."

On the 16th of August, Sir Charles Middleton sent to Sheerness the following encouragement and directions to Captain Nelson, in answer to his previous communication.—"Sir, Taking it for granted that the Boreas would have been paid off soon after her arrival, I waited your being in

town, to acknowledge the receipt of the accounts you sent me relative to the naval officer's department at Antigua. As the subject of your letter required much consideration how to act, and at the same time precaution to secure the evidence you had pointed out, I took the opportunity of the packet, then ready to sail, to desire you would use every means in your power to bring forward the evidences; relying on the Navy Board to recompense any services they may render the public by their information. I thought it necessary too, as the Commissioners of Inquiry were employed at the time your letter arrived, in investigating the business of the Navy Office, to lay the information before them; and soon afterwards I had a note from Lord Howe, who, I found, had received similar information from you. In this state the business is at present, and you will of course believe, that it will be again taken up on your arrival in town; before which time it may be proper to revolve in your mind, what steps may be necessary for bringing forward the evidences."

On the 3d of October 1787, when writing to Captain Locker, Nelson mentioned his having applied to Lord Howe: "I have asked Lord Howe for a ship of the line; but Boreas is victualled for three months, and ready for sea, and I am ordered to hold myself prepared to sail the moment my Orders come on board. My health, thank God, was never better, and I am fit for any quarter of the globe."

The uncertainty in which he was thus kept, was succeeded by a strange and unexpected mortification: If Sir Charles Middleton, in the month of August had expected that the *Boreas*, as was customary, would have been paid off soon after her arrival; what were the feelings of her gallant Captain and crew, on finding themselves, after their fatigues in the West Indies, kept at the Nore until the 30th of November, actually serving as a slop and receiving ship! The former felt this neglect very sensibly; and if it had not been for the kind interference of an Officer, who stood deservedly high in the confidence of Lord Howe, Captain Nelson, to use the words of a most intimate friend of his, “was so dissatisfied with the ill usage he had received, that I am certain, had he possessed the means of living independently on shore, he would never have gone to sea again.” From another respectable authority, it is also stated, “That whilst he felt so keenly the unpleasant duties that thus were imposed upon him, Nelson seldom or ever quitted his ship, or associated with his brother officers; but was observed to carry on the duty with strict and sullen attention. On the morning when his Orders were received to prepare the *Boreas* for being paid off, he communicated with much emotion, to the Senior Officer commanding his Majesty’s ships and vessels in the river Medway, the following extraordinary resolution:—“I now rejoice at the *Boreas* being ordered to be paid

off, which will release me for ever from an ungrateful Service; as it is my firm and unalterable determination, never again to set my foot on board a King's Ship. Immediately after my arrival in town I shall wait on the first Lord of the Admiralty, and resign my Commission."— The Senior Officer's arguments and expostulations were urged in vain: he, therefore, immediately employed his secret and friendly interference with the first Lord of the Admiralty; and the result was, that on the 29th of November, the day before the *Boreas* was paid off, her Captain received a kind letter from Lord Howe, intimating his wish to see him on his arrival in town. Captain Nelson accordingly waited upon his Lordship, who received him with much civility; and after some explanations relative to Transactions in the West Indies, Lord Howe appeared so perfectly satisfied, that he offered to present him to his Majesty on the first levee day, which was done accordingly.

IX. Amidst that variety of business which demanded attention on his return to England, were the difficulties which a zealous and independent mind had brought upon him. He also failed not, by every means in his power, to fulfil the promise which he had made to his Royal Highness Prince William, of counteracting whatever had been opposed to the merited reputation of his illustrious pupil, and to the friendship they had so invariably preserved for each other: in

which he was supported by the advice and experience of Captain Locker; between whose residence at Kensington, and the house of Mrs. Nelson's uncle in Cavendish Square, Captain Nelson's leisure hours were chiefly divided. His health at this time was in a very precarious state; and as he dreaded the effects of an English winter after so long a continuance in the West Indies, he determined to visit Bath, that he might drink the waters, and bathe there. On the 26th of December he therefore left Mr. Herbert's, accompanied by Mrs. Nelson.

From Bath they visited an uncle of Mrs. Nelson's at Redland; and then, as appears from the following letter to the same friend, proceeded to Exmouth. During his stay at Exmouth he visited Prince William at Plymouth; and thence sent the following letter, which is without any address, but, as it would appear from the contents, seems to have been written to Messrs. H. and W. in the West Indies.—“Plymouth, April 26, 1788.—Gentlemen: I have only this moment been honoured with your letter of February 13th, and am surprised you have not received one from me, dated at the Nore in September last, more especially as I sent it to Sir Charles Middleton; he having desired me to write to you, stating, that a most honourable and liberal confidence might be reposed in him. Sir Charles has not only the abilities, but the power of doing more



for you than I ever could have ; and, I am assured, as much wishes to bring these iniquitous frauds to light. This is his public character, I have not the honour of knowing his private one. Repeatedly I have seen Sir Charles Middleton, and he told me that every step should be taken ; nay, that one of the officers was not likely to go out again to Antigua.

“ Lord Howe told me, he had consulted with the Navy Board, and that they would receive any communication from you, or myself, and would do what was right ; and further said, that you were entitled, on making good these representations, to a most liberal reward.

“ From Mr. Pitt, I had an acknowledgment, that the papers were received by him, and had been sent to the different departments. I shall go to town very shortly, and will call on Sir Charles Middleton ; and, if he thinks fit, I shall see your answer to the Navy Board : at all events I shall desire it. You may rest assured, that no steps shall be left untaken by me to accomplish the discovery of these mal-practices, and to get you the reward, which I have not the least doubt you will so well merit. I must nevertheless apprise you, that my interest in this country is very small ; therefore do not build on what I can do for you : Indeed little else but my Integrity and Public Spirit can bring such an humble individual as myself into notice : however the goodness of

the cause we are engaged in, will support itself at all times; more especially, I dare say, with such an upright character as Mr. Pitt.

“ His Royal Highness commands me to say, that were he placed in a situation where he could be of any service to this Cause, he would most assuredly sift it to the bottom: but that at present, not having been from this port since his arrival, he can only give his good wishes for the accomplishment of what you have begun.

“ I am much obliged by your good wishes in respect to myself. All his Majesty's naval officers would have acted the same upright part, which you are pleased to suppose I should.”

Thus the very extensive Public Frauds which had been long committed with impunity in the West Indies, were at length put in a proper train to be provided against in future. An immense saving was made to government, and its attention directed to similar peculations in other parts of our extensive Colonies. No reward, however, nor any mark of commendation, seems in consequence to have been conferred on Captain Nelson. It is not so much the Honours, that are at length liberally bestowed on Officers who are worn out in the Service, which preserve a spirit of Heroism and Enterprise in our Navy; as an attention to humble individuals, who, like Nelson at this period of his life, have only their Integrity and Zeal to bring them into notice; and whose

valour has been disciplined in the rigid school of adversity.

Among the private friends, whom his talents and exemplary conduct had at an early period secured to him in the West Indies, the name of Hercules Ross, Esq. has been already mentioned; and to this gentleman, whilst at Exmouth, Nelson thus delivered his sentiments without reserve:—  
 “ May 6, 1788. My dear friend: You have, as well as myself undergone a great change since we last met; and I hope and have been told, are united to an amiable woman, the greatest blessing heaven can bestow.—But in another respect, my friend, you have got the start of me. You have given up all the toils and anxieties of business; whilst I must still buffet the waves—in search of what? Alas! that thing called Honour, is now thought of no more. My Integrity cannot, I hope, be amended; but my fortune, God knows, has grown worse for the service: so much for serving my Country. But the devil, ever willing to tempt the virtuous, (pardon this flattery of myself), has made me offer, if any ships should be sent to destroy his Majesty of Morocco's ports, to be there; and I have some reason to think, that should any more come of it, my humble services will be accepted. I have invariably laid down, and followed close a plan of what ought to be uppermost in the breast of an officer:—that it is much better to serve an un-

grateful Country, than to give up his own Fame. Posterity will do him justice: An uniform course of Honour and Integrity seldom fails of bringing a man to the goal of Fame at last.—But to what am I getting? Into a sermon!—Mrs. Nelson joins in compliments to Mrs. Ross; and believe me ever, my dear friend, your affectionate Horatio Nelson.”

On leaving the beautiful scenery of Exmouth, they passed through town in their way to his favourite cottage, the parsonage of Burnham Thorpe; of which he could never speak in absence without being affected. He called, as was his custom, at the Admiralty; and not obtaining an interview with Lord Howe, sent him the following letter: “My Lord, I have twice, since my arrival in town, done myself the honour of calling on your Lordship, in order to pay my personal respects; and to assure you that as I have always been, so I continue ever in readiness to undertake any duty, to which the Admiralty may think it proper to appoint me. My Zeal for his Majesty’s service is as great, as I once flattered myself your Lordship thought it.

“I had hopes that the Admiralty would have ordered me the same allowance at least, as was given to a Junior Officer left in the command at Jamaica; and I hope your Lordship will give me countenance in an application for it. I trust it is incontrovertible, that I did my duty with the most rigid exactness, and that the business of

the Naval Yard was never paid more attention to, than by myself. The Navy Board I am sure, at this moment, are inclined to believe, that the difficulties said by their officers to be thrown in the way of their duty by me, arose only from my close investigation of their conduct; which prevented their impositions from taking effect. Every artificer and seaman employed in the Naval Yard receives additional pay; and shall the officer who has the conducting of the whole business be the only one (in this instance) who is neglected? I trust in your Lordship's answer it will not prove so. The trouble I was at in developing those Frauds, it is most true, was no more than my duty; but indeed, my Lord, I little thought that the expenses attending my going so often to St. John's, a distance of twelve miles, would have fallen upon my pay as Captain of the Boreas."

When Captain and Mrs. Nelson arrived at the Parsonage of Burnham Thorpe, they had no thoughts of residing there; but only intended to pay their Father a visit, preparatory to their going to France, as Captain Nelson had experienced great inconvenience from not understanding the French language, a most useful and essential part of a Naval Officer's education. Mrs. Nelson was on this occasion to have been an assistant; as from having long been in the habit of receiving the French officers, who came recommended from the governors of their

Islands to her uncle, she had attained a thorough knowledge of their language. However, at their father's entreaty, they soon altered their plan. His joy at seeing this Son was so great, that he declared it had given him new life. "But, Horace," exclaimed the venerable Rector, "it would have been better that I had not been thus cheered, if I am so soon to be bereaved of you again. Let me, my good Son, see you whilst I can: age and infirmities increase, and I shall not last long."—The wishes of a Father thus delivered were unanswerable: Captain and Mrs. Nelson therefore became his constant guests, and the latter his nurse and companion.

It is extremely interesting to contemplate this great man, when thus removed from the busy scenes in which he had borne so distinguished a part, to the remote village of Burnham Thorpe. His mind, though so entirely taken from its proper element and sphere of action, could not remain unoccupied. He was soon, therefore, engaged and with considerable zeal, in cultivating his father's garden, and in learning to farm the adjoining glebe; but the former was his principal station: he would there often spend the greater part of the day, and dig, as it were, for the sake of being wearied. At others, he would renew the early pastime of his childhood, and with a simplicity that was peculiar to him, when his mind was not employed on the great objects of professional duty, would

pass many hours amidst the woods, in taking the eggs of different birds; which, as he obtained, he gave to Mrs. Nelson, who at his express desire always attended him. He sometimes also employed his time, when his eyes would admit of it, in reading; and particularly such periodical works of the day as he could procure; but oftener in studying a variety of Charts, and in writing, or in drawing Plans. His great object was to be employed; and though the expenses of a Ship in time of peace, sometimes induced him to repress his enterprising and sanguine mind, he could not abate its energy.

During his continuance in this Retreat, when he had one day gone to purchase a pony at a neighbouring fair, the following event took place. Two men, whose appearance savoured greatly of Bow Street, entered the Parsonage abruptly and asked for Captain Nelson. On being told that he was gone out, but that Mrs. Nelson was at home, they desired to see her: when having made her repeatedly declare, that she was really and truly the Captain's wife, they presented her with a Writ, or Notification, on the part of the American Captains, who had laid their damages at 20,000*l.* and desired her to give it to her husband at his return.

Captain Nelson having bought his pony, returned with it to the Parsonage: when, to his utter astonishment and distress, he received the notification which had been left with his wife.

They who best know the irritable mind of Nelson, and the sudden paroxysms which it sometimes displayed, may best imagine his sensations at that moment. *This Affront*, exclaimed the indignant servant of his Country, *I did not deserve: but never mind:—I'll be trifled with no longer. I shall write immediately to the Treasury; and if government will not support me, I am resolved to leave the Country.*

He accordingly acquainted the Treasury with what had happened, and added, that if a satisfactory answer were not sent him by return of post, he should take refuge in France. The whole plan was then arranged with his usual promptness and decision; and it was settled that his elder brother, Maurice, should accompany Mrs. Nelson to the Continent in ten days after her husband. Fortunately a favourable answer was received; and probably the following one, which was found amongst his papers, and seems to have been sent through his friend Captain Pringle. “*May the 4th* (without the date of the year, but, as would seem, 1788). My dear Nelson: I have just time to tell you, that I have this morning got Mr. Rose’s answer, which is, ‘That Captain Nelson is a very good officer, and need be under no apprehension, for he will assuredly be supported by the Treasury:’ Of which I give you joy.” To this letter may be added the following extract from the Notes of the Hon. G. Rose, “His representations were all at-



tended to, and every step which he recommended was adopted. He thus put the Investigation into a proper course, which ended in the detection and punishment of some of the parties whose conduct had been complained of."

IX. The anxiety and importunity with which Capt. Nelson in vain solicited the Admiralty for active employment, during the year 1790, when the conduct of the Spaniards at Nootka Sound seemed to render a war inevitable, are forcibly described in his letters. In writing to the Duke of Clarence, on the 24th of June, in that year, he dwelt on the disappointment he had thus experienced; a disappointment which preyed so much upon his feelings, that it had nearly again induced him to retire from the Service, had not the urgent remonstrances of Lord Hood to the contrary prevailed. "*Burnham, Norfolk, June the 24th, 1790.* Sir, My not being appointed to a ship is so very mortifying, that I cannot find words to express what I feel on the occasion; and when I reflect on your Royal Highness's condescension in mentioning me to Lord Chatham, I am the more hurt, and surprised. Sure I am, that I have ever been a zealous and faithful Servant, and have never intentionally committed any errors; especially as, until very lately, I have been honoured by the notice of the Admiralty."

His constant wish to be employed was increased during the autumn, by hearing that his old ship the *Raisnable*, in which he had commenced his

naval Career was to be commissioned, and he therefore sent the following letter to Lord Chatham. “*Burnham, Norfolk, Sept. 26, 1790.* My Lord, My wish to be employed is so great, that I trespass on your Lordship’s time with a letter. I am sensible I have no great interest to recommend me, nor have I had conspicuous opportunities of distinguishing myself; but thus far, without arrogating, I can declare, that no opportunity has been passed by, and that I have ever been a zealous Officer. I am sure Lord Hood will bear testimony of what I have taken the liberty of saying. If the Reasonable is not given away, I should esteem myself highly honoured by the command of her.”

The above was one of the many ineffectual applications which this brave and excellent Officer made for active employment. He felt he had not merited neglect, that he had considerable claims on his Country, and was too indignant to consider, how many other Officers had experienced the same behaviour: that all public Boards were likely to be affected by partialities and prejudices, and by the influence of a political interest, which though often justly complained of, is an evil that arises from the noblest part of our admirable Constitution.

Towards the end of this year, Captain Nelson had the comfort to find, that the gallant Cornwallis still kept him in his memory. “*Phœnix,*

*Diamond Harbour, 13th Aug. 1790.* Dear Nelson, I lament very much, as I recollect you had some time past a great inclination to come to this Country, that a change of circumstances made it impossible for me to think of proposing it to you upon my appointment; for I do declare, that it would have been a great happiness to me to have had you on this station. The visiting our new settlements at Prince of Wales's Island, and the Andaman, gives an opportunity for exploring, which I prefer to the being stuck up in a pompous style at one of the old ones. Our Royal Duke is, I hear, almost tired of the shore; but how he will be able to employ himself in time of peace at sea, is not easy to determine. It would however be a pity, that any of the zeal and fondness he has so evidently shewn for the Service, should be suffered to abate; as there is every reason to believe, that with his ability he will one day carry its glory to a greater height than it has yet attained."

In the course of the years 1791 and 1792, Captain Nelson renewed his earnest applications to the Admiralty Board, that their Lordships would not suffer him to rust in indolence: until at last, finding every attempt ineffectual, he began to give up all hope of ever being again employed. During the latter year, his zealous friend the Duke of Clarence having often delivered his sentiments in the House of Lords, in a manner that was very gratifying to the princi-

ples of Nelson, he addressed a complimentary letter to his Royal-Highness on the 12th of September 1792, to which the Duke returned the following answer. “ *Clarence Lodge, Sept. 21,* My dear Nelson; I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your friendly letter of the 12th instant, which came safely. I am so fully persuaded of your real regard for me, my good friend, that no fresh mark can be wanting to convince me: Still however at the present moment, when the Public have two opinions, the one good, the other disadvantageous of my parliamentary conduct, I feel highly obliged to you, as a person qualified to judge, for delivering your sentiments. I think it is the duty of every subject to prevent, if possible, that confusion which might throw our Kingdom into the wretched deplorable state of France. Assure our common friends in the West Indies, that I will neither neglect nor desert them. My best wishes and compliments attend Mrs. Nelson, and ever believe me yours sincerely, WILLIAM.”

In the course of the ensuing month of November, his despairing mind was soothed by the following letter from Capt. Cuthbert Collingwood, who seemed born to follow him throughout the whole of his professional career. The following is an extract: “ My dear friend, I am much obliged to you for your letter, which I received last month: it was particularly welcome to me, as it brought information of the good health of

yourself and Mrs. Nelson. You must not be displeased that I was so long without writing to you. I was very anxiously engaged a great part of the time, and perhaps sometimes a little lazy: but my regard for you, my dear Nelson, my respect and veneration for your Character, I hope and believe will never lessen. God knows when we may meet again, unless some chance should draw us again to the sea shore, I however hope to have long the happiness of hearing of your welfare. The times are turbulent, the Enthusiasm for Liberty is raging even to madness. The success of the French people in establishing their Republic, has set the same principle, which lurked in every state in Europe, afloat; and those, who secreted it in their bosoms, have now the boldness to avow it—to avow a plan for adopting it in the government of this Country, and to recruit volunteers for carrying their purpose into execution. Misery will undoubtedly be the consequence of any commotion, or attempt to disturb our present most excellent Constitution. God bless you, and believe me,<sup>b</sup> my dear Nelson, affectionately and faithfully yours, *Cuthbert Collingwood.*”—The following testimony of Nelson’s attachment to his Sovereign is without date, but seems, from the answer returned, to have been sent to the Duke of Clarence, on the 3d of November, 1792. “Sir, Your Royal Highness

<sup>b</sup> From the Nelson papers.

will not, I trust, deem it improper, although I have no doubt it will be thought unnecessary, at this time to renew my expressions of invariable Attachment not only to your Royal Highness, but to my KING; for I think that very soon every individual will be called forth to shew himself, if I may judge from this county, where societies are formed, and forming, on principles certainly inimical to our present Constitution both in Church and State. Sorry am I to believe that many give a countenance to these societies, who ought to conduct themselves otherwise.

“In what way it might be in the power of such an humble Individual as myself to best serve my KING, has been matter of serious consideration, and no mode appeared to me so proper as asking for a ship: accordingly on Saturday last, Lord Chatham received my letter desiring the command of one. Still, as I have hitherto been disappointed in all my applications to his Lordship, I can hardly expect any answer to my letter, which has always been the way I have been treated. But neither at sea, nor on shore, can my attachment to my KING be shaken.—It will never end but with my life.” On the 6th of December, 1792, his Royal Highness returned the following answer. “Dear Nelson, Though at present the Armament is confined to small vessels, I much doubt whether any fleet will be equipped, and still less do I see any chance for a rupture between this Country and France: At

the same time this pernicious and fallacious system of Equality, and universal Liberty, must be checked, or else we shall here have the most dreadful consequences. I perfectly agree with you, that it is the duty of every Individual to use his utmost efforts to counteract these incendiaries; and I hope we shall in Parliament take vigorous and effectual means to restore tranquillity at home. Should matters between the two Countries grow serious, you must be employed. Never be alarmed. I will always stand your friend. I wish you would write me word how you and Lord Hood are at present. My best wishes and compliments attend Mrs. Nelson, and ever believe me yours sincerely, WILLIAM."

That nothing might be wanting in point of perseverance in himself, Captain Nelson again applied to the Board for employment on the 5th of December; and after earnestly requesting the command of a ship, he added, *Or if their Lordships should be pleased to appoint me to a COCKLE BOAT, I shall feel grateful.* The application, however, was in vain; and he had only one of those Official Letters, which it is sometimes necessary to send on such occasions,—“*Admiralty Office, 12th Dec. 1792.* Sir, I have received your letter of the 5th instant, expressing your readiness to serve, and I have read the same to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.” Such was the state of mind and such the expectations of NELSON, before the commencement.

of hostilities with France: until that period his glory suffered a partial eclipse; but its subsequent brightness became more uniform and splendid. What a change did a few years make in this humble and apparently forgotten tenant of the parsonage of Burnham Thorpe! Let the anxious and too irritable disposition of Naval Officers therefore learn, from the subsequent achievements of this illustrious Seaman, never to despair; for, as the Wise Man said, *To every thing there is a Season, and a Time to every purpose under the Heaven.*

X. The year 1793, when the present eventful contest commenced between the commercial power of Great Britain and the military strength of France, is also remarkable as being the first of those twelve remaining years in the life of NELSON, throughout which he maintained a career of Glory which is almost without a parallel in History. It is hardly possible to conceive, that in so short a period, an individual in the British Navy, who had then remained for nearly five years in obscurity, unable to procure the command of a Ship, should from this time gradually rise, by his professional exertions alone, to such a height, as gave him a decided preeminence over the many and renowned warriors of the British nation.

Anno  
Ætat. 35.      When it at length was found necessary by our government, notwithstand-



ing all its pacific intentions, to appeal to the decision of arms, the Duke of Clarence immediately exerted himself to fulfil the promise he had made to his friend; in which his Royal Highness was seconded by Lord Hood. Captain Nelson was in consequence appointed to the *Agamemnon*, so early as the 30th of January, 1793, and commissioned his ship on the 11th of February. His previous feelings at the prospect of this event taking place, were expressed in a letter to his wife, dated London, Jan. 7th.

“ *Post nubila Phæbus!* after clouds come sunshine: The Admiralty so smile upon me, that really I am as much surprised as when they frowned. Lord Chatham yesterday made many apologies for not having given me a ship before this time; and said, that if I chose to take a sixty-four to begin with, I should be appointed to one as soon as she was ready; and whenever it was in his power I should be removed into a seventy-four. Every thing indicates War. One of our ships, looking into Brest, has been fired into;<sup>i</sup> the shot is now at the Admiralty. You will

<sup>i</sup> The Childers sloop, Captain Barlow (now Sir Robert Barlow, deputy Comptroller of the Navy), would have been destroyed by the heavy cross fire that was opened upon her from all the batteries at the mouth of Brest harbour, if a gale of wind springing up had not enabled her to escape. Being a small object, only one shot hit her, which struck one of her guns, and split it in three pieces, without injuring a man: the shot weighed forty-eight pounds.

send my Father this news, which I am sure will please him. Love to Josiah, and believe me your most affectionate Horatio Nelson."

Previous to the sailing of the *Agamemnon* from Chatham, he wrote to Mrs. Nelson at Hilborough, March 15, 1793. "If the wind is to the northward of west, we go down the river to-morrow, and are ordered to proceed to Spithead with all possible despatch, as we are wanted, Lord Hood writes me word, for immediate service; and hints we are to go a cruise, and then to join his fleet at Gibraltar: therefore I am anxious to get to Spithead. I never was in better health, and I hope you intend a new lease of your life: the not tying up any of the money left you, I consider as a confidence reposed in me, and I shall take care that it is not misplaced."

The *Agamemnon* sailed from Spithead on the 11th of May, in company with the *Britannia*, 110 guns, Admiral Hotham, the *Colossus*, *Fortitude*, and *Courageux*, of 74 guns each, and the *Meleager* and *Lowestoffe* frigates, The following letter to Mrs. Nelson is dated off Cape St. Vincent, *June* 14, 1793. "We have had the finest passage and weather possible: but have seen nothing except a poor miserable National brig, which one of the ships took. I paid Lord Hood a visit a few days back, and found him very civil, I dare say we shall be good friends again. Six sail of the line have just parted company, going to Cadiz to water, of which number is *Agamemnon*. We

shall be in Cadiz to-morrow at twelve o'clock, as well as Lord Hood at Gibraltar. We are all well; my ship remarkably healthy."

"*Agamemnon at sea, Sunday, June 23.* We came out this morning, having completed our ship with every thing except wine, which is to be done at Gibraltar. The Spaniards have been very civil to us: we dined on board the *Concepcion* of 112 guns, with the Admiral; and all restraints of going into their arsenals and dock yards were removed. They have four first rates in commission at Cadiz, and very fine ships, but shockingly manned. If those twenty-one sail of the line which we are to join in the Mediterranean, are not better manned, they cannot be of much use. I am certain if our six barges' crews, who are pick'd men, had got on board one of their first rates, they would have taken her. The Dons may make fine ships, they cannot however make men.

✱ "A Bull Feast<sup>k</sup> was exhibited, for which the Spaniards are famous; and from their dexterity in attacking and killing of these animals, the ladies choose their husbands. We English had certainly to regret the want of humanity in the Dons, and Donnas. The amphitheatre will hold 16,000 people; about 12,000 were present. Ten bulls were selected, and one brought out at a

<sup>k</sup> A particular account of these feasts is given by the Rev. Edward Clarke in his *Letters concerning the Spanish Nation*, 1763.

time. Three cavaliers on horseback, and footmen with flags, were the combatants. We had what is called a fine feast: for five horses were killed, and two men very much hurt, had they been killed, it would have been quite complete. We felt for the bulls and horses, and I own it would not have displeased me to have had some of the Dons tossed by the enraged animal. How women can even sit out, much more applaud such sights, is astonishing. It even turned us sick, and we could hardly go through it—the dead mangled horses with their entrails torn out, and the bulls covered with blood, were too much. However we have seen one Bull Feast, and agree that nothing shall tempt us to see another. The better sort of people never miss one, if within reach of them; and the lowest will sell his jacket, or go without his victuals, rather than be absent.—P. S. *Gibraltar, June the 24th.* We arrived here last night, and in a few days sail shall be up the Mediterranean. God bless and preserve you.”

On the 27th of June, the *Agamemnon* sailed from Gibraltar with Lord Hood's fleet, nineteen sail of the line, and a convoy of fifty sail of merchant ships under the *St. Albans*, *Castor*, *Bull Dog*, and some other frigates. On the 30th, when off Cape de Gatte, the *Iris*, *Mermaid*, and *Tisiphone* were sent to Tunis and Tripoli, and *l'Aigle* with letters to the Spanish Admiral at Barcelona. In writing to H. R. H. the Duke of

Clarence, in the month of August, he said, "We have spoke many neutral vessels, but got no information which in my opinion could be depended on. We saw a fleet off Alicant on the close of the 7th, and lay-to mid-channel between that place and Ivica. At day-light we formed our line, and soon perceived them to be the Spanish fleet, twenty-four sail of the line. The Dons did not, after several hours trial, form any thing which could be called a line of battle ahead. However, after answering our private signals, the Spanish Admiral sent down two frigates, with answers to Lord Hood's letters by l'Aigle, acquainting him, that as their fleet was very sickly, 1900 mcu, they were going into Carthage. The Captain of the frigate added, 'it was no wonder they were sickly, for they had been sixty days at sea.' This speech to us appeared ridiculous; for from the circumstance of having been longer than that time at sea, do we attribute our getting healthy. The news they bring is, that the French are preparing their ships with forges for shot. This if true, I humbly conceive, would have been as well kept secret; but as it is known, we must take care to get so close that their red hots may go through both sides, when it will not matter whether they are hot or cold.—*July 14th*, the fleet has received orders to consider Marseilles and Toulon as invested, and to take all vessels of whatever nation bound into those ports. This has pleased

us: if we make these red hot gentlemen hungry, they may be induced to come out."

The following letters to Mrs. Nelson, and his father, give a further account of the proceedings of the fleet. In one from the Gulf of Lyons, to Mrs. Nelson, dated *July 15*, he says, "There seem to be no French ships at sea, at least we have seen nothing like one. We fell in with the Spanish fleet a week ago returning into port, I believe glad we are arrived; and they mean to leave us the honour of keeping the French in order. I really expect never to see them again.—*18th*. We have just got a French sloop of war of 18 guns, bound from Marseilles to Toulon. Remember me most kindly to our good father."—*August 4th, off Toulon*. The Admiral has just sent us word, that the Aquilon will proceed to England with Prince Augustus, I therefore send this letter on board, in case Agamemnon should be on the look out; for as we sail fast, we are always employed. Whether the French intend to come out, seems uncertain; they have a force equal to us. Our Jacks would be very happy to see it; and, as our fleet is in the fullest health, I dare say we should give a good account of them. I hardly think the War can last, for what are we at war about? How I long to have a letter from you: next to being with you, it is the greatest pleasure I can receive. The being united to such a good woman, I look back to as to the happiest period of my life; and as I cannot here

show my affection to you, I do it doubly to Josiah, who deserves it as well on his own account, as on yours; for he is a real good boy, and most affectionately loves me. Captains Lutwidge and Man have been very ill. Lord Hood has sent to offer me a 74, but I have declined it; as the Admiralty chose to put me into a 64, there I stay. I cannot give up my Officers. Lord Hood approved of my reasons, so far well. If I have not an opportunity of writing to my good Father, send my kindest remembrances to him. God bless you, and believe me your most affectionate husband, Horatio Nelson."

"*August 20, off Toulon.* My dear Father: No occurrence of a public nature has taken place since our arrival here, and our private ones are confined to a very narrow sphere, which yet I am sure will be considered by you a valuable one—*We are all well.* The affairs of France in this country are worse than ever: the guillotine is every day employed. A master of a ship, whom we spoke from Marseilles, says, there are now only two descriptions of people in France, the one drunk and mad, the other with horror painted in their faces, are absolutely starving; yet nothing brings them to their senses. A Peace with England is what they wish for; and Provence would, it is said, willingly put itself, as a separate republic, under the protection of England. In the winter we are to reduce Ville Franche and Nice for the King of Sardinia, and

drive the French from Corsica. It seems of no use to send a great Fleet here without Troops to act with them.

“ I consider you now as at high harvest, and hope you have good weather and good crops. I hear Lady Spencer and the party are at Lucca, a few miles from Pisa. I think we shall be in England in the winter or spring. If the Burnhamites inquire for me, make my compliments. Believe me your most dutiful son, Horatio Nelson.”

On the 23d of August, three days after the date of this letter, Commissioners from Marseilles came on board the Victory, Lord Hood's flagship, with full powers to treat<sup>1</sup> for peace, expecting to be met by Commissioners from Toulon; declaring that a monarchical government in France would be the leading object in their negotiation. A proclamation was accordingly issued by Admiral Lord Hood, accompanied by a preliminary declaration, addressed to the inhabitants of the towns and provinces in the south of France, which was sent on shore to Toulon and Marseilles. The rapid success of Carteaux opened the gates

<sup>1</sup> In accomplishing this Treaty, the late Captain E. Cooke, a relation of Charles Long, Esq. and Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, rendered essential service. An account of the perils he experienced are given in a letter to his father in law, General Smith (Naval Chronicle, vol. ii. page 378). The same volume contains many original documents of our proceedings on taking possession of Toulon.



of Marseilles to republican fury on the 25th of August; and so alarmed the rising patriotism of the Toulonese, that on the very same day the deputies of all the sections of Toulon agreed to Lord Hood's proposal, and declared that the citadel and forts on the coast should be provisionally at his disposal. In this state of the negociation, Captain Nelson was unexpectedly ordered to proceed immediately off Oneglia, and then instructed to proceed to Naples, with despatches for Sir William Hamilton; which being done, he was to join the Admiral in the bay of Hieres.

On the third day after Captain Nelson sailed, Lord Hood had obtained possession of fort La Malgue, situated on the right of the entrance of Toulon harbour; and on the 29th of August he anchored in the outer road with the fleet, and took possession of the harbour, arsenal, and ships. On the same day Captain Fremantle, who was intrusted with Lord Hood's despatches to England, was directed to take Lord Hugh Seymour Conway on board his ship, the Tartar, and to proceed with him to Genoa. In performing this service, the Tartar fell in with the Agamemnon at sea, when Captain Nelson received congratulations from Lord Hugh on the taking of Toulon, with some detail of the proceedings.—During this visit to Naples, Captain Nelson was first introduced to their Sicilian Majesties; and being lodged in the house of the English Ambassador, he commenced that friendship with Sir William and Lady

Hamilton, which had afterwards so powerful an influence both on his professional and private life. The only account of this visit that was found amongst his papers, is detailed in the following letters to Mrs. Nelson.

(1793.) “ *Begun off the island of Sardinia, Sept. 7 ; finished at anchor off Naples, Sept. 11.* My dear Fanny, I sent you a line by Lord H. Conway, who is gone home with Lord Hood’s despatches. As soon as the Treaty was concluded, Agamemnon, a fast sailor, was sent off with letters to the courts of Turin and Naples, for ten thousand troops to secure our possession. I should have liked to have stayed one day longer with the Fleet when they entered the harbour ; but service could not be neglected for any private gratification. I have only to hope I shall succeed with the King of Naples. The last visit he had was from a French grenadier<sup>m</sup> belonging to Mons. Truguet’s Fleet :—how differently he must feel at present !

“ What an event this has been for Lord Hood ! such a one as history cannot produce its equal ; that the strongest place in Europe, and twenty-two sail of the line, &c. should be given up without firing a shot. It is not to be credited.

“ Naples, *Sept. 14.* My other letter will ar-

<sup>m</sup> With an insolence peculiar to the French republic, the King of Naples was thus informed, That if he did not, within an hour, disavow his remonstrance against the reception of Mons. Semonville at Constantinople, war would be declared against him.

rive with this. Our news was received here with the greatest satisfaction. The King has twice sent for me, and I dine with him to-morrow, after he has made me a visit which he is to do on board Agamemnon. We are called by him the saviours of Italy, and of his dominions in particular. I have acted for Lord Hood with a zeal which no one could exceed, and am to carry from the King the handsomest letter in his own handwriting which could possibly be. This I got through Sir William Hamilton, and the Prime Minister, who is an Englishman. Lady Hamilton has been wonderfully kind and good to Josiah; she is a young woman of amiable manners, and who does honour to the station to which she is raised. I am to carry Lord Hood 6000 troops from hence. Remember me to my dear Father, also to Lord and Lady Walpole. Believe me your most affectionate husband."

"Agamemnon, Toulon, Oct. 7. As I never omit an opportunity of writing, I shall not let a ship sail for Leghorn without a letter. I came here two days since, and shall sail on a cruise to-morrow. Lord Hood is much pleased with me. Our situation here is wonderful: the hills are occupied by the enemy, who are erecting works for mortars and cannon. Whether we shall be able to maintain our most extraordinary acquisition, time only can determine: however one hour will burn the French fleet. You will not forget me to my Father."

On the next day, October 9th, he received sealed orders from the Admiral, which were not to be opened until the Agamemnon had reached the east end of the island of Porqueroll, one of the Hieres cluster. On opening them, accordingly, Captain Nelson was directed to proceed without loss of time to Cagliari, in the island of Sardinia, where he would find Commodore Linzee, to whom he was to deliver a packet, and to follow his directions. On the the 12th of October, he thus continued his correspondence: " My dear Fanny, Every day at Toulon has hitherto afforded some brilliant action on shore, in which the sea officers have made a very conspicuous figure; Elphinstone\* in particular, who is a good officer and gallant man. I have only been a spectator; but had we remained, I should certainly have desired to be landed. Some of our ships have been pegged pretty handsomely; yet such is the force of habit, that we seem to feel no danger. The other day we sat at a Court Martial on board Admiral Hotham, when Princess Royal, a French 74, our friend, three frigates, and four mortar boats, were firing at a battery for four hours; the shot and shells going over us; which, extraordinary as it may seem, made no difference. The Ardent, Captain Robert Manners Sutton, brother to the bishop, was much cut up, after behaving

\* The present Lord Keith.

with the greatest gallantry and good conduct ; near thirty of his men were either killed or are since dead of their wounds. Indeed wherever our ships or sea officers have had an opportunity, they have all behaved well. God bless you.”

XI. Captain Nelson's First Engagement with the Enemy, took place in the *Agamemnon*, on the 22d of October, when detached from the squadron under Commodore Linzee; and is noticed in a letter to his brother Maurice, dated at Tunis, Nov. 8, (1793.) “On the 22d of October, off the island of Sardinia, having only 345 men at quarters, the others being landed at Toulon and in prizes, we fell in with and chased the following French men of war from Tunis—*Melpomene*, 44 guns, nine and eighteen pounders, 400 men, *La Minerve*, 44 guns, nine and eighteen pounders, 400 men, *La Fortunée*, 44 guns, twelve and thirty-six pounders, 500 men, *Le Fouchet*, 24 guns, nine pounders, 220 men, *Brig*, 14 guns, nine pounders, 100 men. The *Agamemnon*, after a firing of near four hours, so disabled the *Melpomene* (as supposed) she being apparently in a sinking state, that the other ships declined bringing the *Agamemnon* again to action, and, as it appeared, to take care of their companion ; since they had the option to renew the engagement for three hours, after the *Melpomene* hauled from us. The *Agamemnon* was so cut to pieces

as to be unable to haul the wind towards them.”

Captain Nelson, who had at that time called his officers together, amongst other questions asked them, “From what you see of the state of our ship, is she fit to go into action with such a superior force against us, without some small refit and refreshment of our people?” *She certainly is not.* His orders then were, “Veer the ship, and lay her head to the westward; let some of the best men be employed refitting the rigging, and the carpenters getting crows and capstern bars to prevent our wounded spars from coming down, and get the wine up for the people, with some bread; for it may be half an hour good, before we are again in action.”—Lord Hood, in his letter to the Admiralty, dated November 13th, did not fail to mention this event. “On the 22d of last month, the *Agamemnon* fell in with the four frigates, that had left the bay of Tunis, each carrying 28 eighteen pounders, and a corvette of 14 nine pounders, and had a partial action with one of the frigates, which sailed superior to the rest; I since find they are all arrived at St. Fiorenzo in Corsica.”

(1793.) Some further account of this event, and of the subsequent proceedings of the *Agamemnon*, are preserved in the following letters; the first of which was addressed by Mr. William Hoste, a midshipman on board the *Agamemnon*, then in

his thirteenth year, to his <sup>p</sup> father, Nov. 27. After giving an account of the negociation at Tunis, under Commodore Linzee, Mr. Hoste thus proceeds: "On the 22d of October, when running down the island of Sardinia, about two o'clock in the morning, being off Monte Santo, twenty leagues to the northward of Cagliari, we saw five sail of ships standing to the N. W: on observing us, they tacked and stood to the eastward. Captain Nelson, suspecting them to be a French Convoy, immediately stood after them. About three o'clock we were very near up with the hindermost, and at four got within gunshot. We hailed her in French, but receiving no answer fired a gun ahead, for her to bring-to, and shorten sail; when we observed her making signals with sky-rockets to her consorts, which were at some distance to windward. After we had repeatedly hailed to no purpose, we fired one of our eighteen pounders at her, to oblige them to shorten sail; and at the same time opened our lower deck ports, which frightened her, as she immediately made sail to get away; from which it appears that she took us for a frigate. It was daylight before we got up with her again, as she had the start of us. About five A.M. we came within half gun shot, and found her to be a fine forty gun frigate; she hoisted

<sup>p</sup> The Rev. Dixon Hoste, of Godwick, Norfolk, an early friend of Captain Nelson's family. His son at present commands the Amphion.

national colours, and favoured us with a broadside. We returned the compliment, but our situation was rather unfavourable, and our shot did not at all times hit her ; whilst she, owing to her superiority of sailing, kept her position and pointed her guns to advantage, firing in an angular direction, which did more execution. She bravely engaged us in this manner for three hours, both ships sailing at the rate of six knots an hour, until by our constant firing it fell calm. The other frigates were coming after us with a fresh breeze ; consequently we expected to have warm work, and were therefore anxious to despatch this gentleman before they arrived : but, about eight o'clock, by an alteration of the wind, our antagonist got out of the reach of our guns. Our last broadside did infinite damage ; nor was what we had received inconsiderable, as our rigging was shot away, and our main topmast broken, which prevented us from going after the frigate. We had one man killed, and two wounded.

“ By this time the other ships were within a league of us, the nearest one appeared to be of the same force as ourselves ; and, as the rest were coming down with all sail set, we expected nothing less than that they would engage us, and we accordingly prepared for their reception : but their courage failed them, for we had given their friend so complete a drubbing, that she made signals of distress ; upon which all of them



went to her assistance, and hoisted their boats out. We accordingly pursued our destined course to Cagliari; being satisfied with offering them battle.

“ Had the breeze continued, we should have preserved our distance from the other frigates, and our antagonist must have struck, or sunk; though if she had struck we could not have taken possession of her, in sight of a force so superior. The *Agamemnon* had only 350 men at quarters, and consequently was not better than a fifty gun ship. Captain Nelson is acknowledged to be one of the first Characters in the Service, and is universally beloved by his men and officers.”

(1795.) The following extract from Lord Hood's Orders dated Nov. 15, to Commodore Linzee then lying at Tunis, shews that Admiral's confidence in the zeal and enterprise of Nelson. “ You are to expostulate with his Excellency the Bey, <sup>9</sup> in the strongest and most impressive manner, on the impolicy of his giving countenance and support to so heterogeneous a government as the present one of France; composed of murderers and assas-

<sup>9</sup> This Bey of Tunis was a Chief of very superior abilities, and at the conference which Captain Nelson held with him, displayed a quickness of talents, which even disconcerted the Captain of the *Agamemnon*. On being told of the excesses which the French government had committed, he drily observed, “ That nothing could be more heinous than the murder of their Sovereign: and yet, Sir,” added he, “ if your historians tell the truth, your own countrymen once did the same.”

sins, who have recently beheaded their Queen in a manner that would disgrace the most barbarous savages. And as the four frigates, which the Agamemnon fell in with, got to St. Fiorenzo in Corsica, and will probably make for Villafranca, whenever they are able, as they can get no supplies at St. Fiorenzo; I direct you to send Nelson immediately to cruise from Calvi to the gulf of Especia, to look out for them; but not to let it be known where he is gone, and to take under his command such ships as he may find on that station, which are the Mermaid, Tartar, Topaze French frigate, and Scout brig, and probably the Amphitrite."

During the time in which the Agamemnon was thus engaged, Lieutenant General O'Hara, being appointed Governor of Toulon and Commander of the forces, had arrived there on the 25th of October, with a considerable reinforcement; and by his Majesty's commission, Lord Hood, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and the Lieutenant General, were appointed Commissioners for negotiating and concluding all civil arrangements in the south of France. On the 20th of November this commission was opened, and a declaration was made in his Majesty's name, assuring the inhabitants of protection. But the treachery of our perfidious Allies was at the same moment secretly counteracting the able measures that had been taken. The French army before Toulon amounted to 40,000 men, and even this force, after the surrender of Lyons, became

daily augmented. Their artillery was commanded by Buonapartè, then a Captain, who during this Siege first displayed his military talents, and thus recommended himself to the notice of Commissioner Barras —The army of our Allies, composed of different nations, and consequently speaking different languages, never exceeded 16,100: Yet, notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, if it had not been for the unaccountable panic which seized the Neapolitan troops, during the sitting of the council of war that was held in the forenoon of Dec. 17th, and the shameful remissness of Admiral Langara, Lord Hood's arrangement would have been completely executed for destroying all the French ships in the arsenal and bason before the town, together with the magazine, the arsenal itself, and the various stores it contained. Ten ships, however, of the line in the arsenal, with three frigates and two corvettes, together with the mast-house, great storehouse, hemp-house, and other buildings, were destroyed by Sir Sidney Smith and the officers under his orders; and three ships of the line, five frigates, and seven corvettes, besides many smaller vessels, accompanied the British Fleet. This memorable transaction is detailed in the following letter from Captain Nelson, to His R. H. the Duke of Clarence. "Agamemnon, Leghorn Roads December 27, 1793. Sir: My last letter to your Royal Highness, would convey to you my opinion of the impossibility of holding Tou-

lon, without a superior Army in the field ; but the fall of it has been something quicker than I expected, owing to the foreign troops having but very badly defended some of the out-posts, as reported here by several vessels with some of the wretched inhabitants of Toulon. Lord Hood is said to have attempted rallying the flying troops, but in vain ; and that he exposed himself to great danger. The reports, although there is some difference in the telling, all seem to agree that the following are facts : That on the 13th a most numerous Army covered the hills ; that Lord Hood issued a proclamation to prepare the inhabitants for what would probably happen, the evacuation of Toulon ; that on the 17th, at eight o'clock at night, the enemy made a general attack on all our out-posts, which lasted the whole night, many of which they carried with too much ease ; that the other out-posts were obliged to be abandoned, and the troops to retire to fort la Malgue : That on the 18th, Lord Hood ordered all the Neapolitans to be embarked together, with as many royalists as could find ships to carry them ; and that our Fleet with that of Spain was anchored under la Malgue. On the 19th, in the morning, such a scene was displayed, as would make the hardest heart feel : the mob had risen, was plundering, and committing every excess ; many, numbers cannot be estimated, were drowned in trying to get off ; boats upset, and many put a period to their existence. One

family of a wife and five children are just arrived, the husband shot himself. Indeed, Sir, the recital of their Miseries is too afflicting to dwell upon. In this scene of horror Lord Hood was obliged to order the French Fleet of twenty sail of the line, and as many other ships of war, together with the arsenal and powder magazines, to be set on fire: report says one half of that miserable place is in ashes. The quitting Toulon by us, I am satisfied, is a national benefit; both in money, for our contracts will be found to have been very extravagant, people seeming to act as if fortunes were to be made instantly; and in saving some of our gallant English blood, which, when the muster comes to be taken, will appear to have flowed plentifully. The destruction of the Fleet and Arsenal, and indeed of the Harbour of Toulon for a number of years, is a great benefit to England."

(1793.) "Agamemnon, *Dec. 27.* My dear Fanny, Every thing which domestic wars produce usually has been multiplied at Toulon. In short all is horror. I have the Count de Grasse under my command, in a French frigate; his wife and family are at Toulon. Lord Hood put himself at the head of the flying troops, and was the admiration of every one; but the torrent was too strong. Many of our posts were carried without resistance; at others, which the English occupied, every one perished. I cannot write all: my mind is deeply impressed with grief. Each

teller makes the scene more horrible. Lord Hood shewed himself the same collected good officer which he always was.—I have only time to say, God bless you.”

In the preceding months of August and September, Lord Hood had received pressing letters from General Paoli, representing the facility with which the French might be driven from their posts in Corsica; the vulnerable points of attack were pointed out, and it was intimated, that even the appearance of a few ships would prove of essential service, provided it should not be judged expedient to make an attack by them on any of the forts. His Lordship was therefore induced to order a small Squadron to sail early in September for Corsica, under the command of Commodore Linzee, consisting of three ships of the line, and two frigates. Soon after the evacuation of Toulon, Captain Edward Cooke had been sent on a mission to General Paoli, to know the real posture of affairs in Corsica, and what the General had distinctly to propose, for dispossessing the French of the posts they occupied in that island. Captain Cooke returned from Corsica, and joined Lord Hood in Hieres Bay on the 7th of January, (1794,) and delivered a letter from General Paoli; making absolute proposals, and fresh assurances of the active cooperation of his brave Corsicans, to drive the French from their strong holds. In the meantime Captain Nelson was kept cruising off Corsica with a

small Squadron, to prevent the French from receiving supplies ; and Lord Hood, having on the 23d of January received a very encouraging report from Lieutenant Colonel Moore and Major Koehler, whom he had sent to General Paoli, and at the same time certain information that the French had actually embarked at Nice 8000 troops, which were at all risks to proceed to Corsica under convoy of two frigates, a corvette, and some other armed vessels ; his Lordship that evening detached three more frigates to Captain Nelson, the more effectually to line the coast and to guard Bastia also. The next morning Lord Hood put to sea, accompanied by sixty sail of ships and vessels, including army victuallers and transports, having upwards of 2000 unfortunate Toulonese on board. The distinguished part which Captain Nelson took in the succeeding Sieges of Bastia and Calvi, has never yet been detailed.

XII. A letter to Mrs. Nelson, which was dated off Calvi, January 6th, brings up his own relation to the end of that month :—“ I left Leghorn on the 3d, and very soon got off here, since which time we have had nothing but hard gales of wind, and the heaviest rains I almost ever met with. I am waiting anxiously for troops from Lord Hood to take St. Fiorenzo, and the frigates which will fall into our hands a few hours after their arrival. I was most unfortunately driven a few miles to leeward two days ago, in the height of the gale ;

and a frigate took that opportunity of sailing from St Fiorenzo to Calvi with provisions. One of my frigates exchanged a few shot with her, but at too great a distance to prevent her from getting in. I had so closely blockaded Calvi, that they must have surrendered to me at discretion; not a vessel had before got in for the six weeks I have been stationed here. This supply will keep them a week or two longer.—We now know from a deserter, that it was the *Melpomene* who engaged us on October 22: she had twenty-four men killed, and fifty wounded, and was so much damaged as to be laid up dismantled in St. Fiorenzo; she would have struck long before we parted, but for the gunner who opposed it; and when at length the colours were ordered to be struck by general consent, we ran into a calm, whilst the other ships came up with a fresh breeze and joined their consort. Admiral Trogoff tells me, she is allowed to be the finest frigate out of France, and the fastest sailer; we were unlucky to select her, the others we could outsail. Had she struck, I don't think the others would have come down, and I should have had great credit in taking her from such superior force: now of course nothing can be known of that business, and I have to look out for another opportunity, which is very scarce here.

“ I have just received a most handsome letter from Lord Hood, he looks upon these frigates as certain, trusting to my zeal and activity, and



knows, if it is in the power of man to have them; I will secure them. Linzee was to have been here for this service, and to settle plans with General Paoli, the chief of the Corsicans, relative to landing the troops, &c. Andrews is my ambassador. This business going through my hands, is a proof of Lord Hood's confidence in me, and that I shall pledge myself for nothing, but what will be acceptable to him. I have promised my people as soon as we have taken Corsica, that I would ask for a month's rest for them. Except to get provisions, I have not been one hour at anchor for pleasure, since April 23d; but I can assure you I never was better in health, as is Josiah. On Sunday I expect Lord Hood and the troops. Hoste is indeed a most exceeding good boy, and will shine in our Service. We shall talk these matters over again in a winter's evening."

(1794.) In another letter to his wife, from Leghorn, Jan. 30th, he mentioned an instance of his bravery, previous to the landing of the troops. "I was blown off my station on the 28th, in the hardest gale almost ever remembered here. The Agamemnon did well, but lost every sail in her. Lord Hood had joined me off Corsica the day before; and would have landed the troops, but the gale dispersed them over the face of the waters. The Victory was very near lost, however we are safe; a number of transports are missing. I am fearful the enemy will get their troops from France before I can return

to my station, which will be a vexing thing after my two months hard fag. A circumstance happened a few days past, which gave me great satisfaction. January 21st, the French having their storehouse of flour near a water-mill close to St. Fiorenzo, I seized a happy moment, and landed sixty soldiers and sixty seamen in spite of opposition. At landing, our sailors threw all the flour into the sea, burned the mill, the only one they have, and returned on board without the loss of a man. The French sent 1000 men at least against them, and gun-boats, &c. but the shot went over them, and they were just within reach of my guns—it has pleased Lord Hood, but this dreadful gale may have blown it out of his memory.”

On the 3d of February, 1794, Captain Wolseley, of the *Lowestoffe*, hoisted his colours close off the fort of Centuri, when all the vessels in the harbour immediately displayed national colours. On the 5th, Captain Nelson ordered him to land his marines, with those of the *Romulus*, and take the vessels. Opposition was made, and one man was wounded belonging to the latter ship. Several of the enemy were killed, and four vessels laden with wine were burnt. The troops, under the command of Lieutenant General Dundas, had been disembarked from the squadron of ships and transports, commanded by Commodore Linzee, in a bay in the gulf of St. Fiorenzo, to the westward of Martello point. On the 8th of

February, Captain Nelson, who was detached, sent the following letters to Lord Hood. “ My Lord: Yesterday at Porto Nuovo they hoisted national colours as I passed, as also the vessels in the harbour. I went to l’Avisina, but there was no ship there. Captain Fremantle tells me, a ship under Ragusan colours is in Bastia. This morning being very fine, I anchored off Regliani, and sent on shore to say, “ That I was come to deliver them from the republicans, and wished to be received as a friend: but that if a musket was fired, I would burn the town.” The answer from the Commandant was as follows,

*We are Republicans; that word alone ought to satisfy you. It is not to Magginagio, a place without defence, you ought to address yourself. Go to St. Fiorenzo, to Bastia, or Calvi, and they will answer you according to your wishes. As to the troops whom I command, they are ready to shew you that they are composed of French soldiers.*

“ Upon receiving this answer I landed, and struck the National colours with my own hand on the top of an old castle, and ordered the Tree of liberty in the centre of the town to be cut down, not without great displeasure from the inhabitants. The military Commandant retired to a hill about two miles distant, where he paraded the troops, and kept the national flag flying all day. We destroyed about 500 tons of wine ready to be shipped, and ten sail of vessels.”

Whilst the indefatigable Captain of the Agamemnon was thus actively employed on the other

side of the promontory of Cape Corse, in preventing succours from going into Bastia, Erbalonga, or any of the villages to the northward of the capital, the invasion of the Island in the bay of St. Fiorenzo, had commenced with much spirit by our troops under Lieutenant General Dundas, assisted with the great exertions of our seamen; who by dragging guns up the almost perpendicular precipices, had gained possession of the heights above the Tower of Martello.

On the 8th of February, General Dundas and Commodore Linzee having been of opinion, that it would be advisable to attack this Tower in the first instance from the bay, the Fortitude, Captain William Young, and the Juno, Captain Samuel Hood, were ordered to make the attempt; but after a cannonade of two hours and a half, during which the former ship was very much damaged by red hot shot, both hauled off. The walls of this Tower were of a prodigious thickness, and the parapet, where there was one gun, an eighteen pounder commanding the bay, and one six pounder directed to the height, was lined with bass junk five feet from the wall, and filled up with sand; and although it was cannonaded from the height for two days afterwards, within the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, the enemy still held out. At length a few hot shot having set fire to the bass junk, they called for quarter. The number of men found in the Tower was only thirty-three, two of whom were mortally wounded.

The gallant defence which had been made by them against a line of battle ship and a frigate by so few men with only one gun, excited the surprise both of our naval and military officers.

Previous to the surrender of the Martello tower, Lieutenant Colonel Moore had been detached with some light artillery through a mountainous country that was without roads, to make an attempt on the batteries of Fornelli. On examining their situation it was deemed expedient to return, and to endeavour to transport some heavy cannon to the heights which overlooked these batteries. This arduous task was accomplished by the officers and seamen of the navy, after a most severe fatigue during four days; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 17th of February, after a spirited attack, in which Lieutenant Colonels Moore and Wauchope, and Captain Stewart, particularly distinguished themselves, Fornelli was carried, and the bay and town of St. Fiorenzo were consequently in our possession.

The French having retreated to Bastia, the reduction of that capital was immediately resolved on by Lord Hood, who submitted his plan to General Dundas for his cooperation. The General declined it, as being impracticable and visionary, without the reinforcement of 2000 troops which he expected from Gibraltar. Lord Hood therefore resolved to reduce Bastia with the naval force, that was entrusted to his command.

Captain Nelson, who as already noticed had been detached from the fleet, in a letter to his wife dated at sea February 13, said, "I am just going into Leghorn to get water. Corsica I hope will fall in due time. Commodore Linzee has the command of the sea business, Lord Hood is in the offing. I have had the pleasure to fulfil the service I have been employed upon, since leaving Tunis, neither allowing provisions nor troops to get into Corsica, nor the frigates to come out. I am next going to cruise off Bastia, to prevent succours from getting in there. Corsica is a wonderfully fine island. We are anxious to hear how Parliament likes the war. I am still of opinion it cannot last much longer; not by the French having an absolute monarchy again, but by our leaving them alone, perhaps the wisest method we can follow. You will remember me in the kindest manner to my Father. God bless you."—On the 19th of February, (1794) he landed at l'Avisena, took the tower of Miomo, three miles distant from Bastia, and drove the French within gun-shot of the walls of that city.

On the subsequent taking of St. Fiorenzo, Captain Nelson sent the following letter to the Admiral, dated Feb. 22. "I beg most sincerely to congratulate your Lordship on the taking St. Fiorenzo. We saw plainly, when evening set in on the 19th, the fire at Fiorenzo, and had no doubt but it was the frigates that were burning.

We were close to Bastia. On receiving your letter I bore away for the Cape, and am now going to take another look at Bastia, when I shall send this letter. To the northward of the town and three miles distant, troops may be safely landed; there is a good road for marching all the way to Bastia, but not for heavy artillery; probably landing-places may be found to the northward of it, and much nearer than three miles. I see that the little camp with two guns, en barbette, is intended to prevent any landing to the southward, as I make no doubt their shot would reach to the opening of the lagoon; but our troops may land under cover of gun-boats, and other small vessels, although ships cannot get in. Every defence of Bastia is plainly to be seen from the sea, and in my opinion it would soon fall. Yesterday a very large Swedish ship from the Levant, laden with corn, was within two miles of Bastia, and I believe intended for that port; but if not, the boats would have carried her in, had we not been between her and the town. *Saturday evening*: I have just had a boat off from Erbalonga, they say that our landing at P'Avisena and marching so near Bastia, has been of the greatest service to them, as the enemy intended that night to have come with gun-boats and troops, and to have burnt all the revolted villages. All the Corsicans, to the very walls of Bastia, have declared for us, and they tell me not

much less than 1000 are now under the outworks of Bastia; and indeed we have seen the firing of musketry the whole evening.

“ Sunday noon. It is only just now that I have been able to examine Bastia more closely. I find the enemy every hour are strengthening their works. The two guns mounted *en barbette* are now forming a half moon battery. I passed close with Romulus and Tartar, and the enemy opened their fire from the battery. We directly dislodged them, and they to a man quitted the works. The town opened on us also with shot and shells, but without doing us any damage of consequence, our guns were so exceedingly well pointed, that not one shot was fired in vain; a parcel of powder in one of their batteries blew up, and apparently did considerable damage. Indeed, my Lord, I wish the troops were here. Bastia, I am sure, in its present state, would soon fall. I don't think the Corsicans have the strong post General Paoli mentions, or I must have have known it. They tell me the garrison of Fiorenzo is got into Bastia.”

(1794.) In consequence of this information, Lord Hood sailed on the 23d of February, and appeared with part of his fleet off Bastia, whilst another squadron was employed watching some French ships at Toulon; and, with his accustomed perseverance, the Admiral continued to cruise there for a fortnight, that he might gain every possible intelligence. Finding that General Dundas adhered to his former opinion, Lord



Hood demanded, that the remains of the 11th, 25th, 30th, and 69th regiments, under Lieutenant Colonel Villettes, should immediately return on board their respective ships, in which they had been originally ordered by his Majesty to serve as Marines; and were consequently borne on the books of those ships, as part of their respective complements.

Captain Nelson joined Lord Hood Feb. 27th, and on the next day the whole of the fleet, except the *Agamemnon*, and a frigate, were blown off their station in a gale of wind. On the 28th, whilst off Bastia, he gave a more particular account of the Siege, in a letter to his wife. “ My dear Fanny, I write literally to say I am well, never better, and in active service, which I like. Lord Hood expresses himself on every occasion well pleased with my conduct. He is come on this side himself, but would not bring an older Captain than me; therefore the naval service at Bastia is intrusted to my direction, under his Lordship. I have now six frigates with me. Our little brush last Sunday, happened at the moment when part of our army made their appearance on the hills over Bastia; they having marched over-land from St. Fiorenzo, which is only twelve miles distant. The General sent an express to Lord Hood at Fiorenzo to tell him of it. What a noble sight it must have been! indeed on board it was the grandest thing I ever saw. If I had carried with me 500 troops, to a certainty I should have stormed the

town, and I believe it might have been carried. Armies go so slow, that seamen think they never mean to get forward; but I dare say they act on a surer principle, although we seldom fail. You cannot think how pleased Lord Hood has been with my attack on Sunday last, or rather my repelling of an attack which the enemy made on me. He is gone to Porto Ferrajo for some supplies, but will return in two days. I am to anchor to have communication with the Army. Bastia is a large town and populous, having 10,000 inhabitants, there is a fine mole for shipping. If we take Corsica, of which I have not the smallest doubt, I hope we shall keep it."

(1794.) On the 2d of March, Lord Hood came again in sight of the *Agamemnon* on her station off Bastia, and on the 3d, made Captain Nelson's signal to go on board the admiral.—“He acquainted me,” adds the Captain in his journal, “with the retreat of our troops from the heights and their return to St. Fiorenzo. What General Dundas could have seen to make a retreat necessary, I cannot comprehend: The enemy's force is 1000 regulars, and 1000 or 1500 irregulars. I wish not to be thought arrogant, or presumptuously sure of my own judgment; but it is my firm opinion, that the *Agamemnon* with only the frigates now here, lying against the town for a few hours, with 500 troops ready to land when we had battered down the sea wall, would to a certainty carry the place. I presumed to pro-

pose it to Lord Hood, and his Lordship agreed with me; but added, that he should go to St. Fiorenzo and hear what the General had to say; for it would not be proper to risk having our ships crippled, without a cooperation of the Army, which consists of 1600 regulars and 180 artillery men, all in good health and as fine troops as ever marched."

On the 4th, and 5th of March, Captain Nelson remained off Bastia, and received an order from Lord Hood to take the Romney, Hon. W. Paget, under his command. On the 4th he sent the following continuation of what had passed to his wife. "My dear Fanny: You will be surprised to hear that the English General, Dundas, has retired from before Bastia without making an attack: God knows what it all means. Lord Hood is gone to St. Fiorenzo to the army to get them forward again. A thousand men would to a certainty take Bastia; with five hundred and Agamemnon, I would attempt it. Lord Hood said publicly, That if he thought it proper to give me three sail of the line and 500 men, he was sure I should take the town, although probably not the heights; but he would not sacrifice his seamen and ships in doing what the finest army of its size that ever marched could, and wished to do. General Paoli has told them, that if they don't keep my force low, I shall take Bastia before they pitch their tents in St. Fiorenzo: however these are only civil speeches.

But we now know that I was very near getting possession on Sunday the 23d. If I had force to go again and cannonade it, I believe I should yet get it. My Seamen are now what British Seamen ought to be, to you I may say it, almost invincible; they really mind shot no more than peas."

(1794.) The following extract from Lord Hood's letter to Lieutenant General Dundas, dated Victory in Martello Bay, March 6, illustrates the history of the siege of Bastia: "I am honoured," said his Lordship, "with your letter of yesterday's date; in which you are pleased to say, 'after mature consideration and a personal inspection for several days of all circumstances, local as well as others, I consider the Siege of Bastia, with our present means and force, to be a most visionary and rash attempt, such as no officer could be justified in undertaking,'—In answer to which, I must take the liberty to observe, that however visionary and rash an attempt to reduce Bastia may be in your opinion, to me it appears very much the reverse, and to be perfectly a right measure; and I beg here to repeat my answer to you, upon your saying two days ago, that I should be of a different opinion to what I had expressed, were the responsibility upon my shoulders,—'That nothing would be more gratifying to my feelings, than to have the whole responsibility upon me—' and I am now ready and willing to undertake the reduction of Bastia at my own risk, with the force and means

at present here, being strongly impressed with the necessity of it."

On the 9th of March Captain Nelson went on shore to Erbalonga, and thence to the Corsican camp, and had a good view of all the enemy's posts, and the town, which was daily increasing its means of defence. On the 10th he got back to his ship, and on the 11th the Romney joined him with letters from Lord Hood, to say that General Dundas was going home, and that the Admiral hoped and trusted the troops would once more move over the hill. Captain Nelson returned the following answer. "My Lord, You may be assured I shall undertake nothing, but what I have a moral certainty of succeeding in: had this day been fine, it was my intention to have towed the Agamemnon in shore, and to have destroyed the house which the enemy has fortified for musquetry, and also the new battery which is nearly finished—I think we should have been out of the range of shot from the town. I hope our troops will soon join."

Captain Nelson's journal describes the hardships which his men had already endured. "March 12th, off Erbalonga, five miles from Bastia. We are absolutely without either water, provisions, or stores of any kind, and not a piece of canvass, rope, twine, or a nail in our ship; but we cheerfully submit to it all, if it turns out for the advantage and credit of our country."—The Agamemnon got back to her

station off Bastia on the 16th of March, and the same day her Captain, to use his own words, sent an express to Lord Hood to tell him, That they had nothing to eat.—“ Yet,” added he; “ if your Lordship has any wish for me to remain off Bastia, I can, by going to Porto Ferrajo, get water and stores, and twenty-four hours at Leghorn will give us provisions. Our refitting which would take some time, could be put off a little. My wish is to be present at the attack of Bastia; and if your Lordship intends me to command the seamen who may be landed, I assure you I shall have the greatest pleasure in performing that, or any other service where you may think I can do most good; even if my ship goes into port to refit, I am ready to remain. We are certainly in a bad plight at present, not a man has slept dry for many months.”

*Captain Nelson to Sir William Hamilton, sent by the Hon. Captain W. Paget, dated off Bastia, March 27, 1794.*

“ My dear Sir, Lord Hood having determined on attacking Bastia, from the reports of officers in whom his Lordship is pleased to place confidence, contrary to the opinion of General d’Aubant who has succeeded to the command of the army, he becomes in want of many things which I am rather inclined to believe could have been supplied from the stores at St. Fiorenzo. As to the final issue of taking Bastia I have no doubt,

though we have only a small proportion of the troops who were at St. Fiorenzo, consisting of those who had been embarked to serve as marines: the General thinking it right not to grant his Lordship a single soldier, and only a few artillery men. The General even insists on the impropriety of attacking Bastia, and that as to its conquest it is impossible. But, my dear Sir, when was a place ever yet taken without an attempt? We must endeavour to deserve success, it is certainly not in our power to command it. Colonel Villettes of the 69th regiment will command the troops. I shall certainly always be happy to pay my respects to you; but if we are successful, I shall feel a greater pleasure in taking you by the hand at Naples, where my ship has been ordered to be refitted: for, I own, I cannot bear the thoughts of shewing myself in a foreign port, without its being known that the British flag is triumphant. I am just come from Lord Hood at St. Fiorenzo; his zeal and activity for the honour and benefit of his King and Country are not abated. Upwards of seventy, he possesses the mind of forty years of age, and has not a thought separated from honour and glory. May all opposers of such a Character have for their accusers their own minds, I am sure that will be sufficient. When, before this, was the time, that 2000 British troops as good as ever took the field, were not thought equal to attack 800 French troops, allowing them to be in strong works?

What would the immortal Wolfe have done, who beat the enemy, though he perished in the attempt? Our irregulars are surely as good as the enemy's, and in numbers we far exceed them. I truly feel sorrow, but I have hope and confidence that all will end well. I request leave to present my most respectful compliments to Lady Hamilton, as does also my youngster. I assure you and her Ladyship, that I remember with gratitude the kindness of you both to a stranger. To Sir John Acton, being an Englishman, if he remembers such an humble individual as myself, and it is not incompatible with your Excellency's situation, I beg to present my respects."

The Agamemnon continued to remain close off Bastia from the 27th to the 31st of March, the boats rowing guard off the mole and town every night. Captain Nelson also sent the gun-boats to cannonade the town.—Such had been his continued exertions and such his unremitting zeal, previous to the Siege of Bastia. We are now to behold him uniting the talents both of a naval and a military officer, and accomplishing under the orders of his noble Admiral, what had been deemed utterly visionary and impracticable.

XIII. On<sup>e</sup> April 4th, 1794, at ten A. M. the

\* The following occurrences in the siege of Bastia are chiefly taken from Captain Nelson's journal, in the possession of the Viscountess Nelson: in this abridgment they are necessarily condensed.



troops, consisting of artillery and gunners 66, of the eleventh regiment 257, of the twenty-fifth 123, of the thirtieth 146, of the sixty-ninth 261, of the marines 218, and of chasseurs 112, total 1183, and 250 seamen, landed at the tower of Miomo, three miles to the northward of Bastia, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Villettes, and Captain Horatio Nelson, who had under him Captains Hunt, Serocold, and Bullen. At noon the troops encamped about 2500 yards from the citadel of Bastia, near a high rock. On the 9th, about eleven o'clock at night, the enemy opened a very heavy fire upon our camp, from their mortars and guns. The alarm was beat, and Captain Nelson fully expected an attack. This firing lasted until daylight, and yet, what was extraordinary, not a single man was hurt. The tents were much damaged, but from the troops being under arms they escaped. Lord Hood sent in a flag of truce on the 11th, at seven o'clock in the morning, by Lieut. Tapper, of the Victory. This officer on his landing was grossly abused, until the arrival of Lacombe St. Michel, the Commissioner from the Convention, when the mob became quiet. Having offered his letters to St. Michel, our officer was informed by the Commissioner, that he could not receive Lord Hood's summons: *I have hot Shot, he exclaimed, for your ships, and bayonets for your troops. When two thirds of our troops are killed, I will then trust to the generosity of the English.*

“ On the Lieutenant’s return with this message,” adds Captain Nelson, “ Lord Hood hoisted a red flag at the main top gallant mast head of the *Victory*; when our batteries opened on the town, citadel, and redoubt of Camponella, English colours having been hoisted on the rock over my tent, and every man giving three cheers. The enemy returned a heavy fire during the whole day. The *Proselyte* frigate anchored off the tower of Torga, about twelve hundred yards from the town battery; and Captain Serocold informed me that she took fire from red hot shot, and that as he found the impossibility of getting the ship off the shore, it being quite calm, he thought it right to set her on fire in several places, and she burnt to the water’s edge.

“ April 12th. A heavy fire was kept up by us during the whole of last night, and this day, apparently with good effect; the enemy preserving a continued fire upon us. In the afternoon I went with Colonel Vilella, Lieutenant Duncan, R. A. and Captain Clarke, brigade major, with a Corsican guide, to examine a ridge about one thousand yards nearer the town than our present position, and on which the Corsicans kept a strong guard every night. The enemy’s continued fire of musquetry and grape was poured on us during the whole evening: unfortunately the last shot they fired from Camponella killed the Corsican guide who was standing behind Clarke, and shot off his right arm and a part of

his right side: Clarke was looking over my shoulder at Camponella, whence we were distant about two hundred and fifty yards. The Torga battery opened on the 21st of April at day-light on the town battery and Camponella, and apparently with good effect. The enemy kept up a most heavy fire on us the whole day, with shells and shot, from the citadel, town, Stafforella, Camponella, a square tower, and the two batteries newly raised under Stafforella. Brigadier General D'Aubant came on the heights from St. Fiorenzo, with all the staff and field officers of that army, and a guard of fifty Corsicans. The next day, the 22d of April, the enemy were hard at work on the heights strengthening all their posts; the natural consequence of the parade of reconnoitering yesterday. A constant firing is kept up night and day."

On the 22d of April he sent the following letter to Mrs. Nelson. "I have great reason to be thankful to that Being, who has ever protected me in a most wonderful manner, and in none more than since my landing here. If it be His good pleasure, I shall in nothing more rejoice than in being once more with you, when we will talk over all these stories, and laugh at them. We are here with a force not equal to our wishes or wants, and with only half of what is at present in this island. General D'Aubant will not attack our enemy with 2000 as fine troops as ever marched, whilst we are here beating them from

post to post with 1000. . . . The Island, however, is to belong to England, reinforcements are expected, and our Generals will, I am sure, be ordered to act. My ship lies on the north side of the town, with some frigates, and Lord Hood is on the south side. It is a very hard service for my poor Seamen, dragging guns up such heights as are scarcely credible. The loss of the enemy, we know, has been very great; report states it as much as 500 killed and wounded, ours is not more than 20, the Agamemnon has to number five amongst them: they are not the men to keep out of the way."

"On the 27th of April," continues the journal, "we began the battery on the ridge for two eighteen pound carronades, and one twelve pounder on the spot where Captain Clarke was wounded; two hundred and fifty yards from Campanella, nine hundred yards from the citadel, seven hundred yards from the town. The labour of getting up guns to this battery was a work of the greatest difficulty, and which never, in my opinion, would have been accomplished by any other than British Seamen. On the 1st of May the new battery opened. The 11th regiment and chasseurs were removed to the ridge for the protection of the battery, and the post was strengthened with an additional number of Corsicans. Forty-five seamen under Lieutenant Andrews were also appointed to fight the battery."

The following letter to his wife, dated May 1st and 4th, renders us still better acquainted with the tenderness of Nelson's private character. "I need not, I am certain, say, that all my joy is placed in you, I have none separated from you; you are present to my imagination be where I will. I am convinced you feel interested in every action of my life, and my exultation in Victory is twofold, knowing that you partake of it. Only recollect that a brave man dies but once, a coward all his life long. We cannot escape death, and should it happen to me in this place, remember, It is the will of Him, in whose hands are the issues of life and death.—As to my health, it was never better, seldom so well. I have no fears about the final issue of the expedition—It will be victory, Bastia will be ours! and if so, it must prove an event, to which the history of England can hardly boast an equal. Time will shew the enemy's force: if it be small, the Fiorenzo Commanders ought to be blamed: if it be large, they are highly culpable, for allowing a handful of brave men to be on service unsupported. My only fears are, That these soldiers will advance when Bastia is about to surrender, and deprive us of part of our Glory. The King, we trust, will draw the line of our deserts. I will tell you as a secret, Bastia will be ours between the 20th and 24th of this month, if succours do not get in. Our ships are moored across the harbour's mouth,

and three boats from each ship row guard every night.—The town contains 14,000 inhabitants.”

1794. “On the 3d of May,” adds the journal, “we began a battery for one twenty-four pounder and a ten inch howitzer, which was finished by the 7th at night. The Enemy from the first of this month had shewn several dispositions, as if they meant to attack this post; but from some cause they never advanced. Five four-pound field pieces with good abbatis would in my opinion, if the post had been well defended, prevented their making any impression on it. The Seamen always slept on the battery with their pikes and cutlasses. Lord Hood, on the 8th, sent in another flag of truce at eight o’clock, which was refused: the mayor telling the officer, *that they would return bomb for bomb, and shot for shot.* Opened the twenty-four pounder and howitzer with the greatest good effect; nor could all the efforts of the enemy knock down our works. A continued and increasing fire was kept up on the town and outworks. In the night of the 12th a large boat came out of Bastia, she was closely pursued by our guard-boats, and taken: in her were three deserters, the captain of la Fortunée frigate, twelve seamen, eight Corsicans, and thirty wounded soldiers, going to Capraja. Her despatches were thrown overboard; but in the morning of the 13th at daylight, Lieutenant Suckling of the St. Croix schooner saw the packet floating on the water, which he took up,

and brought to me: probably in the hurry of throwing them overboard, the weight that had been tied to them had slipped out of the string; they were all letters from Gentili, the commander in chief at Bastia, saying how much they had been annoyed by our fire, which had been opened on them near forty days, and that if succours did not arrive by the 29th of the month, they must look upon the town as lost to the republic. These letters were addressed to Salicetti, Lacombe St. Michel, who had left Bastia, and Santelli. Lord Hood sent in the boat with her crew and with a week's provisions; and we this day got a nine pounder on the ridge. On the 14th of May, the enemy displayed a picture on Camponella the whole day; they did not treat it with insult, and I think it was intended for Lord Hood.<sup>k</sup> Our batteries kept up an incessant fire. During the night of the 15th, our guard-boats took a boat from Capraja with gunpowder on board, bound to Bastia, Galeazzini the Mayor's brother was in her; no despatches could be found. The enemy were employed preparing Gardiola for a mortar. On the 16th they got up a thirteen inch mortar, which kept up a constant fire throughout the night. It blowing strong from the northward, three boats attempted to get into the town with powder and provisions; two were taken, but one got in. From this day, until the 19th, the ene-

<sup>k</sup> By way of compliment for having returned their boat with the wounded men and provisions.

my fired more than usually both night and day. We had also often five shells in the air at once, all going to Bastia.

“ On the 19th of May some means had been taken to convey a message to Lord Hood, That if he would condescend to send a boat with a flag, a Negotiation would be entered into for the surrender of the town and its dependencies. In consequence, at four o'clock that evening, May 19th, a flag of truce was hoisted on board the Victory, and a boat went from her to the town, and one from the town to the Victory. The enemy from Camponella met us without arms, and, our officers advancing, they shook hands, and were good friends: They said it was all over, and that Bastia was ours. So many interests, however, were to be consulted, that it was the 22d in the evening before our troops could take possession of the out-posts.—At five o'clock on the evening of the 19th, our troops from St. Fiorenzo had made their first appearance on the hills; and on the 20th, General d'Aubant and the whole Fiorenzo army, consisting of the 18th, 50th, and 51st regiments, 12th regiment of dragoons, with 100 artillery, had appeared on the hills to take Bastia.”

On the 20th, Captain Nelson wrote to his wife from the camp as follows. “ I have the pleasure to tell you that yesterday afternoon, the 19th, the enemy sent off a flag of truce to Lord Hood. The truce still continues, and I



hope there will be a surrender of the town in consequence. Our Fiorenzo army, hearing what was going on here, have marched to the top of the heights, which will probably terrify the enemy. I always was of opinion, have ever acted up to it, and never have had any reason to repent it, that one Englishman was equal to three Frenchmen; had this been an English town I am sure it would not have been taken by them. They have allowed us to batter it, without once making any effort to drive us away. I may say truly, that this has been a Naval Expedition; our boats prevented any thing from getting in by sea, our Sailors hauling up great guns, and then fighting them on shore. We expect to take 1000 regulars, 1500 national guards, and a large party of Corsican troops, 4000 in the whole; these will lay down their arms to 1000 soldiers and marines and 200 seamen. There is some difficulty about the terms, and hostilities may recommence for a day or two longer—but they must submit. Josiah has been with me at the head of the British grenadiers, taking possession of the forts and posts. When I reflect what we have achieved, I am all astonishment: Providence has ever been gracious to me, and has been my protector from the many perils incident to my situation.”

“On the 22d of May,” continues the journal, “our troops at six in the evening marched from their posts, the band playing *God save the King*. At seven, the French colours were struck upon

Camponella, Stafforella, Croix de Capuchin, Monscratto Rock, Fort St. Mary's, and all the other out-posts, and the British colours were hoisted under three cheers from every seaman and soldier. The French troops all retired to the town and citadel."

The following thanks were issued on the 22d, by Lord Hood, and sent to Captain Nelson: "The Commander in Chief returns his best thanks to Captain Nelson, and desires he will present them to Captain Hunt, Captain Serocold, and Captain Bullen, as well as to every Officer and Seaman employed in the reduction of Bastia, for the indefatigable zeal and exertion they have so cheerfully manifested, in the discharge of the very laborious duties committed to them, notwithstanding the various difficulties and disadvantages they have had to struggle with; which could not have been surmounted, but by the uncommon spirit and cordial unanimity that have been so conspicuously displayed, which must give a stamp of reputation to their characters not to be effaced, and will be remembered with gratitude by the Commander in Chief to the end of his life."

The remaining events, after the capitulation of Bastia, are thus related by Captain Nelson in his journal. "May 23d. This morning the British grenadiers took possession of the town gates, and the gate of the citadel; and on the 24th at day-light, the most glorious sight that

an Englishman can experience, and which, I believe, none but an Englishman could bring about, was exhibited—Four thousand five hundred men laying down their arms to less than one thousand British soldiers, who were serving as marines! Our loss of men in taking Bastia, containing upwards of 14,000 inhabitants, and which, if fully occupied, would contain 25,000, was smaller than could be expected: Seamen killed and who died of their wounds, 12, wounded 14. Soldiers killed, and who died of their wounds, 7, wounded 23. Total killed 19, wounded 37. Officers wounded, Captain Rudsdale of the 11th regiment, Captain Clarke of the 69th, and Lieutenant Andrews of the Agamemnon. By the most accurate account we can get of the enemy's killed and wounded, they had, killed 203, wounded 540, most of whom are dead. We consumed 1058 barrels of powder, and fired 11,923 shot, and 7373 shells."

His joy at this event was accompanied by a desire to serve a brave soldier. "My dear Lord, With the most heartfelt satisfaction do I congratulate you on the great event of this day, accomplished by that solid judgment, which no fears of others could warp from that duty and love of our Country which has ever shone so conspicuous. My heart is too full to say all I think; but I must not forget my friend Captain Duncan, who having attained that rank, as I understand, for his services at Toulon, will, I trust,

have another step through your Lordship's interest: the rank of Major, is, as I am informed, not unfrequently given. I need say no more." In a letter to Mrs. Nelson, he declared that Lord Hood's thanks to him, both public and private, were the handsomest that man could give.

XIV. Lord Hood, on the return of one of the cartel ships that carried the garrison of Bastia to Toulon, during the evening of the 6th of June received information, that the French were preparing to sail from that port. He immediately made the signal to unmoor, and sent an officer to Vice Admiral Cosby at St. Fiorenzo, to join him on his appearing off Martello Point. At six the next morning, after the Victory had been some hours under sail, Lord Amelius Beauclerk, Captain of the Juno, came on board with a letter from Vice-Admiral Hotham, who was off Toulon, giving information that the French fleet was out. On the night of the 8th, Lord Hood was joined by Admirals Hotham and Cosby, and made sail with the squadron towards the islands of Hieres, sending a frigate on each bow to look out for the enemy. On the 10th of June, the French fleet was discovered close under the land near St. Tropez, by the frigates ahead. Lord Hood with his squadron endeavoured to get between the enemy's ships and the land, which a failure of wind prevented; and he was afterwards mortified to find, that by the help of a number of boats from Antibes, and other places, their ships had

been all towed within the shoals in the road of Gourjean, where they were protected by the batteries on the islands of St. Honora and St. Marguerite, and on Cape Garousse.

The following letter to his wife, when he sailed with Lord Hood in quest of this French fleet, serves to shew the unabated zeal of Nelson in the service of his Country, notwithstanding the toils of a long Siege heightened by an additional impulse from the idea of his then first having an opportunity of distinguishing himself in a line of battle. “. . . I pray God we may meet this fleet. If any accident should happen to me, I am sure my conduct will be such as will entitle you to the royal favour: not that I have the least idea but I shall return to you, and full of honour; if not, the Lord's will be done. My name shall never be a disgrace to those who may belong to me. The little I have, you know I have given to you, except a small annuity. I wish it was more; but I have never got a farthing dishonestly, it descends from clean hands. Whatever fate awaits me, I pray God to bless you, and preserve you for your son's sake. I think always in the most affectionate manner of my Father; tell him so, and ever believe me your most affectionate husband.”

Such were the ideas of Nelson, when on the eve, as he thought, of his first general action with the French fleet: his ardent spirit always entered into the Battle with a full conviction of

its dangers, but without indulging any of that superstitious foreboding which has shaken the resolution of the bravest seamen. His zeal and enterprise were now called to a new proof at the Siege of Calvi.

XV. During the afternoon of the 10th of June, 1794, the *Agamemnon* parted from Lord Hood, and steered for Cape Corse. On the 12th, at eight o'clock, Captain Nelson anchored off the town of Bastia, and went on shore to the Hon. Lieutenant General Stuart, when it was settled that all the troops for the expedition against Calvi should be embarked the next morning at six o'clock:—The following is Captain Nelson's Journal of this Siege, with the addition of some letters that were written by him whilst on that service.

“ Having ordered every transport and victualler, except the ships in the mole, to be ready to sail with me, and a ship laden with empty casks, on the 13th of June by eight o'clock, every soldier was embarked, amounting to 1450 men, exclusive of officers. At noon made the signal to unmoor, and at four the signal to weigh. Sailed in company with his Majesty's ships *Dolphin*, *Gorgon*, and twenty-two sail of vessels. June the 18th in the morning, at half-past three o'clock, I went on shore with General Stuart, to examine the coast, in hopes of finding a better landing-place; but we both agreed it could only be at the inlet called *Porto Agro*, though by no

means a convenient place for landing guns or stores, as sunken rocks lie twenty feet from the shore, with deep water between them; and with a common sea breeze such a swell sets in as to prevent boats from landing. This inlet is three miles and a half from the town of Calvi.

“ Examined the enemy’s outposts; and found them as follows: Monachesco, about 2200 yards from the town, on the S. W. side of it. The Mozello fort, west from the town about 900 yards; and the Fountain battery in a shoulder of the hill, between Mozello and San Francesco; which last stands on a rock on the north side of the peninsula, and is washed by the sea. The town itself is apparently well fortified, but without any ditch.”

“ The troops were disembarked at seven o’clock on the morning of the 19th, under the direction of Captain E. Cooke, R. N. with six field pieces, which the seamen dragged up the hills. I landed,” says Captain Nelson, “ in the afternoon with 250 seamen, and encamped on the beach, getting on shore baggage for the army. By the General’s desire I sent the Fox cutter, with directions for 180 of the Royal Louis, the 18th regiment, and 100 of the 69th regiment, to join as soon as possible. During the whole of the 20th and 21st it blew so strong, with a heavy sea and rain, and with such thunder and lightning, as precluded all intercourse with the shipping, most of which put to sea. The Seamen

were employed in making roads for their guns, and in getting up three twenty-six pounders to the Madona, about two miles and a half from the landing place, ready to act against Monachesco; the road for the first three quarters of a mile led up a steep mountain, and the other part was not very easy. The weather became rather moderate in the night, but still with thunder, lightning, and rain."

This tempestuous weather rather abated on the 22d, when Captain Nelson, though a great deal of surf was running, got off boats to such of the ships as remained, and employed his men in landing provisions which were much wanted, as also powder, shot, and gun-carriages. During this day a deserter came in from Calvi, and the Fox returned with 180 of the Royal Louis. One twenty-six pounder was dragged up the hill, and during the night they hauled two twenty-six pounders from the Madona to the place intended for the battery against Monachesco, distant 850 yards; a working party of soldiers were at the same time filling sand-bags.

On the 23d the sea became more calm, when two twenty-six pounders, and a great quantity of provisions, shot, shells, and stores, were landed; at night the Seamen got up another twenty-six pounder from the Madona, to the battery against Monachesco, and mounted the three guns; and the same evening the Agamemnon and trans-



ports, which had put to sea on the 20th and 21st, returned to their anchorage.

On the 27th, he wrote to Mrs. Nelson, dated Camp, near Calvi. "My dear Fanny, I sent you a few lines just as we landed, since which nothing particular has occurred. Dragging cannon up steep mountains, and carrying shot and shells, has been our constant employments. Josiah is very well, and I have no fears but he will be a good man. He is affectionate, though warm in his disposition, which nothing can cool so thoroughly as being at sea, where nobody has entirely their own way. Corsica, in respect to prizes, produces nothing but Honour, far above the consideration of Wealth: not that I despise riches, quite the contrary, yet I would not sacrifice a good name to obtain them. The French here do not know what to make of us. They hear we are landed, yet have not seen us, nor have they any idea about our batteries, which when they open will be heavy on them. That we shall take Calvi in due time I have no manner of doubt. You know probably that George the Third is King of Corsica, chosen by the unanimous consent of the people themselves; the best of all titles; they are now our fellow subjects. The first resolution of the parliament of Corsica was to declare they were Englishmen; they might have been mistaken for Irishmen by their bull. You will hear that Lord Hood fell in with the French fleet on the 10th, but they were too

near the shore for him to prevent their getting into port. His Lordship wished to attack them; a council of flag officers prevented him. You may be assured he will either take or destroy them, but I trust not before Calvi is ours, when I shall immediately join the fleet."

On the 30th Captain Nelson informed Lord Hood, that the General had agreed in the necessity of landing two twelve-pounders on the point near Cape Revalate, where a battery was constructed, and a midshipman with twelve men had been stationed there; but that the General could not afford men to encamp there for its defence. The battery against Monachesco was to be opened on the 2d of July, as it had been found that they could not carry on their battery against the Mozello, until that post was damaged; the distance from this battery to the landing-place was three miles.—To this letter Lord Hood returned the following answer. "My dear Nelson, I am free to own I have no apprehension of any second division of ships from Toulon; but am aware there is a fixed determination in the Convention, that if Lord Howe does not get hold of the French fleet from Brest, a considerable part of it is, I am persuaded, to come into these seas; a contingency which it is very necessary for me to be somewhat guarded against, and which occasions my letter to General Stuart, of which I send you a copy. I endeavour to keep the old adage in remembrance, That pre-

vention is better than cure. I will manage to have men to fight the guns upon Cape Revalate, if you wish it, and in addition suppose I send the Royal Louis to encamp there? Ever faithfully yours."

On the 1st of July, according to Lord Hood's desire, Captain Nelson went again on board the Victory, and having landed inside Cape Revalate, was all night employed in moving the guns, mortars, and howitzers, to within 450 yards of the intended battery. On the 2d he made two trips to the landing-place for stores, at night got two mortars to their battery, and was engaged in carrying platforms, &c. till two in the morning. In his letter on that day to Lord Hood, he said, "Through the ignorance and laziness of people in the different departments, the General is kept back much longer than he wished: our advanced battery, I am sure, will not be made this night, much to his displeasure: all our guns are within 300 yards of the intended works against the Mozello."

The journal then proceeds. *July 5th.* "Carrying junk for mortar platforms, and placing the mortars on their beds, getting also things forward for the advanced battery, 100 seamen were employed all night. Lieutenant Moutray made a battery for two eighteen pounders inside Revalate, with 25 men. *July 6th.* Procuring some planks, and preparing every thing to be ready to work briskly in the evening: at half-past nine o'clock a feint

of an attack was carried on against Monachesco, which succeeded amazingly well. Not a shot was fired at us; for the enemy turned their whole fire, during the night, towards the post which they imagined was attacked. By excessive labour, and the greatest silence in every department, the battery was completed for six guns, within 750 yards of the Mozello and without the smallest annoyance, before day-light on the 7th, and the guns brought close to it; but from unavoidable circumstances, the guns could not be mounted on the platforms until two hours afterwards. The enemy did not fire at us until the fifth gun was getting into the battery, probably never thinking of looking so near themselves for a battery, when they opened a heavy fire of grape shot on us: but the Seamen did their duty. Considering our very exposed situation, our loss was small in numbers; yet among those who fell was Captain Walter Serocold<sup>n</sup> of the navy, who was killed by a grape-shot passing through his head as he cheered the people who were dragging the gun. In him the service lost a gallant officer, and a most able seaman. Three soldiers were also killed, one of the Agamemnon's seamen, and Mr. Thomas Corney, mate of the Grand Bay transport, who was one of the volunteers. A little before six o'clock we got two English twenty-four pounders, and four twenty-

<sup>n</sup> A sister of this excellent officer married Dr. Pearce, Dean of Ely, and Master of Jesus College, Cambridge.

six pounders mounted on their platforms, in defiance of all opposition. At ten o'clock opened our fire from this battery on the Mozello and Fountain battery; not a gun from the town can bear upon us, being so much covered by the Mozello. We also opened our Hill battery of two twenty-six pounders and a twelve-inch mortar, 1500 yards from the Mozello, with the Royal Louis battery of three thirty-six pounders and two twelve inch mortars in the rear, and to the left of our advanced battery; all which kept up during the whole day a constant and heavy fire on the enemy. At three o'clock in the afternoon the enemy set fire to the fascines in Monachesco, and abandoned that post, which the Corsicans took possession of."

The enemy repaired much of the fascine battery during the succeeding night, and throughout the whole of the 8th, both sides had kept up a constant and heavy fire. They totally destroyed two of our twenty-four pounders, greatly damaged a twenty-six pounder, and shook our works very much. "One of their shells," adds Captain Nelson in his journal, "burst in the centre of our battery, amongst the General, myself, and at least 100 persons, and blew up our battery magazine; but, wonderful to say, not a man was much hurt.

*Captain Nelson to Admiral Lord Hood, dated Camp,  
July 10, 1794.*

"My dear Lord, I enclose my journal up to this morning; it contains nothing but the truth,

and was intended by me as only a friendly, not an official communication to your Lordship: and I have to request, that you will alter whatever part you please, which may relate to the misconduct of any officer; for we must recollect, the truth is not to be spoken at all times: but with your Lordship I have no reserve. I think it possible, that the Mozello may be breached by to-morrow night, and am certain it will be so in one day after the thirty-six pounders are placed against it, as they are to be 200 yards nearer. Two seamen are dead of their wounds.”

The next day, July 12, 1794, Captain Nelson mentioned the wound which he had received to the Admiral. “My dear Lord, Reports we know get about, and as neither time nor many other circumstances may be mentioned, it is best to say it myself, that I got a little hurt this morning; not much, as your Lordship may judge by my writing.”—What this zealous officer so modestly termed *a little hurt*, proved eventually to be the loss of his right eye. —“At day-light on the 12th of July,” as he informs us in his Journal, “the Enemy opened a heavy fire from the town, and San Francisco; which, in an extraordinary manner, seldom missed our battery; and at seven o’clock I was much bruised in the face and eyes by sand from the works, struck by shot. The Mozello was by this time much breached. At night replaced the guns destroyed, and fired a

gun and mortar every three minutes; at half past twelve the town was on fire, and burnt for three hours. We had two seamen and three soldiers wounded.”—Both Captain Nelson and his friends, for some time deceived themselves with a hope that his eye would be restored, when the swelling had subsided; and in writing the next day to Lord Hood, he said, “My eye is better, and I hope not entirely to lose the sight. I shall be able to attend my duty this evening, if a new battery is to be made.”

The Enemy still continued, for many days afterwards, to carry on the defence of Calvi with considerable spirit and resolution, until they had nearly exhausted the strength and resources of their brave opponents. During the whole of the 13th of July, a constant fire was kept up from the town, which struck our battery very often, and dismounted another twenty-six pounder.—“This is the fifth gun,” adds Captain Nelson, “which has been disabled since the 7th, when our battery opened, and having only six guns in it, is quite wonderful. At night we landed four eighteen pounders, with a quantity of shot and shells in Port Vaccaja, and were employed in getting them up to the rear of our work; and here I must acknowledge the indefatigable zeal, activity, and ability of Captain B. Hallowell, and the great readiness which he ever shews to give me assistance in the laborious duties that are intrusted to us: by computation, to this night, we may be

supposed to have dragged one twenty-six pounder, with its ammunition and every requisite for making a battery, upwards of eighty miles, seventeen of which were up a very steep mountain."

In a letter which he sent to Mrs. Nelson on the 14th of July, he said, "A fortnight will, I have no doubt, give us Calvi; but our efforts here are at such a distance, and so eclipsed by Lord Howe's great success at home, that I dare say we are not thought of: however, we must exert ourselves." On July 17, 1794, he sent the following account from the camp to Sir Gilbert Elliot, (Lord Minto) the Viceroy. "You may possibly, my dear Sir, hear both from Lord Hood and General Stuart of our operations; therefore I shall say little more of them, than that success, I have no doubt, will attend the General, and no officer ever deserved it more. The place is strong, and the access to it is difficult; but the principal obstacles are, I hope, overcome. The Mozello will be stormed this night, two breaches are made in it. The great fatigue General Stuart has undergone since our landing, has rather injured his health; yet nothing stops him from seeing every thing done himself. Our loss has been trifling, not 20 killed and wounded; amongst the former is Captain Serocold, and amongst the latter, in a slight manner, myself; my head being a good deal wounded, and my right eye cut down: but the



surgeon flatters me I shall not entirely lose the sight, which I believe, for I can clearly distinguish light from darkness. It confined me, thank God, only one day, and that at a time when nothing particular happened to be going on."

General Stuart, on the 16th, had communicated his plan to Captain Nelson for storming the Mozello on the ensuing night; but the enemy by their mode of firing during that day, in trying the range of the different grounds which the besiegers had to pass, seemed to have been aware of their intentions: The storming of the Mozello, therefore, did not take place at the time intended. On the 18th every person was busily employed in getting ready.

(1794.) "On the 19th of July, at three o'clock in the morning, a smart fire of musquetry was opened on the 18th regiment, who marched into the Fountain battery without firing a shot, although the Mozello fired grape upon them. The enemy abandoned the work and trench behind it, and fled into the town. Colonel Wemyss performed his duty like an able officer. The two field pieces under Lieutenant Harrison, with the grenadiers under Colonel Moore, now began to fire into the breach of the Mozello, and our new three gun battery opened at the same time. The Royal Irish giving a huzza, the pioneers rushed forward and cut down the palisados, and the troops under Colonel Moore, after returning the huzza, were in the breach. The enemy were panic struck,

and fled with such rapidity, that before Major Brereton with the light infantry could get between the Mozello and the town, they had all, excepting four or five, escaped. Captain M'Donald of the Royals led up one breach, and Lieutenant M'Donald the other, both were slightly wounded. Thus fell the Mozello, with the loss of only four men killed and seven wounded. "I think," adds Captain Nelson in his letter on the 19th to Lord Hood, "that General Stuart must be pleased with our services. I could have wished to have had a little part in the Storm, if it had been only to have placed the ladders, and to have pulled away the palisados; however, we did the part allotted for us."

On the same day, Lord Hood informed Captain Nelson, that 50 Seamen would be sent him from each of the four frigates, commanded, under his directions, by Captain Seccombe, and that 100 would be added from the Victory."—In a letter on the 22d of July, to Lord Hood, Nelson, with his wonted enthusiasm, exclaimed, "We will fag ourselves to death, before any blame shall lie at our doors; and I trust, my dear Lord, it will not be forgotten, that twenty-five pieces of heavy ordnance have been dragged to the different batteries and mounted, and all, but the three at the Royal Louis battery, have been fought by Seamen, except one artillery man to point the guns, and, at first, an additional gunner to stop the rest; but, as I did not choose to

trust a Scamen's arms to any but Scamen, he was withdrawn; all the mortars have also been worked by Seamen, every man landed is actually half barefooted. I am far from well; but not so ill as to be confined. My eye is troublesome, and I don't think I shall ever have the perfect sight of it again. In one week at farthest, after our batteries are open, I think Calvi will be ours."—On the 31st of July he thus continued his correspondence with the Admiral, from one of the batteries. "My dear Lord, I own I rejoiced when our fire opened against the enemy, being thoroughly convinced, that all we have to guard against is unnecessary delay; the climate is the only enemy we have to fear, that we can never conquer. Far be it from me to cast a reflection on the General's humanity, I admire it; but there are times, and I think the present is one of them, when it would be more charitable to our troops to make the Enemy suffer, than for our brave fellows to die incessantly, four or five of a day. Why might not the General send notice, that they must remove all their sick from the lower town to the upper one, for that it may be a necessary measure to destroy it? In that case they would be so crowded, that a few hours would make them submit to any terms. The General is very unwell; and not being able to remain here last night, I have not heard of him this morning. This is my ague day, and I hope so active a scene will keep off the fit: it has shaken

me a good deal; but I have been used to them, and now don't mind them much."—In a letter to Mrs. Nelson, dated August the 4th, he said, *This day I have been four months landed, except a few days when we were after the French Fleet, and I feel almost qualified to pass my examination as a besieging General.*"

The following letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, dated from the camp before Calvi, August 6th and 10th, 1794, retraces the history of this Siege to that date. "Sir, The gazette will tell your Royal Highness the general outlines of this Siege, which I believe is novel in its form. We landed about four miles to the westward of Calvi on the 19th of June; on the 19th of July we were in full possession of every outpost of the Enemy, with very trifling loss. Our batteries were erected with impunity, in situations which the Enemy ought to have prevented: had they kept even a moderate look-out, our loss of men must have been great, every battery being within reach of grape-shot from its opponent. On the 19th of July, General Stuart sent in to ask, if they had any terms to propose to him? their answer was the motto of the town,—*Civitas Calvis semper fidelis*. We were then only 650 yards from the centre of the citadel, and they allowed us to erect very strong batteries under a mask: they must, and ought to have known what we were after, without firing a single shot or shell.

On the 28th in the morning our batteries, 560 yards from the Citadel wall, were ready to open their force, consisting of twenty-one cannon, five mortars, and four howitzers. The General sent in to say, that he should not fire on the black flags (hospitals). This note produced a negotiation, by which the enemy wanted to obtain a truce for twenty-five days; when, if no succours arrived, they agreed to surrender the town, frigates, &c. Lord Hood and the General agreed to give them six days; but, whilst this was going on, four small vessels got in, which gave them hopes, I suppose, of more effectual relief; for on the 30th of July they rejected our offer, and our fire opened with all the effect we could expect. On the 1st of August at eleven o'clock, when much of the parapet was beat down, and the houses in the Citadel were either in ruins or in flames, the enemy hung out a white flag, and requested a suspension of hostilities for a few hours, to prepare terms. In twenty-four hours every thing was settled: That on the 10th of August we were to be put in full possession, and the garrison, and such of the inhabitants as chose, were to be transported to Toulon, without being prisoners of war; provided no effectual succours were thrown in by the French. Thus is likely to end the attack of Corsica, the possession of which will I hope benefit our Country.—On the 8th of August, 1794, the Admiral made known the thanks

of both Houses of Parliament,<sup>p</sup> as commanded by his Majesty, to the respective officers, seamen, marines, and soldiers, who had been employed in the different operations, that had been successfully carried on against the enemy in Corsica.—During the Siege, and previous to our taking possession of Calvi on the 10th, according to the terms agreed on by General Stuart on the 1st of August, the Admiral had sent several despatches home, from some of which the following extracts are taken. In that dated August 5th, Lord Hood had paid the highest compliment and rendered the most essential service to Captain Nelson, by the opportunity that had been given him to tell his own story: “The Journal I herewith transmit from Captain Nelson, will shew the daily occurrences of the Siege. He had the command of the Seamen, and his unremitting zeal and exertion I cannot sufficiently describe, nor that of Captain Hallowell; they took it by turns to command in the advanced battery twenty-four hours at a time, and I flatter myself that both of them, as well as the other officers and seamen, will have full justice done them by the General; it is therefore unnecessary for me to say any more on the subject.”—Lord Hood then proceeded to mention with merited commendation, that able and valuable officer, Captain Serocold who had fallen during the Siege, and to notice the services of the Captains Wolseley, Hood, Sir

C. Hamilton, Sir Harry Burrard, Cunningham, Macnamara, and Robinson, Mr. Gibson of the Fox cutter, and Messrs. Harrison and Harrington.

On the 9th of August, when off Calvi, his Lordship in transmitting duplicates of the above despatches, had accompanied them with the following spirited remonstrance. "Sir, I sailed from Martello bay on the 7th, and got off here the next morning. In the evening, between eight and nine o'clock, a felucca was stopped coming out of Calvi, and was brought alongside the Victory; the coxswain of which having a pass from Lieutenant General Stuart, I have the honour to transmit a copy of it; which is all the information I have had of the Capitulation; the General not having made any communication to me respecting the articles; and, excepting a desire to know on the 2d instant at midnight, if I would allow transports to carry off the garrison, and such of the inhabitants as were desirous of leaving the island, I have not heard a word from him since the 29th of last month; when he came on board to announce the proposition of Casabianca, the French commandant, for a twenty-five days truce. No failure, however great, either of official or personal attention which I may experience, will ever make me depart from that duty I owe to my King and Country; and which has invariably been exerted to promote the good of his Majesty's service to the utmost

of my power upon all occasions, and I shall enable Lieutenant General Stuart to fulfil the articles of the Capitulation he has made: although I am well aware these are not times to complain, I must state facts.—I owe it to my character, to the service, as well as to the public, to whose tribunal I shall ever cheerfully submit my conduct.”

In a letter to Lord Hood of the same date, Captain Nelson gave the following liberal tribute of Praise to those Officers who had assisted him during the Siege. “ My Lord, Having transmitted my Journal of the Services in which the seamen have been engaged during the whole Siege, I have now only to acquaint your Lordship of the highly meritorious conduct of every officer and seaman landed under my command; to express my sincere acknowledgments for the very effectual support and assistance I have received from the ability, zeal, and activity of Captain Hallowell; and that Lieutenants Edmonds, Morgan, and Ferrier, were constantly with the seamen, fighting the batteries; to which were joined on the last batteries, Lieutenants Moutray, Hoy, and Suckling.”—Captain Nelson also mentioned the services of Lieutenant Harrison, a transport agent, and of Mr. William Harrington, master of the Willington and the transport’s men, who had all been eager either to serve on shore, or on board his Majesty’s ships. He returned on board his old ship the Agamemnon on



the 11th of August. In a letter to Mrs. Nelson, dated Aug. 18, he said, "As it is all past I may now tell you, that on the 10th of July a shot having hit our battery, the splinters and stones from it struck me with great violence in the face and breast. Although the blow was so severe as to occasion a great flow of blood from my head, yet I most fortunately escaped, having only my right eye nearly deprived of its sight; it was cut down, but is so far recovered, as for me to be able to distinguish light from darkness. As to all the purposes of use it is gone; however the blemish is nothing, not to be perceived unless told. The pupil is nearly the size of the blue part, I don't know the name. At Bastia, I got a sharp cut in the back. You must not think that my hurts confined me: no, nothing but the loss of a limb would have kept me from my Duty, and I believe my exertions conduced to preserve me in this general mortality. I am fearful that Mrs. Moutray's son, who was on shore with us, will fall a sacrifice to the climate; he is a lieutenant of the *Victory*, a very fine young man, for whom I have a great regard."

The fears which he expressed in this letter for Lieutenant Moutray, were too soon realised by his death. The following Inscription was drawn up by Nelson: "*Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant James Moutray, R. N. who, serving on shore at the Siege of Calvi, there caught a fever, of which he died, sincerely lamented, on August 19th, 1794,*

aged 21 years. *This Stone is erected by an affectionate Friend, who well knew his worth as an Officer, and his accomplished manners as a gentleman. H. N.*" In a letter, to Mrs. Nelson, dated Leghorn, Sept. 12, he added, I "expect to see you in the fall of the year; and although I shall not bring with me either riches or honours, yet I flatter myself I shall bring an unblemished Character. It always rejoices me to hear that you are comfortable, and that my friends are attentive to you. I hope we shall find some snug cottage, whenever we may be obliged to quit the parsonage. When Lord Hood leaves this station, I should be truly sorry to remain: he is the greatest Sea Officer I ever knew, and what can be said against him I cannot conceive—it must only be Envy, and it is better to be envied than pitied. But this comes from the Army, who have also poisoned some few of our minds. The taking of Bastia contrary to all military judgment, is such an attack on them that it is never to be forgiven."

(1794.) Soon after the date of the above letter, he received an order from Lord Hood, dated on board the Victory, Sept. 18, to proceed into the mole of Genoa, with despatches to Mr. Drake, and there to wait for further orders. On the 20th, he wrote as follows, from thence, to Mrs. Nelson. "This City is without exception the most magnificent I ever beheld, superior in many respects to Naples; although it does not appear

quite so fine from the sea, yet on shore it is far beyond it. All the houses are palaces on the grandest scale. However, I trust we shall soon quit these magnificent scenes and retire to England, where all that I admire is placed." Captain Nelson's reception, from the Doge, was far more flattering than he expected, after our capture of the *Modeste* frigate. In writing to Lord Hood on the 23d of September, he gave the following account of this visit. "On Sunday evening I waited on the Doge, and as Mr. Drake was not arrived, I found it absolutely necessary to say something civil. The Doge was much pleased, and very polite. I was received in some state, the Doge advancing to the middle of the room. I had the honour also of a *senato*. On my departure from the palace, the orders of the Doge had arrived before me at the gates; where the captain of the guard told me, he had received the mandate for opening them at whatever time I pleased."

The following letter from his Father could not fail to act as a powerful support on the enterprising mind of the Son. "My dear Horatio, It is well known that the predestinarian doctrine is amongst the creeds of military men—It may sometimes be useful; yet it must not exclude the confidence which Christianity preaches of a particular Providence, that directs all events. It was an unerring Power, wise and good, which diminished the force of the blow by which your

eye was lost; and we thank the hand that spared you for future good, for Example and Instruction in many subsequent years. There is no fear that flattery can come from me; but I sometimes wipe away the tear of joy, at hearing your Character in every point of view so well spoken of. Your lot is cast, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord, the very hairs of your head are numbered; a most comfortable doctrine. Accept, my dear good son, the usual but most hearty expressions of love and friendship from your affectionate Father, *Edmund Nelson.*”

The following letters to Mrs. Nelson continue an account of his proceedings: the first is dated the 3d of that month, off Gourjean. “Lord Hood is gone to Leghorn to receive his despatches by a messenger, who is arrived from England, and most probably we shall only see him to take leave. Admiral Hotham, will be Commander in Chief, and with new men, new measures are generally adopted; therefore I can at present say nothing about myself, except that I am in most perfect health. My ship’s company are by no means recovered, and we are destined to keep the sea, until both ship and crew are rendered unfit for service. Pray let me hear often from you, it is my greatest comfort.—I hope you will spend the winter cheerfully. The Wolterton family, (Lord Walpole) I am sure will be happy to receive you for as long a time as you please. Do not repine

at my absence; before Spring I hope we shall have peace, when we must look out for some little Cottage. I assure you I shall return to the plough with redoubled glee.—*October 15th.* Two of my opponents, whom I fell in with last year about this time, are now in England, or near it; the St. Fiorenzo, late la Minerve, and la Melpomene, both of 40 guns, 18 pounders, two as fine frigates as are in the world. I have been fortunate in being present at the taking and destroying of that whole Squadron, and which, but for our disabling them, intended to have returned to France; they are now better disposed of.”

On the 10th of November, when writing to Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Viceroy of Corsica, Captain Nelson communicated his ideas respecting the importance of securing Ajaccio against the enemy. “If they have an intention of getting a footing in Corsica, Ajaccio<sup>9</sup> is the place they will attempt; and, should they succeed, we shall find it difficult to drive them out again. I never was there, but it strikes me, they might succeed; for the Corsicans understand nothing of the art of defending fortified towns. You will, I am sure, receive what I am going to say, as it

<sup>9</sup> It was from this Town that Buonaparte and his family were banished in the year 1793. The mayor of Ajaccio, Tartaroli, who drew up their Sentence in very strong terms, is now in London. In 1794 Tartaroli was President of the criminal tribunal, and Director General of the Artillery in Corsica,

is meant, and will believe that all my wishes and desires are to see our Country successful, and the schemes of our enemies frustrated. I am well aware it may be said, and with truth, that we have not troops in the Island to defend any one place properly. I admit it; but in answer I reply, and am satisfied in my own mind it will turn out so, If the enemy make an attempt, some troops and artillery stationed at Ajaccio to keep the gates shut a few days, would render their schemes abortive; and if a Guardship were added, the seamen in case of necessity could go on shore to man the works: for if the enemy get Ajaccio, they may remain there with their whole fleet, or leave a single frigate, neither of which we could attack; for there are no soundings in the gulf, and the sea setting constantly in would make us keep at a distance. With this defence I am confident the place, and I believe I may say the island of Corsica, would be perfectly safe until our fleet could get to the enemy, when I have no doubt the event would be what every Briton might expect: besides we have the incitement, if any is wanted, of our home fleet, and we shall not like to be outdone by any one.

“ I have taken the liberty of mentioning these ideas respecting the importance of Ajaccio, only on the belief which I have, that your Excellency will receive it as a private communication. My situation does not entitle me to give any public opinion on such a point: as a private one I send

it, and shall be happy if it gives rise to a serious consideration of the importance of that place; when, I doubt not, much more proper modes of defence and security will be thought of, than I have suggested. But, however that may be, I am bold to say, none can exceed me in the earnest desire of faithfully serving my King and Country.”

In writing to Mrs. Nelson, he added, “The French say they will have Corsica again. There has been a most diabolical report here, of Agamemnon’s being captured and carried into Toulon, owing to my running into the harbour’s mouth. I hope it has not reached England. Never believe any thing you may see in the papers about us, and rest assured, that Agamemnon is not to be taken easily: no two decked ship in the world, we flatter ourselves, is able to do it. God bless you, and give us a happy meeting, prays your affectionate husband, *Horatio Nelson.*”

*Captain Nelson to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence.*—“Sir, Our transports, which had been detained at Toulon since the time they carried over the garrison of Calvi, arrived on the 22d. No reason was ever given for detaining them; but their sails were taken from them, and during their stay not a man was suffered to go on shore: they were however treated tolerably, until the arrival of Jean Bon St. Andrè; who, to the officer’s modest and proper requests, gave insolent answers, the true characteristic of little

minds: a generous enemy would have disdained the withholding medical assistance from the unfortunate, whom chance had put in their power. At eight o'clock in the evening of the 20th, their sails were sent alongside, and a message, that if they were not out of the harbour by twelve o'clock next day, they would keep them. The English, poor fellows, wanted no spur to clear them of such wretches; one transport that got aground they left behind, and she is not yet arrived. The enemy have fifteen sail of the line ready for sea, with which, they say, they mean to fight our fleet; and as Admiral Hotham sailed from Fiorenza on the 25th, to go off Toulon with thirteen sail of the line, they will have the opportunity. As to the event, I have no doubt it will be victory on the side of the English."

Anno  
Ætat. 37.

XII. The Rev. Edmund Nelson, at the beginning of 1795, as was his custom, sent a parental letter to his son; who, though at such a distance, had not forgot the poor of Burnham Thorpe. "Bath, new year's day, 1795. My dear Horatio, I have received your letter, with those contents which are expressive of a benevolent and truly christian heart; and I have endeavoured to distribute your Christmas gift in the best manner I could think of, chiefly in a little warm clothing to the widows and orphans, and very old men: blessed is the man who considereth the poor and needy. He



who has been marvellously your shield, will still I hope and pray be your protector. Before I see Burnham, I must shake hands with the Agamemnon's Captain, *Horatio Nelson*, whose friendship as well as affection I can rely upon. The prospect that Agamemnon would soon come into an English port, is for the present clouded; yet at a day not far distant it will again appear. Old ships and wearied men must be repaired. Your good wife, whose attention to me I cannot sufficiently praise, is here. Accept our new Year's gift, *Good Wishes*, the poor man's all. God bless you with prosperous events. Farewell! an affectionate father, Edmund Nelson."

(1795.) *To Mrs. Nelson, dated Fiorenzo, Jan. 17.*  
 "We have had nothing but gales of wind, but in Agamemnon we mind them not; she is the finest ship I ever sailed in, and, were she a 74, nothing should induce me to leave her whilst the war lasted; for not an hour this war will I, if possible, be out of active service. Much as I shall regret being so long parted from you, still we must look beyond the present day, and two or three months may make the difference of every comfort, or otherwise, in our income. I hope we have many happy years to live together, and if we can bring 2000*l.* round, I am determined to purchase some neat Cottage, which we should never have occasion to change. As to Josiah, I have no doubt but he will be a comfort to both of us; his understand-

ing is excellent, and his disposition really good: he is a Seaman every inch of him."

*To his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, dated Fiorenzo, Jan. 19.* "Sir, Our last cruise, from December 21, 1794, to January the 10th when we arrived in this port, was such a series of storms and heavy seas, as I never before experienced; the fleet was twelve days under storm stay-sails. Our ships, although short of complement, are remarkably healthy, as are the troops in this Island. There is already a difference to be perceived in the cultivation of the land since last year. Many hundred acres of pasture are now covered with wheat; and as the Corsicans will find a ready sale for their corn, wine, and oil (the two last articles the French suppressed as much as possible), every year will doubtless increase the growth. The fleet goes to sea on the 22d or 23d, thirteen sail of the line. The French have fifteen in the outer road of Toulon, and fifty sail of large transports ready at Marseilles; therefore it is certain they have some expedition just ready to take place, and I have no doubt but Porto Especia is their object. We expect soon to be joined by some Neapolitan ships and frigates: I have no idea we shall get much good from them; they are not seamen, and cannot keep the sea beyond a passage. I beg your Royal Highness to believe, that I ever am your most faithful servant."

*To Mrs. Nelson. Fiorenzo, January 31st.* It is with inexpressible pleasure I have received within these two days past your letters, with our father's of January 1st. I rejoice that my conduct gives you pleasure, and I trust I shall never do any thing which will bring a blush on your face, or on that of any of my friends. It is very true that I have ever served faithfully, and ever has it been my fate to be neglected; but that shall not make me inattentive to my Duty. I have pride in doing my Duty well, and a self approbation, which if it is not so lucrative, yet perhaps affords more pleasing sensations. I trust the time will come when I may be rewarded, though really I don't flatter myself it is near. Lord Hood told me that my loss of an eye should be represented to his Majesty, Lord Chatham carried my papers to the King; but now he is out, all hopes will be done away. My eye is grown worse, and is in almost total darkness and very painful at times. But never mind, I can see very well with the other.

“ I believe I shall inform Lord Hood, what I never told him yet, That after every thing was fixed for the attack of Bastia, I had information given me of the enormous number of troops we had to oppose us; but my own Honour, Lord Hood's Honour, and the Honour of our Country, must have all been sacrificed, had I mentioned what I knew. Therefore, you will believe, what must have been my feelings during the

whole Siege, when I had often proposals made to me by men, now rewarded, to write to Lord Hood to raise the Siege. Remember me kindly to our friends at Bristol. I also beg to present my best compliments at Wolterton."

(1795.) Captain Nelson, in another letter to his wife, enters very ably into the political, naval, and commercial advantages of the Island of Corsica. "*St. Fiorenzo, February 7th.* This day twelve months, my dear Fanny, our troops landed here to attempt the conquest of the Island, at least of those parts which the French were in possession of; and however lightly the acquisition of Corsica may be deemed by many in England, yet I take upon me to say, It was a measure founded on great wisdom; and during the war must be ever of the most essential service to us, and very detrimental to our enemies. After the evacuation of Toulon, we had no place whatever of our own for the fleet to anchor in. Tuscany was wavering, and, although since declared for us, yet we are not certain of her alliance from one day to another. The French consul at Leghorn, though not received officially, has never quitted that place, and we know that attempts have been made to get Tuscany again acknowledged by the French as a neutral power; in which case what security have we for our fleet, and the numerous victuallers and storeships attendant on it? Corsica has always supplied Toulon with all the straight timbers, beams, decks,

and sides for their ships; they are now deprived of that supply, which would have enabled them by this time to have built a small Fleet; and besides, the Corsican tar and hemp formed by no means an inconsiderable source for the dock-yards at Toulon. Moreover, all our trade with that of our allies, is obliged to make the coasts of this Island, the ports of which would have been so full of row gallies, that no commerce could have been carried on. Nor could our men of war have prevented the evil, for half the twenty-four hours is calm, when these vessels would take the merchant men, though the whole of the British Navy was in sight. So much for the value of Corsica, I have done; the recollection of one short year brings it to my mind. It was Lord Hood's plan, and it was accomplished chiefly by Seamen."

"Agamemnon at sea, *March 10, 1795.* We are just in sight of the French fleet, and a signal is out for a general chace. We have but little wind, and unfortunately the enemy are in shore of us; however, I hope the Admiral will allow us to go on, and if the French do not skulk under their batteries, I trust we shall give a good account of them. Whatever may be my fate, I have no doubt in my own mind but that my conduct will be such, as will not bring a blush on the face of my friends. *The lives of all are in the hands of Him, who knows best whether to preserve mine or not: to His will do I resign myself.*

My Character and good Name are in my own keeping. Life with disgrace is dreadful. A glorious Death is to be envied; and if any thing happens to me, recollect that Death is a debt we must all pay, and whether now, or a few years hence, can be but of little consequence. God bless you, and believe me ever your most faithful and affectionate husband."

(1795.) The following is an account of Admiral Hotham's subsequent Action in the Mediterranean, written by Captain Nelson, and beginning from the 8th of March.

"On Sunday, March 8, at five P. M. the *Mosselle* being near the *Gorgona*, and making the signal for a fleet to the westward, the Admiral made the one to unmoor, and to prepare to weigh after dark; and on the 9th, at five A. M. the signal was made to weigh, the wind blowing a fine breeze from the eastward: at eight o'clock every ship was without the *Melora*. The signal was then made for the *Inconstant* to look out W. S. W. *Meleager* N. W. and the *Tarleton*, 14 guns, to proceed to *St. Fiorenzo*, and order the *Berwick* to join the fleet. At four P. M. *Cape Corse* W. S. W. four or five leagues, little wind, the fleet hauled up to the N. W. At half past five, the *Meleager* made the signal for the enemy's fleet, eighteen sail, and at eight the Admiral

† From the Nelson papers, entitled, "Transactions on board his Majesty's ship *Agamemnon*, and of the fleet, as seen and known, by Captain Nelson."

made the signal that the enemy was supposed to be near. March 10th, at day-light the Tarleton joined, and gave information that a boat came off from Cape Corse, and told them that the Berwick had been 'taken on the 7th. About half past nine A.M. the signal was made for all the flag officers, and at ten the Moselle made the signal for a fleet, twenty-five sail, in the N. W. Signal for a general chase in that quarter. All day very light airs, in the evening a light breeze westerly. At half past five, P.M. the Moselle made the signal that the enemy were upon a wind on the star-board tack. At six, the signal was made to form in two divisions: stood to the northward until midnight, when the Admiral made the signal to form in the order of battle. March 11th, at day-light, nothing in sight; all day light airs, and variable, with a heavy swell from the S. W. In the afternoon saw a French brig to the westward, making signals; it was nearly calm all night, but at times the wind flew all round the compass.

“ March 12th, at day-light, we saw near us the Princess Royal, Fortitude, and Egmont. At the distance of four or five miles to the northward, the Captain, Illustrious, and Tancredi, a Neapolitan 74. To the E. S. E. were a number of ships with the foot of their topsails out of the water, and to the south a number of ships, their

\* By the French fleet.

hulls just rising out of the water. At six the Egmont made the signal for a strange fleet, and at the same time the Princess Royal made the signal for the enemy's fleet, south. We endeavoured to join the Princess Royal, which we accomplished at nine A. M. Light airs, southerly, the enemy's fleet nearing us very fast, our fleet nearly becalmed; at a quarter past nine, Admiral Goodall made the signal for the ships near to form ahead and astern of him, as most convenient. Admiral Hotham made the same signal, and the Egmont stood from us to join Admiral Hotham, our ships endeavouring to form a junction: the enemy pointing to separate us, but under a very easy sail; they did not appear to me to act as officers who knew any thing of their profession. At noon they began to form a line on the larboard tack, which they never accomplished, at two P. M. they bore down in a line ahead, nearly before the wind, but not more than nine sail formed. They then hauled the wind on the larboard tack, about three miles from us, the wind southerly, Genoa light-house N. N. E. about five leagues, saw the town very plain. At half past three P. M. joined Admiral Hotham, who made the signal to prepare for battle; the body of the enemy's fleet about three or four miles distant. At six minutes past four, the signal was made to form the order of battle on the larboard tack, and at half past four, for each ship to carry a light during the night, at sixteen minutes past five, for each ship



to take suitable stations for their mutual support, and to engage the enemy as they came up. Our fleet at this time was tolerably well formed, and with a fine easterly breeze; which, had it lasted half an hour, would certainly have led us through the enemy's fleet about four ships from the van ships that were separated from the centre about one mile. At three quarters past five the fleet hoisted their colours, and at dark, the wind came fresh from the westward. At fifty-five minutes past six, the signal was made to wear together; we had a fresh breeze all night, and stood to the southward, as did the enemy.

“ March 13th, at daylight, the enemy's fleet appeared in the S. W. distant about three or four leagues, with fresh breezes. Signal for a general chace. At eight A. M. a French ship of the line carried away her main and fore top-masts; at a quarter past nine the *Inconstant* frigate fired at the disabled ship, but receiving many shot, was obliged to leave her. At ten A. M. tacked, and stood towards the disabled ship, and two other ships of the line: the disabled ship proved to be the *Ca Ira* of 84 guns,<sup>†</sup> the two others were the *Sans Culottes*, 120 guns, and the *Jean Barras*, 74 guns. We could have fetched the *Sans Culottes* by passing the *Ca Ira* to windward, but, on look-

<sup>†</sup> Previously called the *Couronne*. French weight, 36, 24, 12 pounds; English, 42, 27, 14 pounds; 1300 men. This ship was, in 1796, accidentally burnt in *Fiorenzo Bay*.

ing round, I saw no ship of the line within several miles to support me; the Captain was the nearest on our lee quarter. I then determined to direct my attention to the *Ca Ira*, who at a quarter past ten was taken in tow by a frigate; the *Sans Culottes* and *Jean Barras* keeping about gunshot distance on her weather bow. At twenty minutes past ten the *Ca Ira* began firing her stern chaces; at half past ten the *Inconstant* passed us to leeward, standing for the fleet: As we drew up with the enemy, so true did the *Ca Ira* fire her stern guns, that not a shot missed some part of the ship, and latterly the masts were struck by every shot, which obliged me to open our fire a few minutes sooner than I wished; for it had been my intention to have touched her stern, before a shot was fired. But seeing plainly, from the situation of the two fleets, the impossibility of being supported, and, in case any accident happened to our masts, the certainty of being severely cut up, I resolved to fire as soon as I thought we had a certainty of hitting. Accordingly at a quarter before eleven A. M. being within one hundred yards of the *Ca Ira*'s stern, I ordered the helm to be put a starboard, and the driver and after-sails to be brailed up, and shivered; and, as the ship fell off, we gave her our whole broadside, each gun double shotted, and scarcely a shot appeared to miss. The instant all had been fired—braced up our after-yards, put the helm a-port, and stood after her again. This

manœuvre we practised until one P. M. never allowing the *Ca Ira* to get a single gun from either side to fire on us; they attempted some of their after guns, but all went far ahead of us: at this time the *Ca Ira* was a perfect wreck, her sails hanging in tatters, mizen top-mast, mizen top-sail, and cross-jack yards, shot away. At one P. M. the frigate hove in stays, and got the *Ca Ira* round. N. B. I observed the guns of the *Ca Ira* to be much elevated, doubtless laid so for our rigging, and for distant shots; and when she opened her fire in passing, the elevation not being altered, almost every shot passed over us, very few striking our hull. The captain of the *Ca Ira* told Admiral Goodall and myself afterwards, that we had killed and wounded 110 men, and had so cut his rigging to pieces, that it was impossible for him to get up other top-masts.

“As the frigate first, and then the *Ca Ira*, got their guns to bear, each opened her fire, and we passed within half-pistol shot. As soon as our after guns ceased to bear, the ship was hove in stays, keeping up as she came round a constant fire, and the ship was worked with as much exactness as if she had been turning into Spithead. On getting round I saw the *Sans Culottes*, who had before wore, with many of the enemy's ships, under our lee-bow; and standing to pass to leeward of us under top-gallant sails. At half past one P. M. the Admiral made the signal for the van ships to join him. I instantly bore away, and

prepared to set all our sails; but the enemy, having saved their ship, hauled close to the wind, and opened their fire so distant as to do us no harm, not a shot, I believe, hitting. Our sails and rigging were very much cut, and we had many shot in our hull, and between wind and water; but, wonderful to say, only seven men were wounded. The enemy, as they passed our nearest ships, opened their fire, yet not a shot, as I saw, reached any ship except the Captain, who had a few through her sails.—We were employed until evening in shifting our top-sails, and splicing our rigging; at dark we were in our station. The signal was then made for each ship to carry a light. What little wind we had was south-westerly all night—stood to the westward, as did the enemy.

(1795.) “March 14th, at daylight, we were taken aback with a fine breeze at N. W. which gave us the weather gage, whilst the enemy’s fleet kept the southerly wind. Saw the *Ca Ira*, and a line of battle ship who had her in tow, about three miles and a half from us, and the body of the enemy’s fleet about five miles distant. At a quarter past six A. M. the signal was made for the line of battle, S. E. and N. W; and at forty minutes past six, for the Captain and Bedford to attack the enemy. At seven A. M. signal for the Bedford to engage close—Bedford’s signal repeated for close action; at five minutes past seven, for the Captain to engage close, the Cap-

tain's and Bedford's signals repeated. At this time the shot from the enemy reached us, but from a great distance. At a quarter past seven, the signal was made for the fleet to come to the wind on the larboard tack; this signal threw us and the Princess Royal to leeward of the Illustrious, Courageux, and Britannia. At twenty minutes past seven the Britannia hailed, and ordered me to go to the assistance of the Captain and Bedford; made all sail, Captain lying like a log on the water, all her sails and rigging being shot away, Bedford on a wind on the larboard tack. At half past seven, the signal made to annul coming to the wind on the larboard tack; at thirty-five minutes past seven, signal for the Illustrious and Courageux to make more sail; forty minutes past seven, the same signal repeated; forty-two minutes past seven, Bedford to wear, and Courageux to get into her station. At this time I passed the Captain, hailed Admiral Goodall, and told him Admiral Hotham's orders, and desired to know if I should go ahead of him? Admiral Goodall desired me to keep close to his stern. The Illustrious and Courageux took their stations ahead of the Princess Royal, the Britannia placed herself astern of me, and the Tancredi lay on the Britannia's lee quarter. At eight A. M. the enemy began to pass our line to windward, and the Ca Ira and le Censeur were on our lee-side; therefore the Illustrious, Courageux, Princess Royal, and Agamemnon,

were obliged to fight on both sides of the ship. The enemy's fleet kept the southerly wind, and this enabled them to preserve their distance, which was very great. From eight to ten we continued engaging on both sides: about three quarters past eight, the *Illustrious* lost her main and mizen-masts, at a quarter past nine the *Courageux* lost her main and mizen-masts, at twenty five minutes past nine the *Ca Ira* lost all her masts, and fired very little, at ten *le Censeur* lost her main-mast. At five minutes past ten they both struck, and I sent Lieutenant George Andrews, as gallant an officer as ever stepped a quarter deck, to board them; who hoisted English colours, and carried their Captains, by order of Admiral Hotham, to Admiral Goodall on board the *Princess Royal*. By computation the *Ca Ira* is supposed to have about 350 killed and wounded<sup>u</sup> both days, and *le Censeur* about 250 killed and wounded. From the lightness of the air of wind, the fleets were a very long time in passing each other, and it was past one P. M. before all firing ceased; at which time the enemy crowded all possible sail to the westward, our ships lying with their heads to the south east and east. Our fleet had 1090 guns, and 7650 men; the French had 1174 guns, and 16,900 men."

<sup>u</sup> The numbers of killed and wounded in our Fleet were, 73 killed, 272 wounded; amongst the latter were Lieutenants Rathbone and Miles; and the Masters, Wilson, Blackburn, and Hawker.

In writing to Captain Locker from Porto Especia, March 21, the peculiar situation in which Admiral Hotham had been placed, is noticed by Nelson with his usual liberality. "You will have heard of our brush with the French fleet, a battle it cannot be called, as the enemy would not give us an opportunity of closing with them; if they had, I have no doubt, from the zeal and gallantry that was endeavoured to be shewn by each individual, we should have obtained a most glorious conquest. Admiral Hotham has had much to contend with: a fleet half manned, and in every respect inferior to the enemy: Italy calling him to her defence; our newly acquired kingdom (Corsica) crying out might and main; our reinforcements and convoy hourly expected; and all to be done with a force by no means adequate to these services. The French were sent out as to a certain conquest; their Orders were positive, To search out our fleet and to destroy us, of which they had no doubt, if we presumed to come to action with them; their troops were then to have been landed, and Corsica retaken. However, thank God, all is reversed. I firmly believe they never would have fought us, had not the *Ca Ira* lost her top-masts, which enabled Agamemnon and Inconstant to close in with her, and so to cut her up, that she could not get a top-mast aloft during the night, which caused our little brush the next day. Providence in a most miraculous manner preserved my poor brave fellows, who worked the ship in manœuvring about

the Frenchman's stern and quarters, with an astonishing exactness and coolness. The action never ceased for upwards of two hours."

Admiral Hotham's letter to the Admiralty has been repeatedly before the public, it was dated the 16th of March, and was published in the Gazette on the 16th of April. After a general commendation of the officers in his squadron, he concluded with saying, "It is an act of justice, to express the sense I entertain of the services of Captain J. Holloway of the *Britannia*. During a long friendship with that Officer, I have had repeated proofs of his personal and professional talents; and on this recent demand for experience and information, his zeal afforded me the most beneficial and satisfactory assistance."

(1795.) Captain Nelson was disappointed in his sanguine hopes of falling in with some of the enemy's crippled ships, that had not been able to gain their ports; and his zealous mind, irritated at their escape, thus in imagination fought the late action over again, with the command vested in himself. 'Fiorenzo, April 1.' I am absolutely, my dearest Fanny, at this moment in the horrors; fearing, from our idling here, that the active enemy may send out two or three sail of the line, and some frigates, to intercept our convoy which is momentarily expected. In short, I wish to be an Admiral, and in the command of the English fleet.



I should very soon either do much, or be ruined. My disposition cannot bear tame and slow measures. Sure I am, had I commanded our fleet on the 14th, that either the whole French fleet would have graced my triumph, or I should have been in a confounded scrape.—I went on board Admiral Hotham as soon as our firing grew slack in the van, and the *Ca Ira* and *Censeur* had struck, to propose to him leaving our two crippled ships, the two prizes, and four frigates, to themselves, and to pursue the enemy; but he, much cooler than myself, said, ‘We must be contented, we have done very well.’ Now, had we taken ten sail and had allowed the eleventh to escape, when it had been possible to have got at her, I could never have called it well done. Goodall backed me, I got him to write to the Admiral, but it would not do: we should have had such a day, as I believe the annals of England never produced. I verily think if the Admiral can get hold of them once more, and he does but get us close enough, that we shall have the whole fleet. Nothing can stop the courage of English Seamen.

“I may venture to tell you, but as a secret, that I have a Mistress given to me, no less a personage than the goddess *Bellona*; so say the French verses made on me, and in them I am so covered with laurels, that you would hardly find my sallow face. At one period I am *the dear Nelson*, *the amiable Nelson*, *the fiery Nelson*: however nonsensical these expressions are, they are better

than censure, and we are all subject and open to flattery. The French Admiral is to be tried, and some of the Captains are under arrest; it is reported that the Captain of the Sans Culottes has run away. The Toulonese will not allow the French fleet to enter their port, but make them remain in Hiercs Bay—telling them, ‘To get out and execute their former orders, or never to enter the ports of the republic.’ They were very much alarmed in Corsica at the appearance of the enemy’s fleet. So certain were the French of defeating us, that the mayor and all the municipality of Bastia were on board the Sans Culottes, to resume their stations.”

With his accustomed zeal to be foremost on all occasions, where the service of his Country required great exertion, Captain Nelson on the 16th of April wrote to Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Viceroy of Corsica; that if an attack should be made on that island, and Admiral Hotham should judge it most advisable to remain at anchor in the defence of it, and no other person should be thought of as preferable, he then begged leave to offer himself for the command of such Seamen, as might be landed.

On the 24th of April he again wrote to the Duke of Clarence, dated ‘Agamemnon at sea, off Cape Corse. Sir, I hope and believe, if we only get three sail from England, that we shall prevent this fleet of the enemy from doing further service in the Mediterranean, notwithstand-

ing the red hot shot and combustibles ; of which they have had a fair trial, and found them useless. They believed that we should give them no quarter ; and it was with some difficulty we found the combustibles, which are fixed in a skeleton like a carcass, they turn into liquid, and water will not extinguish it. They say the Convention sent them from Paris, but that they did not use any of them, only hot shot.”

XIII. The following letters to Mrs. Nelson give a retrospective detail of naval operations in the Mediterranean to the end of April. “ St. Fiorenzo, April 12. Rest assured, my dear Fanny, you are never absent from my thoughts.—If the folks will give me the Colonelcy of Marines, I shall be satisfied ; but I fear my interest is not equal to get it : although I will never allow that any man whatever has a claim superior to myself. We have just got the thanks of the Corsican Parliament and Viceroy, for our gallant and good conduct on the 13th and 14th day of March ; which they say, and truly, has saved them from an invasion. The Viceroy’s private letter to me has a very flattering compliment, that cannot but be pleasing to you : “ I certainly consider the business of the 13th of March, as a very capital feature in the late successful contest with the French fleet ; and the part which the Agamemnon had in it, must be felt by every person to be one of the circumstances that gave lustre to this event, and rendered it not only useful, but peculiarly

honourable to the British arms. I need not assure you of the pleasure with which I so constantly see your name foremost in every thing that is creditable and serviceable; nor of my sincere regard and affection.”—So far all hands agree in giving me those praises, which cannot but be comfortable to me to the last moment of my life. The time of my being left out here by Lord Hood, I may call well spent; had I been absent, how mortified should I now be. What has happened may never happen to any one again: that only one ship of the line out of fourteen, should get into action with the French fleet, and for so long a time as two hours and a half, and with such a ship as the *Ca Ira*. Had I been supported, I should certainly have brought the *Sans Culottes* to battle, a most glorious prospect! A brave man runs no more risk than a coward, and Agamemnon to a miracle has suffered scarcely any thing. My kindest remembrances to my Father.”

When writing to Captain Locker from Leghorn, May 4, he adds “I flatter myself, if the promotion of flags comes very low, I shall stand a fair chance for the Marines, if services in this war may be allowed a claim. One hundred and ten days I have been actually engaged at sea, and on shore, against the enemy. Three actions against ships; two against Bastia in my ship; four boat actions; and two villages taken, and twelve sail of vessels burnt. I do not know that

any one has done more. I have had the comfort to be always applauded by my Commanders in Chief, but never to be rewarded; and, what is more mortifying, for service in which I have been slightly wounded, others have been praised who at the time were actually in bed, far from the scene of action. But we shall, I hope, talk my opinion of men and measures over the fire next winter at Greenwich."

(1795.) *The Rev. Edmund Nelson to his Son, dated Bath, May 5.*—"I can now, my dear Horatio, address you in the language of our University, *Bene et optime fecisti*; and I do most heartily rejoice at your acquisition of a fresh never-fading laurel, obtained in a consciousness of having discharged the duties of your station, and by a religious sense of that overruling Providence, who maketh all things work together for good to those who love Him. It is said with confidence that Lord Hood will not go to the Mediterranean; having reached St. Helen's he is returned to Spithead. This is the news of the day. God bless you. Farewell."

The report which Mr. Nelson had heard respecting Lord Hood was correct. This experienced veteran had remonstrated with the Admiralty respecting the smallness of the reinforcement, which he was ordered to take out to the Mediterranean, feeling it his duty to do so, in consequence of the great responsibility annexed to his high situation in the service. The

thanks of both Houses were voted on the 10th, and 14th of April, to Admiral Hotham, and the officers, seamen, and marines, under his command. On the 8th of May the fleet sailed from Leghorn, and cruised in anxious expectation of the reinforcement from England.

On the 18th of June, Nelson wrote as follows to Captain Locker, whilst off Minorca: "We are now waiting here for the convoy's arrival from Gibraltar, and as the wind hangs easterly, it may be some time before they arrive. The French say, they will fight us again, provided we are not more than two or three ships superior. I can hardly believe they are such fools: pray God they may. There is nothing but squabbles at Toulon: one party is in possession of the great fort la Malgue; the Jacobins, of the arsenal and town. The fleet came to sea for two days, but is gone back, and has joined the Jacobins. The Austrians and Piedmontese are only waiting for our getting to the eastward, to take Vado Bay, which will be a fine anchorage for us. We have our wants and our wishes in the fleet, but upon the whole we are much more comfortable than the home fleet, and our people are very healthy. The scurvy is not known. From the little I have seen of Mr. Charnock's book,\* I

\* Mr. Charnock, who is lately dead, devoted the greater part of his life to naval literature; and amongst other works published that, to which Captain Nelson here alludes, in five volumes, consisting of *Naval Biography from 1660 to 1793*; and also a concise life of Lord Nelson.

think it a good thing, it will perpetuate the name of many a brave officer, whose services would otherwise have been forgotten."

(1795.) *Captain Nelson to Mrs. Nelson, dated St. Fiorenzo, July 1.*—"Our convoy having joined us on the 22d, we made sail for this port, and arrived all safe on the 29th, so far we are fortunate. The French fleet of seventeen sail of the line are out, but only to exercise their men, at least our good Admiral says so; however they may make a dash, and pick up something. We have *Zealous*, 74, and three ordnance ships expected daily from Gibraltar. I hope they will not look out for them. Two French frigates were for ten days very near us, as we are informed by neutral vessels. I requested the Admiral to let me go after them; but he would not part with a ship of the line. When the fleet bore away for this place he sent two small frigates, *Dido* and *Lowestoffe*, to look into Toulon; and the day after they parted from us, they fell in with the two frigates. It was a very handsome done thing in the Captains, who are *Towry* and *Middleton*, and much credit must be due to these officers, and their ships' companies. Thank God, the superiority of the British navy remains, and I hope ever will: I feel quite delighted at the event."

This was one of the most gallant engagements of that period. Admiral *Hotham's* official letter to the Admiralty, enclosing one from the senior officer, *Captain Towry*, is dated June 30th. The

late Captain Buckoll was first Lieutenant of the Dido. The following short account of this action was sent home in a letter by the late Captain George Clarke, who, as first Lieutenant of the Lowestoffe, considerably distinguished himself. "On the 24th of June, 1795, the Dido, a little eight and twenty, of nine pounders, and the Lowestoffe, a two and thirty, of twelve pounders, had to contend with the superior force of La Minerve, forty-two eighteen pounders, and L'Artemise, of thirty-six twelve pounders; each having on board 350 men. The Dido had 200, the Lowestoffe 220. Can you credit our having gained a complete victory, with such odds against us? and further, that the Lowestoffe had not a man hurt. The Dido had six men killed, and twenty-one wounded; she was the Commodore, and led on; the French Commodore ran aboard her, in consequence of which the Dido's mizen-mast was carried away; and, in this close engagement, the chief part of the men above mentioned were killed and wounded. At this juncture the Lowestoffe came up, and raked the Frenchman; the Dido still at him on the lee-bow. Away went Minerve's fore-mast, bowsprit, main top-mast, and mizen-mast. The other fellow, a most abominable coward, after fighting a little, sheered off, and the Lowestoffe made after him; but, owing to superior sailing, he unfortunately got away. In the mean time, the Dido, who had hauled off to repair damages, made our signal to return, so



Lowestoffe tacked, and stood again towards Minerve; when we favoured her so plentifully with shot, that 'she ordered the national flag to be struck, what three hearty cheers we gave!"

The little public notice, which his sanguine mind imagined had been taken of his arduous services at the sieges of Bastia and Calvi, weighed at this time considerably on his thoughts. That additional expense which voluntary offers to serve on shore had occasioned, certainly deserved some remuneration: during four months of hard service in that hot climate, all his ship furniture, owing to the movements of a camp, was totally lost. Accordingly, on the 8th of April, he addressed a letter to the Hon. W. Windham, then Secretary at War, in which Nelson said, "I have been waiting for Lord Hood's arrival in these seas, that his Lordship might have supported my application for an allowance, which I believe, from my present length of service on shore, will be considered as just." After recapitulating his various and fatiguing services at the sieges of Bastia and Calvi, he added, "I trust I do not ask an improper thing, when I request that the same allowance may be made to me, as would be made to a land officer of my rank; which, situated as I was, would be that of a Brigadier General, or else, my additional expences paid me. I have stated my case, Sir, plainly, and leave it to your wisdom to act in it, as is proper."—Not to interrupt the subsequent narrative, Mr. Windham's

answer is in this place subjoined, dated War-Office, the 21st of July, 1795. "Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th of last month, and to acquaint you, That no pay has ever been issued under the direction or to the knowledge of this office, to officers of the Navy serving with the Army on shore."

The zeal and patriotism of Nelson were, however, in the meantime, rewarded by a particular mark of his Sovereign's approbation, which he had long hoped for, rather than expected. This intelligence was immediately conveyed to him by his Father, who, in the summer of the preceding year, 1794, misled by the reports of the day, had then also written to congratulate his son on the same event. "My dear Horatio, I have this moment (on the King's birth-day) received full authority to say, that you are appointed one of the Colonels of Marines, vacated by the promotion to flags. God bless you with all the prosperity this pleasing and much wished for event can bring with it. It marks your public conduct as highly honourable, and worthy of the notice of your Country: it is the general voice that it was well and properly given. How eminently does such a situation appear above whatever is obtained by interest or bribery. Myself and your good wife are full of joy, and we often amuse ourselves in fixing on the cottage retirement, which you are looking forward to.

Lord Hood, you will find, is totally retired; yet I verily believe, he came forward as your friend in this business. All allow him judgment, as well as long experience in his profession. I have only to add, that so affectionate a Son merits all that a kind Father can bestow, his fervent prayers that God may long preserve him. Farewell, my dear son. Edmund Nelson."

This promotion of flag officers was dated June the 1st, and on the same day the alteration was made known in the Naval Uniform, which now distinguishes the rank of officers by epaulets, and other suitable insignia. Captain Nelson's appointment to the Marines was announced officially on the 6th of June, but his commission was dated on the 1st of that month; the whole being graciously intended by his Majesty, to give additional honour to the commemoration of Admiral Lord Howe's victory. The other Captains appointed to the Marines on this occasion, were the Hon. Thomas Pakenham, and the Hon. George Berkeley.

XIV. On July 4th, Admiral Hotham informed the Hon. J. Trevor our Minister at Turin, that in consequence of his Excellency's letter, and of a subsequent one from General de Vins who commanded the Austrian and Sardinian armies, to Mr. Brame our consul at Genoa, Captain Nelson had been despatched in the *Agamemnon*, with a Squadron of frigates, being an officer of approved abilities, that he might give every pos-

sible assistance to the prosecution of that General's operations against the enemy. The Admiral's despatches to the Board, contain an account of the unexpected return of Nelson's squadron, and the sudden appearance of the French fleet.

*Admiral Hotham to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Britannia at Sea, July 14, 1795.* "Sir, you will be pleased to inform their Lordships, that in consequence of General de Vins' letter of the 28th to Consul Brame, I thought it advisable to send a small Squadron of ships, as early as possible, to give countenance to the General's operations, although the reports as to his success were extremely various; and for that purpose I despatched on the 4th instant from St. Fiorenzo the ships named in the margin,<sup>1</sup> under the orders of Captain Nelson; whom I directed to call off Genoa for the Inconstant and Southampton frigates that were lying there, and to take them with him; if from the intelligence he might obtain, he should find it necessary.

"On the morning of the 7th, I was surprised to learn, that the above Squadron was seen in the offing, returning into St. Fiorenzo, pursued by the enemy's fleet; which by General de Vins' letter, the latest account I had received, I had reason to suppose was certainly in Toulon. Immediately, on the enemy's appearance, I made every preparation to put to sea after them; and notwithstanding the unpleasant predicament we

<sup>1</sup> Agamemnon, Melceger, Ariadne, Moselle, and Mutine cutter.

were in, most of the ships being in the midst of watering and refitting, I was yet enabled, by the zeal and extraordinary exertions of the officers and men, to get the whole of the fleet under weigh that night, as soon as the land wind permitted us to move; from which time we neither saw nor heard any thing of the enemy until the 12th: when, being to the eastward, and within sight of the Hieres Islands, two vessels were spoken with by Captain Hotham of the Cyclops, and Captain Boys of la Fleche, who acquainted them that they had seen the French fleet not many hours before, to the southward of those islands. Upon which information I made the signal before night to prepare for battle, as an indication to our fleet that the enemy was near. Yesterday at daybreak we discovered them to the leeward of us, on the larboard tack, consisting of twenty-three sail, seventeen of which proved to be of the line: the wind at this time blew very hard from the W. N. W. attended with a heavy swell, and six of our ships had to bend main top-sails, in the room of those that were split by the gale in the course of the night.

“ I caused the fleet, however, to be formed with the utmost expedition on the larboard line of bearing, carrying all sail possible to preserve that order, and to keep the wind of the enemy; in the hopes of cutting them off from the land, from which we were only five leagues distant. At eight o'clock, finding they had no other view

but that of endeavouring to get from us, I made the signal for a general chace, and for the ships to take suitable stations for their mutual support, and to engage the enemy, as arriving up with them in succession. But the baffling winds and vexatious calms, that render every naval operation in this country doubtful, soon afterwards took place, and allowed a few only of our van ships to get up with the enemy's rear about noon; which they attacked so warmly, that in the course of an hour after, we had the satisfaction to find one of their sternmost ships, viz. l'Alcide, of 74 guns, had struck. The rest of their fleet, favoured by a shift of wind to the eastward, that placed them now to windward of us, had got so far into Frejus Bay, whilst the major part of ours was becalmed in the offing, that it became impossible for any thing further to be effected; and those of our ships which were engaged had approached so near the shore, that I judged it proper to call them off by signal.'

The whole of this letter having been repeatedly before the public, it is only necessary to add, that l'Alcide having caught fire in her fore-top, before she was taken possession of, blew up with a most awful explosion; and although the boats of the fleet were immediately despatched to save the crew, it was conjectured that between three and four hundred of them perished. On board our different ships that were engaged, ten were killed, and twenty-four wounded. Captain

Nelson in a <sup>9</sup> letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, dated July 15, 1795, gave a further description of what had passed.

*Captain Nelson to Earl Spencer.*—“ My Lord: I have seen in the newspapers that I am made one of the Colonels of Marines; an appointment certainly most flattering to me, as it marks to the world an approbation of my conduct. To your Lordship I beg leave to express my gratification, more especially, as by a letter to Lord Hood, you declared your intention to represent my Services in the most favourable point of view to the King; for which I beg leave to return my most sincere thanks. In the same letter your Lordship observed, that the doubts which had arisen, respecting the damage my eye had sustained at the siege of Calvi, made it impossible to say whether it was such as amounted to the loss of a limb. I have only to tell your Lordship, that a privation of sight for every common occasion in life, is the consequence of the loss of part of the crystal of my right eye. As I mean not to press on your Lordship the propriety of considering my loss, I shall conclude by assuring you, that my endeavours shall never be wanting to merit a continuance of your good opinion, and that I shall ever consider myself your Lordship's most obliged humble servant. P. S. Being appointed with a small Squadron of frigates to

cooperate with the Austrian General de Vins, I cannot allow my letter to go, without saying, that General de Vins appears to be an officer who perfectly knows his duty, and is well disposed to act with vigour on every proper occasion. The enemy are throwing up strong works near Albinga; but before three days are past, I expect the army will be to the westward of them."

Captain Nelson had, however, very soon reason to change his opinion of this General, as appears by subsequent letters; when in consequence of his inactivity in the neighbourhood of Vado, the zealous commander of the *Agamemnon* waited on him, and offered to embark the whole or any part of the Austrian army, and transport it to the rear of the French, or to any spot to the westward of their army, which the General might think most advisable. It was probably in consequence of the great errors which Nelson observed in the conduct of de Vins, and the advantages which the former perceived any army would possess in harassing an enemy, by being thus transported from one situation to another, that he afterwards so repeatedly urged the necessity, of having a considerable number of empty transports in the Mediterranean, for that especial service.

Anno  
Ætat. 37. XV. The following letter to Mr. Drake, is the beginning of a diplomatic Correspondence with that minister, which Nelson



continued to the very last. Mr. Drake soon perceived the extraordinary ability, and as it were intuitive knowledge of the politics of Europe, which appeared in these valuable communications; and in consequence was one of the first persons, who through Lord Grenville's recommendation recommended Captain Nelson to the particular notice of government.

(1795.) *Captain Nelson to Mr. Drake, dated Agamemnon, Genoa Mole, July 18.*—“From the conversation, Sir, which I had the honour to hold with your Excellency yesterday evening, it appeared to you, as I own it does to myself, that the great use of the cooperation between his Majesty's squadron under my command, and the allied army under General de Vins, is to put an entire stop to all trade between Genoa, France, and the places occupied by the armies of France; and unless this trade is stopped, it was the opinion of your Excellency, that it would be almost impossible for the allied army to hold their situation, and much less possible for them to make any progress in driving the French out of the Riviera of Genoa. By the paper you gave me to read, it also appears, that probably Nice itself might fall for want of a supply of provisions, forage, and ammunition, coming from Genoa.

“I have the honour to transmit you a copy of Admiral Hotham's orders to me, on my coming

† A Nobleman to whom the Nelson family feel themselves particularly indebted.

upon this service; as also, a copy of an order dated June 17th, off Minorca, which, from the impossibility of being complied with in this country, amounts to a prohibition of those orders that had been given in England. I have therefore to request, that your Excellency will write to Admiral Hotham, on the subject of the absolute necessity of stopping all the trade, that may pass between Genoa, France, and the places that are occupied by the armies of France, and that Vintimiglia must be considered as under that description; for if a Genoese vessel may pass with impunity to that place, nothing can prevent their going to Nice, and every French port to the westward of it.

“However, Sir, so sensible am I of the necessity of vigorous measures, that if your Excellency will assure me it would be for the benefit of his Majesty’s service, and for good reasons, that I should stop all trade between the neutral powers and France, and the places occupied by the armies of France; I will give proper directions to the squadron under my command for that purpose, and the vessels and their cargoes shall lie in Vado Bay, until I can receive my Commander in chief’s directions about them; or, if your Excellency thought it proper to send an express to England, until that answer could return. . . .”

(1795.) *Captain Nelson to Admiral Hotham, dated Agamemnon, Vado Bay, July 22.*—“I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that I arrived at

Genoa on the evening of the 17th, and found there two French frigates, *la Vestale* of 32 guns, *la Brune* of 26 guns, and two brigs, the *Scout* and *Alert*. I sailed with Mr. Drake from Genoa at daylight on the 20th, and arrived here yesterday morning, where I found Mr. Trevor waiting for Mr. Drake. I have had a conference with the Austrian General de Vins, who seemed extremely glad to see us. At present I do not perceive any immediate prospect of their getting on to the westward, it appearing to be the General's opinion, that the enemy must be reduced in their provisions, before the Austrians can make advances; and that for the present famine is to do more than the sword. You will see, Sir, by my correspondence with Mr. Drake, the necessity I felt myself under to give the orders of which I have the honour to enclose you a copy, together with my correspondence, and I flatter myself you will approve what I have done.

“I sail this evening with Mr. Drake, and Mr. Trevor,<sup>a</sup> for Genoa, at which place it is not my present intention to anchor, but to return here with all expedition. The *Meleager*, Captain Cockburn, brought in yesterday a valuable prize:<sup>c</sup> I have no doubt that her cargo is French property; the gold, silver, and jewels, which were found in the cabin, are on board the *Agamemnon*, but things of much more consequence,

<sup>a</sup> His Majesty's Minister at Turin.

<sup>c</sup> Called *Nostra Signora de Belvedere*.

I understand, are in the hold; indeed I cannot guess at the value<sup>a</sup> of the cargo. In respect to Vado Bay, had it not been called a Bay, I should never have named it one; it is a bend in the land, and since I have been here by no means good landing. The water is deep, good clay bottom, and plenty of fresh water; open from E. to S. To the east the land is at a great distance; but I think a fleet may ride here for a short time in the summer months."

(1795.) On the 24th of July, Captain Nelson thus expressed himself without reserve, in a letter from off Vado Bay to his wife. "What changes in my life of activity! Here I am, having commenced a cooperation with an old Austrian General, almost fancying myself charging at the head of a troop of horse. Nothing will be wanting on my part towards the success of the common cause. I have eight sail of frigates under my command; the service I have to perform is important, and, as I informed you a few days ago from Genoa, I am acting not only without the orders of my Commander in chief, but in some measure contrary to them. However, I have not only the support of his Majesty's Ministers, both at Turin and Genoa, but a consciousness that I am doing what is right and proper for the service of our King and Country:

<sup>a</sup> In another letter he stated, that report had valued her at 160,000*l.* when she left France.

political courage in an officer abroad is as highly necessary as military courage. To you I may add, that my Character stands high with almost all Europe, even the Austrians knew my name perfectly. When I get through this Campaign, I think myself I ought to rest. I hope to God the war will be over, and that I may return to you in peace and quietness. A little farm and my good name, form all my wants and wishes."

Amongst the Squadron of frigates, which Captain Nelson mentions in the above letter as being under his command, was the *Inconstant*, Captain T. F. Fremantle, an officer particularly esteemed by Nelson, and who afterwards became associated with him in the greater part of his subsequent achievements.

(1795.) On the 24th of July, on having landed Mr. Drake and Mr. Trevor at Genoa, the *Agamemnon* kept throughout the whole night towards *Vado Bay*; and the next morning was driven by a very heavy gale from the S. W. into *Leghorn Roads*. In writing to Admiral Hotham on the 28th, he said, "There are several vessels here laden with corn for France, some of them under passports from the Dey of Algiers; however they must be stopped, if met with by the squadron under my orders, and the Ministers of Genoa, and Turin, would be solely answerable for what may be the result. But, Sir, the whole of the necessity of stopping all the vessels, is comprised in a very few words, that if we do not

stop supplies of corn, &c. going to France, the armies will return whence they came; and the failure of this Campaign, from which so much is expected, will be attributed to our want of energy: for the only use of the naval cooperation is in preventing any supply of provisions. But I pray God the war may be finished."

Thus did the discerning mind of Nelson, from that patriotic impulse which it invariably possessed, venture to point out the insufficiency of the orders he had received, and to open the eyes of his government to those injuries which the general cause sustained by the frauds of neutral vessels. It appears to have been his opinion, that had Lord Hood remained in the Mediterranean, a favourable opportunity then offered to have regained Toulon; for in a letter to his wife, dated Vado Bay, *August 2d*, after mentioning that idea, he added, "At the time we got possession of it before, the royalists were by no means so strong at Toulon as they are at this moment."—The subsequent part of this letter relates to his private character, and displays that uniform filial affection, which must have drawn down a blessing on all his undertakings: "I have been very negligent, Fanny, in writing to my Father; but, I rest assured, he knows I would have done it long ago had you not been under the same roof. At present I do not write less than from ten to twenty letters every day; which with the Austrian General and aid de camps, and

my own little squadron, fully employ my time: this I like, active service, or none. Pray draw for 200*l.* my Father and myself can settle our accounts when we meet; at present, I believe, I am the richer man, therefore I desire you will give my dear Father that money.”

(1795.) On the same day, Aug. 2, he detached the *Meleager*, Captain G. Cockburn,\* and the *Southampton*, off Cape del Mele, in order to ascertain, whether, according to information received from the General, vessels laden with corn did not clear out for Barcelona, although actually bound for Marseilles: should it appear that they were actually bound for Spain, Captain Cockburn was directed to send them into Vado Bay, that they might be provided with convoy; the French squadron being hourly expected from Genoa.— In a letter to Mr. Drake on the 6th, he described the manner in which his Cruisers had been stationed, and marked the difference with which the English and French squadrons had regarded the neutrality of Genoa. “The disposition and

\* This excellent officer, and intimate friend of Nelson, had sailed from England at the beginning of the French war, as Lieutenant in the *Britannia*, and was removed into the *Victory* on the first vacancy that took place in that ship. He was made Captain of the *Speedy* sloop in October, 1793, by Lord Hood, and was by his Lordship appointed acting Captain of the *Inconstant* in January, 1794, and Captain of the *Meleager*, in the following month, which was confirmed by the Admiralty. He lately commanded the *Pompée* in the West Indies.

acts of my cruisers will soon prove incontestibly that Genoa is not blockaded, as all vessels will arrive in perfect security which are not French, or laden with French property. Cruisers off Cape Corse, or the straits of Bonifaccio, would not stop the trade so well as where I have placed them; were I to remove those ships on the Especia side of the gulf, nothing could prevent the escape of the French Squadron, and any convoy they might choose to carry with them. It ever has been customary to endeavour to intercept enemy's vessels coming from neutral ports, and the cruisers off Port Especia are very little nearer Genoa than Leghorn, and are at the utmost extremity of the Genoese territory; for I have been most careful to give no offence to the Genoese territory, or flag. I am almost blind, and it is with very great pain I write this letter."

(1795.) *Sir Gilbert Elliot, Viceroy of Corsica, to Captain Nelson, August 7.*—"Give me leave my dear Sir, to congratulate you; on the Agamemnon's supporting uniformly, on every occasion, the same reputation which has always distinguished that ship since I have been in the Mediterranean. I know that it was not Agamemnon's fault, if more was not done on the late cruise. It gives me great pleasure also to see you employed in your present important service, which requires zeal, activity, and a spirit of accommodation and cooperation, qualities which will not



be wanting in the commodore of your squadron. I consider the business you are about, the expulsion of the enemy from the Genoese and Piedmontese territories, as the most important feature in the Southern Campaign. I am lately returned from a six weeks tour through the Island, which afforded me the highest satisfaction, both from the improvable nature of the country, and from the general spirit of loyalty and attachment to the King's country, which manifested itself wherever I went. I may tell you in confidence, that Paoli has been endeavouring to stir up mischief, during my absence, in this part of the Island; and by lies, and inventions, some disturbance has been created in the districts adjoining to his own residence. But by perfect firmness and proper temper, these attempts to disturb us are sure of ending in the disgrace of their authors, as in truth this one has already nearly done. It seems that Paoli is not great enough to reconcile himself to the station of a private man, and that he still hankers after the Crown which he gave to the King, at a time, indeed, when he could no longer keep it for himself."

Captain Nelson, in his answer from Vado Bay, on the 18th, said, "If my health and eyes, my dear Sir, which are now almost worn out, can allow, I will endeavour to tell you what occurrences have taken place. Corsica is never from my thoughts. I have received letters from good Lord Hood: However wrong he might have

been in writing so strongly, and as he allows he has, to the Admiralty, the Nation has suffered much by his not returning to the Mediterranean; for an abler head, or heart more devoted to the service of his country, is not readily to be met with: and when I think what Lord Bridport did under Port L'Orient,<sup>b</sup> on the 23d of June last, I cannot but sigh.

“ Respecting our movements here, they are very slow. General de Vins has been long expected, but I fear in vain. He says, he has flattered and abused the Piedmontese and Neapolitans, yet nothing will induce them to act. A plan is now concerted between the General and myself, to embark, if these people will not act, five or six thousand men, and to make a landing between St. Remo, and Vintimiglia. . . I am truly concerned that Paoli should be troublesome; I had heard it, but could not give credit to such an apparent absurd conduct on his part. I fully trust, and believe, that your Excellency's mild and equitable administration will leave the good Corsicans little to hope, or fear, from Paoli and his adherents. Poor Agamemnon is as nearly worn out as her Captain, we must both soon be laid up to repair. The Marines has been given to me in the handsomest manner: the answer

\* A most gallant action that was never properly noticed by his Country. *Le Tigre*, 80 guns, *Le Formidable*, and *L'Alexandre*, 74 guns each, were taken.

returned to many was, *The King knows of no officer who has a better claim than Captain Nelson.*"

(1795.) When writing to Captain Locker, from Vado Bay, on the 19th of August, he again referred to Lord Bridport's gallant action: "I hope Lord Bridport's success, and the appearance of the emigrants landed in Brittany, will bring this war to a happy conclusion. My command here of thirteen sail of frigates and sloops is not altogether unpleasant. As I had been so much in the habit of soldiering this war, the moment it became known that the Austrian army was coming, it was fixed *that the Brigadier must go.* Hitherto I have succeeded in all my attempts, and I trust I shall not fail in our present undertaking. Nothing shall be wanting on our part, as far as my force goes. The Mediterranean command includes such a variety of duty, when compared to any other station, that it requires a man of business."<sup>1</sup>

The Treaty which the French had concluded with Spain, was dated July 22, 1795, in which the Republic of the United Provinces, as being the allies of France, were included: she also detached Tuscany, and Prussia, and, soon after

<sup>1</sup> An extensive correspondence with foreign states, and the peculiar situation of Italy at that period, rendered the command in the Mediterranean more adapted to an experienced diplomatic officer, than to a skilful and brave Seaman, which Admiral Hotham had shewn himself to be in a variety of instances.

the above date, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, from their alliance with Great Britain.

On the 26th of August, 1795, the active mind of Nelson was directed against some vessels of the enemy, in the bay of Alassio and Languelia, at that time in possession of the French army, and serving as their principal rendezvous for transports and store ships. There was but a very feeble resistance from some of the enemy's cavalry, who fired on our boats when boarding the vessels near the shore; "but," added Captain Nelson in writing to Admiral Hotham, "I have the pleasure to say no man was killed or wounded. The enemy had 2000 horse and foot soldiers in the town, which prevented my landing and destroying their magazines of provisions and ammunition. I sent Captain Fremantle of the *Inconstant*, with the *Tartar*, to Languelia, a town on the western side of the bay of Alassio, where he executed my orders in a most officer-like manner; and I am indebted to every Captain and officer in the squadron for their activity; but most particularly so to Lieutenant George Andrews, first lieutenant of the *Agamemnon*, who, by his spirited and officer-like conduct, saved the French corvette from going on shore." —Admiral Hotham, in addition to the thanks which he conveyed to Captain Nelson and his officers, on Sept. 1, subjoined the following liberal commendation of the former, when he sent his despatches to the Admiralty, "*His officer-*

*like conduct upon this, and, indeed, upon every occasion where his services are called forth, reflects upon him the highest credit."*

This enterprise was soon succeeded by another during the night of *August 29*, under the conduct of Lieutenants G. Andrews and Spicer, which did not terminate quite so successfully. It is detailed in the following official account that was sent to Admiral Botham, dated Vado Bay, August 30, 1795. "Sir: Having received information that a ship laden with provisions was arrived at Oneglia, I yesterday afternoon manned the two small gallies, taken on the 26th, with forty-four officers and men from the *Agamemnon*, and ten men belonging to the *Southampton*, under the command of Lieutenant George Andrews, and Lieutenant Peter Spicer of the *Agamemnon*; and ordered Lieutenant Andrews to proceed to Oneglia, and to endeavour to take the said ship. On his passage down, about nine o'clock at night, he fell in with three large vessels with lateen sails, which he engaged at ten o'clock. One of these was carried by boarding, but the men belonging to her, retiring to the others, cut her adrift, the three vessels being made fast together. At half past ten the attack on the other two was renewed with the greatest spirit; but the number of men on board was too great, united with the height of their vessels, for our force; and my gallant officers and men, after a long contest, were obliged to retreat. It

is with the greatest pain I have to render so long a list of killed and wounded. The spirited and officer-like conduct of Lieutenants Andrews and Spicer, I cannot sufficiently applaud;<sup>2</sup> and every praise is due to each individual for their exemplary bravery and good conduct. The vessels had no colours hoisted, but a Greek flag has been found on board the prize.”

(1795.) On the first of September, he sent from Vado Bay the following account of what had passed, with some additional information, to Mrs. Nelson:—“We have made a small Expedition with the squadron, and taken a French corvette and some other vessels, in which affair I lost no men; but since, I have not been so successful. I detached Mr. Andrews to cut off a ship from Oneglia: On his passage, he fell in with three Turkish vessels, as it has since turned out, who killed and wounded 17 of my poor fellows. Seven are already dead, and more must be lost by the badness of their wounds; and I am sorry to add, that the Turks got into Genoa, with six millions of hard cash: however, *they who play at bowls must expect rubbers*, and the worse success now, the better, I hope, another time. Our fleet is still at Leghorn. Collingwood I hear is arrived in the *Excellent*, 74, with the convoy from England. I am almost afraid, that the Campaign in this country will end in a very different manner

<sup>2</sup> These Lieutenants particularly distinguished themselves.

from what might have been expected; but I will do my best until it finishes."

On Sept. 15, 1795, whilst in Vado Bay, he sent to Mrs. Nelson his real sentiments on the proceedings of the Austrian army. "I am not, Fanny, quite so well pleased as I expected with this Army, which is slow beyond all description; and I begin to think, that the Emperor is anxious to touch another four millions of English money. As for the German Generals, war is their trade, and peace is ruin to them; therefore we cannot expect that they should have any wish to finish the war. I have just made some propositions to the Austrian General to spur him on, which I believe he would have been full as well pleased had I omitted: in short, I can hardly think he means to go any farther this winter. I am now under sail on my way to Genoa, to consult with our minister on the inactivity of the Austrians; and he must take some step to urge these people forward."

(1795.) The following letter to Mr. Drake, Sept. 18, was written in consequence of a complaint from the Genoese Government to that minister. Captain Nelson, with his usual firmness and judgment, maintains the rights of British ships of war in entering Neutral Ports. "The occasion of the Inconstant being fired upon, as reported to the officer commanding the *Agamemnon* in my absence by the Captain of the port, is as follows. When I came in, I was

told that no other ship of war could enter the port; to which I replied, *None other was coming in.* The first gun fired on the Inconstant was only loaded with powder; but as she still advanced, the other was fired with shot ahead of her; when a request was sent, *that I would make a signal for the ships not to enter the port.* The Inconstant wanted to have communication with me, therefore stood round the Agamemnon: this can hardly be called coming into port, at least we do not understand it so. These are the facts as stated to me, and I should like to know one thing, on which must hinge the propriety or impropriety of the conduct of the Republic. *Would not the Republic, in any situation of danger whatever, admit more than five ships inside the mole heads?* If they answer No, I have but little to say: but if they answer Yes; how could they tell, that the Inconstant was not obliged from some cause or other to make for a port? No inquiries were made; and the first notice was a shot, to say, *Whatever may be your distress, you shall not enter here, nor find protection in Genoa Mole.* Much more might be added, but I am sure, Sir, you will do what is right. If I were to give chase to a French ship of war, and she went into Genoa Mole at a time when there were more than five ships in the mole, and they did not fire and turn her out, I would instantly attack her on their own reasoning, *We will protect five, and no more."*



In a letter to Sir Gilbert Elliot\* about the same time, he added, "If the Admiral could give me one 74, I verily believe we should even yet gain possession of Nice. Mr Drake perhaps has told you how we were obliged to manœuvre about the General: but the politics of Courts, my dear Sir, are I perceive so mean, that private people would be ashamed to act in the same way; all is trick and finesse to which the Common Cause is sacrificed. The General wants a loophole, and I hope he will not have one; he shall not if I can help it, for I want Ville Franche for a good anchorage this winter. From what motive I know not, I hope from a good one, but the General sent orders to attack the enemy's strongest post, St. Espirito, and after an attack of ten hours it was carried. The General seems pleased, and says if he can carry another, the Enemy must retire, which would give us the country as far as Oneglia: Then comes a fresh objection, which I am preparing against. He will say, "I cannot hold an extent of sea coast of forty miles: I must give up Vado, for the enemy at Oneglia are on my left flank, and the Piedmontese will not attack them."—Time and opportunity however may do much. Mr. Drake has just received his appointment to land at the head quarters of the Austrian army, and I rejoice at it. The loss of the Austrians in the last attack,

\* Lord Minto's Collection.

was one thousand killed and wounded. It gives me pain to hear such bad accounts of the behaviour of many of the Corsicans; what they can be at, is impossible for me to guess, unless French gold has found its way amongst some of their chiefs. But I hope they will yet be quiet, and be no longer troublesome to your administration, which has done so much for them."

On *the 21st*, he wrote to his father and Mrs. Nelson, and thus frankly stated his opinion respecting the co-operation of the Austrians. "I have been, in concert with his Majesty's minister, very hard at work in pushing the Austrian General forward; and yesterday morning got them to make an attack, that has been successful, and they have carried the centre post, on the ridge of mountains occupied by the French troops. The action lasted ten hours, and if the General will carry one other point, we shall gain thirty-three miles of country. Another plan is in agitation; which, if the Admiral will give me transports to carry a certain number of troops, will astonish the French, and perhaps the English. The General, if he can be brought to move, is an Officer of great abilities; but the politics of his Court so constantly tie his hands, that he cannot always do what he thinks proper. However, if the Army does not move, our minister who is fixed at head quarters, will endeavour to withhold the remainder of the Emperor's loan, say gift: this is an all-powerful motive

with a German court, and for which the lives of their subjects are held in no estimation. I am become a politician, almost fit to enter the diplomatic line. *Sept. 24.* I am just arrived at Leghorn; and have received a most honourable testimony of my conduct, which has been transmitted from the Austrian General to our minister. It has not indeed been in my power to perform much, but I have done all I could to serve the Cause."

The preceding opinion which he had expressed, respecting the conduct of the Austrians, was confirmed by Mr. Drake, in a letter to Admiral Hotham, *Sept. 22, 1795*; and that minister at the same time mentioned the high estimation which de Vins and the Austrian Generals entertained of the abilities of the Captain of the *Agamemnon*. "Understanding that Captain Nelson has already informed your Excellency of every thing which has passed of late between him, General de Vins, and myself, I forbear troubling you with a repetition of those circumstances. I confess, that I do not believe General de Vins is seriously inclined to undertake the expedition in question; but your Excellency may nevertheless think it necessary to act precisely, as if there were no doubt of the sincerity of the General's professions. Whatever may be the event, we certainly must all be desirous of avoiding even the shadow of an imputation, that a failure of the Campaign in

Italy should be attributed to a want of exertion on our part.—I cannot in justice to the abilities, judgment, and activity of Captain Nelson, omit mentioning the very high estimation in which that officer is held by General de Vins, and the other Austrian General Officers; and I have thought it my duty to transmit to his Majesty's Ministers at home, the handsome testimony which our Allies bear to the zeal and good conduct of this Officer, whom you selected to command the Squadron cooperating with them."

The various and important services which Captain Nelson<sup>b</sup> performed with his little Squadron, formed a striking contrast with the slow and unprofitable operations of the powerful Austrian army, that was to have acted with him. The former employed his force to the very utmost of its ability, and constantly detached his frigates so that each could best furnish its respective assistance, to promote the general object in view.—On the 2d of October, he directed Captain Cockburn, in the *Meleager*, to run along shore as far to the westward as Cape Garoupe, and thence to stand over as near Corsica, as from winds, weather, and information, he might judge necessary for intercepting supplies going to St. Remo; on which station he

<sup>b</sup> Captain Nelson did not obtain a Commodore's pendant until the arrival of Sir John Jervis; when the former received what is termed a ten Shilling pendant, and afterwards a broad pendant, with a Captain under him.

was to continue for eight or ten days. The active mind of Nelson was also employed in devising some stratagem, that might induce the French squadron to sail from Genoa: they however eluded his design, which he noticed in writing to Mrs. Nelson, from Vado Bay, Oct. 5. "As soon as the French Squadron knew of my absence, they made a push, and I fear are all got off. Two of our frigates were seen firing at them; but I have not much expectation of their success. It was a near touch, for I came back the next morning, after they had sailed on the preceding evening. I am vexed and disappointed. I must submit, and hope for better luck another time; yet a squadron of French Ships would have so graced my triumph. In the opinion of the Genoese my squadron is constantly offending; so that it almost appears a trial between us who shall first be tired, they of complaining, or me of answering them. However, my mind is fixed, and nothing they can say will make me alter my conduct towards them.—I have just received a very affectionate letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, and he appears to remember our long acquaintance with much satisfaction: one of his expressions is, *I never part with a letter of yours, they are to me highly valuable.* He finds me unalterable, which I fancy he has not always done in those he has honoured with a preference."

*Captain Nelson to Mr. Drake, dated Agamemnon,  
Vado Bay, Nov. 12.*

(1795.) "My dear Sir, I had yesterday morning a letter from General de Vins, informing me that the Tartans were withdrawn from Borghetto, and that he thinks his position too strong for the French to succeed in any attack they may make. Nothing, I am sure you will believe, will be wanting on the part of my squadron to cover the General's flank by sea. I have requested the General to establish signals by guns, when I should be with him before they got well warm in the attack. Flora and a brig are now cruising off Noli and Pietra, but I fear they may be blown off the coast. The weather is so severe, that either the French or Austrians must quit the hills; and as some Austrian soldiers have died with the cold on their posts, the enemy cannot be very comfortable. A few days must, I think, give a turn to the face of affairs. Kellerman, I understand, visits every post once in twenty-four hours, and says every thing to encourage the soldiers.

"Reports say, and I believe it is true, that Admiral Hotham has struck his flag and given up the command, as also Admiral Goodall, and that Sir Hyde Parker commands the Fleet until Sir John Jervis's arrival. Captain Frederick has hoisted a distinguishing pendant, and commands the third division of the Fleet. This cannot, my dear Sir, but make me feel, that I am the first

officer commanding a Squadron destined to cooperate with the Austrians and Sardinians, who has been without a distinguishing pendant: most have had a broad pendant, but that I neither expected, nor wished for; yet I think, as I have had the pleasure to give satisfaction to our Allies, that the Ministry, if you thought proper to represent it, would order me a distinguishing pendant from my having this command, or some other mark of their favour. Pray excuse this part of my letter, I am assured you will do what is right for me."

*Captain Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence,\* Genoa Roads, Nov. 18, 1795.*—"Sir: Almost every day produces such changes in the prospect of our affairs, that in relating events I hardly know where to begin. The two Armies are both so strongly posted, that neither is willing to give the attack; each waits to see which can endure the cold longest. The French General has laid an embargo on all the vessels on the coast, near a hundred sail, and it would not surprise me if he were meditating a retreat, in case his plans do not succeed; which I hope they will not, as the prevention of them in a great measure depends on our naval force under my orders. This has called me here, where a circumstance has arisen that has given us the alarm sooner than was intended.

\* From his Royal Highness's collection.

“ An Austrian Commissary was travelling from Genoa towards Vado, with 10,000*l.* sterling, and it was known he was to sleep at a place called Voltri, about nine miles from Genoa. This temptation was too great for the French Captain of the *Brune*, in concert with the French Minister, to keep his word of honour; and the boats of that frigate, with some privateers, went out of the port, landed, and brought back the money. The next day, the 11th of November, recruiting was publickly carried on in the town of Genoa, and numbers enlisted; and on the 13th at night, as many men as could be collected were to sail under convoy of the *Brune*, and to land and take a strong post of the Genoese, between Genoa and Savona. A hundred men were to have been sent from the French army at Borghetto, and an insurrection of the Genoese peasantry was to have been encouraged; which I believe would have succeeded for several miles up the country. General de Vins must have sent four or five thousand men, probably, from his army, which would have given the enemy a fair prospect of success in their intended attack. The scheme was bold, but I do not think it would have succeeded in all points.

“ However, my arrival here on the 13th in the evening caused a total change: the frigate, knowing her deserts, and what had been done here before with the transports and privateers, hauled from the outer to the inner Mole, and is got inside the merchant ships, with her pow-



der out, for no ships can go into the inner Mole with powder on board; and, as I have long expected an embarkation from the French army from the westward to harass General de Vins, there I was fully on my guard. Whilst I remain here no harm can happen, unless, which private information says is likely to take place, that four sail of the line and some frigates are to come here, and take Agamemnon and her squadron. What steps the Austrian Generals and Ministers will adopt to get redress for this, I fear, allowed breach of neutrality on the part of the Genoese government, I cannot yet tell. It is a very extraordinary circumstance, but a fact, that since my arrival respect to the neutral port has not been demanded of me; if it had, my answer was ready, *That it was useless and impossible for me to give it.* As the breach of the neutrality has not been noticed, I fancy they are aware of my answer, and therefore declined asking the question... I beg leave to subscribe myself, your Royal Highness's most attached and faithful Horatio Nelson."

(1795.) Admiral Goodall did not strike his flag, without taking leave of his friend, dated Pisa, November 8. "I could not, my dear Nelson, leave the fleet without saying, what satisfaction it gave me to read in the public papers, Admiral Hotham's letter to the Admiralty on your late success: It afforded me additional pleasure, as I had so warmly recommended your being employed on that service,

from the high opinion I had of your bravery and activity. Go on, and prosper." Commodore Nelson also about the same time, received the following letter from his Father. "If your promises, my dear Horatio, and assurances of a speedy return, could be made good by an act of your own, they would remain as unalterable, as a Persian, or a Median law; but both your good wife and myself perceive, that we must not depend, at present, on seeing you.—The unhappy emigrants could gain no footing in their native Country. A Dutch war is commenced. The minister continues to have a great majority in every thing. Sir Charles Middleton has left the Admiralty. You have the treasure of a self approving mind; for a while, therefore, retire from incessant fatigue. Whatever may be the emoluments of your long and severe service, they are attended with a reputation, which will endure, I believe, as long as the English Annals remain; and let me say, *such a Wealth will descend and prove invaluable to your survivors.* My feeble and imperfect petition is daily offered, that the same Providence which hitherto has ever been your shield and buckler, in the hour of danger, may still preserve you from The arrow that flieth by day, and the pestilence that walketh in darkness. In days of peace, you will, I hope, enjoy your Cottage: Agreeably to your wishes we have taken a small house here for three years; the sun must return upon us before I can revisit

Burnham. God bless you all. Farewell. *Edmund Nelson.*”

Anno  
Ætat. 38.

XV. Towards the end of the year, 1795, Captain Nelson received an order to put himself under the command of Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. dated on board the *Lively*, in Gibraltar Bay, Nov. 19. The only acquaintance which the Captain of the *Agamemnon* had with this officer, was in having been introduced to him by Captain Locker, for whom the Admiral entertained the highest regard. Without presuming to discuss the merit, or demerit of this great naval Commander, it is necessary here to remark, that Nelson found in Sir John Jervis, a mind perfectly congenial with his own; active, enterprising, and determined to pursue against all obstacles, whatever experience, or the passing events of the day pointed out as his professional or political duty. With the reputation which he had gained in the various gradations of the service, was united a thorough knowledge of the politicks of the British empire, and of Europe, and a keen discrimination of the real character and abilities of those officers who served under him. Naturally of an ambitious disposition, and professionally a strict disciplinarian, he despised the trammels, and sometimes perhaps forgot the feelings which repress common minds; and being determined strictly to execute the important duties that were intrusted to him, he resolved, that every person in the

Fleet should rigidly do the same. Such in brief was the great Naval Officer, who now superseded Vice Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean for the time being, after Admiral Hotham had struck his flag and returned to England.

One of the first official communications, which Captain Nelson made to his new Admiral, was a succinct<sup>d</sup> Retrospect of the Vado Campaign, the greater part of which has been already inserted. He declared, that owing to the Agamemnon's staying at Genoa, he had the consolation to feel so many thousands of Austrians owed their safety, by the pass of the Bocchetta being kept open, and amongst others General de Vins himself. The ingratitude which the Allies of Great Britain so constantly displayed, to the utter ruin of themselves and the subsequent overthrow of the political balance of Europe, was rendered still more remarkable, by being directed against the established fame of Captain Nelson, and that of the Officers who served with him. A greater instance of the degradation of the European States cannot easily be reserved for posterity. Notwithstanding all that the resolute Captain of the Agamemnon had performed, his acknowledged integrity, his perseverance, which neither the indolence nor the half measures of others could abate, they fabricated a

malicious falsehood reflecting on that integrity, and, having poisoned the mind of the good old King of Sardinia, endeavoured to abate the confidence which his own government began to place in his services. An official communication from Mr. Drake, gave Captain Nelson the first intelligence of their designs: yielding, therefore, to the impulse of his indignant sensations, and conscious of his uprightness, he immediately addressed the following letter to Lord Grenville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated Agamemnon, Genoa Road, November 23, 1795.

“My Lord, Having received, from Mr. Drake, a copy of your Lordship’s letter to him in October, enclosing a paper highly reflecting on the honour of myself, and other of his Majesty’s Officer’s employed on this coast under my orders, it well becomes me as far as in my power lies, to wipe away this ignominious stain on our characters. I do, therefore, in behalf of myself, and much injured brethren, demand, That the person, whoever he may be, that wrote, or gave that paper to your Lordship, should fully and expressly, bring home his charge; which, as he states that this agreement is made by numbers of people on both sides, there can be no difficulty in doing. We dare him, my Lord, to the proof. If he cannot, I do humbly implore, that his Majesty will be most graciously pleased to direct his Attorney General to prosecute this infamous libeller in his Majesty’s courts of law;

and I likewise feel, that, without impropriety, I may on behalf of my brother Officers, demand the support of his Majesty's Ministers: For, as if true, no punishment can be too great for the Traitors, so, if false, none can be too heavy for the Villain, who has dared to allow his pen to write such a paper. Perhaps I ought to close my letter here; but I feel too much to rest easy for a moment, when the honour of the Navy and our Country, is struck at through us; for if ten Captains whom chance has thrown together, can instantly join in such a traitorous measure, it is fair to conclude we are all bad.

“As this traitorous agreement could not be carried on but by concert of all the Captains, if they were on the Stations allotted them; and, as they could only be drawn from those stations by orders from me, I do most fully acquit all my brother Captains from such a combination; and have to request, That I may be considered as the only responsible person for what is done under my command, if I approve of the conduct of those under my orders, which in this most public manner I beg leave to do: for Officers more alert, and more anxious for the good and honour of their King and Country, can scarcely ever fall to the lot of any commanding officer; their names<sup>c</sup> I place at the end of this letter.

<sup>c</sup> Captains Fremantle, Hope, Cockburn, Hon. C. Elphinstone, Shields, Middleton, Plampin, Brisbane, T. Elphinstone, M<sup>c</sup> Namara.

For myself, from my earliest youth I have been in the naval Service; and, in two wars, have been in more than one hundred and forty skirmishes and battles, at sea and on shore; have lost an eye, and have often bled in fighting the enemies of my King and Country: and God knows, instead of Riches, my little fortune has been diminished in the service: But I shall not trouble your Lordship further at present, than just to say, That at the close of this Campaign, where I have had the pleasure to receive the approbation of the Generals of the allied powers; of his Excellency Mr. Drake, who has been always on the spot; of Mr. Trevor, who has been at a distance; when I expected and hoped from the representations of his Majesty's Ministers, that his Majesty would have most graciously condescended to have favourably noticed my earnest desire to serve him, instead of all my fancied approbation, to receive an accusation of a most traitorous nature—it has almost been too much for me to bear: Conscious Innocence, I hope, will support me.”

As the subject of this letter was of so delicate and extraordinary a nature, it was deemed expedient, previous to its meeting the public eye, that it should be laid before the Hon. Mr. Trevor;†

† The original letter was transmitted by the Viscountess Percival to the Hon. Mr. Trevor, and his subsequent answer in explanation of the subject is addressed to her Ladyship, dated Nov. 29, 1807.

and the following is the answer which he transmitted. "I return you the very energetic letter of my late noble friend; it was no doubt addressed to Lord Grenville, from whom the paper alluded to must have been officially sent to Mr. Drake. A scandalous and calumniating suspicion prevailed at that time amongst the Allies, that there existed a criminal connivance between the British cruisers in the Mediterranean, and the coasting vessels of the enemy; whereby they were permitted to land their cargoes for the supply of the French army in the Riviera of Genoa. . . I never saw the injurious paper in question. From his ignorance of naval affairs, the Austrian Commander, who felt the effects of the misfortune without sufficiently attending to its cause, easily listened to the misrepresentations that were made to him upon the subject, and transmitted them to his Court; whence, or through the medium of that of Turin, they reached England. The accusation was probably vague and general: it does not appear that any names were mentioned; the nature and the channel of the information, did not admit of any public refutation of it, and Commodore Nelson's letter, as well as Mr. Drake's answer, would have been more than sufficient to obliterate in a moment any attention that might have been given to it by government.

"With regard to the mention made in Nelson's letter, of my approbation of his conduct,



I cannot help adding a little on that subject, because it belongs to one of the circumstances in my life, which I recollect with the greatest pleasure. It was I think in 1795, that this great man, with whom I had been in official correspondence, and with whom and Mr. Drake many conferences had been held on board the *Agamemnon*, and whom I even then looked up to with admiration; sent me a letter expressive of uneasiness and disappointment, that his ardour and faithful services had not been more favourably attended to by government, and requesting me to furnish him with a letter to Ministers expressive of my sense of his services, as far as they had fallen within the sphere of my observation, or knowledge. I have often regretted that this letter, which subsequent events have since made a curious and interesting document, was burnt with my papers at Turin; but I possess a copy of my answer to it, which concluded with these words, *And I shall ever consider it as the proudest circumstance in my life, that such a character, as Commodore Nelson's, should have thought a testimonial of mine could add any thing to its lustre.*"

(1795.) His correspondence with Mrs. Nelson, occasionally gives a nearer view of the real sentiments of this great and extraordinary man. On the 2d of December, when at sea, he said, "Lord Hood will have discovered, that from my last letter to him respecting the defeat of

the Austrians on the 23d of November, the loss of Vado would consequently follow. Tell him, the French had collected full a hundred sail of vessels, in case of failure, to carry off their troops; they had also ten or twelve gun-vessels, as many privateers, and a man of war brig. I described to the Admiral the great service that the destruction of these vessels would be of, many of them being laden with corn, on which the French General had laid an embargo; and, as I had not force enough, I begged of the Admiral, if he came to sea, to look at this fleet himself, offering, if he would permit me the honour, to lead the Culloden and Courageux to the attack, and with my then squadron of frigates, to take or destroy the whole: I pretend not to say, the Austrians would not have been beat, had not the gun-boats harassed them, for on my conscience I believe they would; but I believe the French would not have attacked, had we destroyed all the vessels of war, transports, &c. The Austrians, by all accounts, did not stand firm. The French, half naked, were determined to conquer or die; and had I not, though I own against my inclination, been kept at Genoa, from eight to ten thousand men would have been taken prisoners, and amongst the number General de Vins himself. For the French plan, well laid, was to possess a post in the road these people fled by, retreat it could not be called, for, except a part of the army

under General Wallis of about ten thousand men, it was, *the Devil take the hindmost*. I had a lieutenant, two midshipmen, and sixteen men taken at Vado; the purser of the ship, who was there, ran with the Austrians eighteen miles without stopping: the men without any arms whatever, officers without soldiers, women without assistance. Thus has ended my Campaign. . . . Let the blame be where it may, I do not believe any party will seriously lay it at my door; and if they do, I am perfectly easy as to the consequences. I sincerely hope an inquiry may take place, the world would then know how hard I have fagged.—Sir John Jervis arrived at St. Fiorenzo on the 29th of November, to the great joy of some and sorrow of others.”

(1795.) In a letter to Sir Gilbert Elliot, dated at sea, Dec. 4, he gave an ample detail of these disastrous events near Genoa. “My Campaign is closed by the defeat of the Austrian army, and the consequent loss of Vado and every place in the Riviera of Genoa; and I am on my way to refit poor Agamemnon and her miserable ship’s company at Leghorn. We are, indeed, worn out. Except six days, I have never been one hour off the station. The extraordinary events which have taken place near Genoa; and the plan which was laid by the French, to take post between Voltri and Savona, perhaps you are acquainted with; if not I will inform you. Seven hundred men were enlisted and embarked,

with 7000 stand of arms, on board the Braave French frigate in Genoa, and many small lateen vessels. These, on a certain night, were to have landed in a strong post between Voltri and Savona, to be joined in small feluccas by 1000 men from Borghetto; and an insurrection of the Genoese peasantry, we have every reason to believe, would have been made for forty miles up a valley towards Piedmont: but the money going from Genoa, tempted these people to make an attack before their time, which certainly caused the plan to miscarry. Great preparation being made at Genoa, the Agamemnon was called for might and main, to prevent the plan, which I most effectually did; and so fearful were the Imperial Minister and General of my leaving Genoa, that I was told, if I quitted Genoa, the loss of 3000 Austrians would be the certain consequence. Thus I was placed in a cleft stick; if I left Genoa, the loss of 3000 men would be laid to my charge, and if I was not at Pietra, the gun-boats would unmolested harass the left flank of the army, and their defeat might very probably be laid to the want of assistance from "Agamemnon."

The Agamemnon arrived at Leghorn Dec. 6, 1795; and on the 8th, Captain Nelson informed Sir Hyde Parker, that the Lowestoffe and convoy, owing to the precaution of leaving the

Meleager, Captain Cockburn, off Vado, had been saved. He received some information of the appearance and state of the French Army, after their late victory, from his officers who had been made prisoners at Vado, and he communicated this account, on the 18th of December, 1795, when writing to his wife. "I have had letters from my poor lieutenant and midshipmen, telling me, that few of the French Soldiers are more than 23 or 24 years old; a great many do not exceed 14 years, all without clothes; and my officers add, they are sure my barge's crew would have beat a hundred of them, and that, had I seen them, I should not have thought if the world had been covered with such people, that they could have beat the Austrian army. The oldest officers say, they never heard of so complete a defeat, and certainly without any reason. The King of Sardinia was very near concluding a hasty peace in the panic: however, I believe, we shall now make peace, when the Emperor must do the same."

(1795.) In a letter to Sir John Jervis, Dec. 21, Captain Nelson said, "*By the first week in January, I hope that Agamemnon will be as fit for sea as a rotten ship can be.* I have written to Genoa, directing Captain Cockburn to take the ships in that port under his protection to Leghorn; but should they, from any change of circumstances, not wish to leave Genoa, the Meleager is then

to join me here, by Dec. 31, when I shall order Captain Cockburn to be ready for sea."—When the *Agamemnon* came into dock to be refitted, there was not a mast, yard, sail, or any part of the rigging, but was obliged to be repaired, owing to the shot she had received. Her hull had been long secured by cables served round.

(1796.) If we consider the political aspect of Italy, at the beginning of this year, we shall perceive an extraordinary want of national energy, and a general weakness throughout its different States, accompanied with that fatal supineness which has generally preceded the dissolution of all governments. The royal house of Sardinia, the guardian of the Alps and consequently the natural bulwark of Italy, was indeed represented by the good Monarch, *Victor-Amédée*, as great and as much beloved as any of his illustrious ancestors; but the intrigues and seditious practices, which the French fomented throughout the whole of his Piedmontese dominions, rendered the zeal of this Sovereign ineffectual, and even his power precarious. The court of Naples, owing to the spirit of its Queen, who at that time was convulsed at the name of a Frenchman, appeared ready to make exertions for the support of the good cause; but a variety of reasons prevented this Court from acting with a corresponding degree of energy. The Nation was loyal, but its Government had grown feeble; and its Statesmen had no fixed

principle of public integrity.—The unfortunate Pontiff, Pius VI. although deeply affected at the impending dangers, entertained hopes of averting the ruin with which the States of the church of Rome were threatened, by remaining inactive and becoming a silent spectator of the overwhelming devastation. That excellent Prince, FERDINAND, Grand Duke of Tuscany, with the highest sense of moderation and liberality, was assisted by the great political abilities of his Minister Manfredini and the diplomatic experience of the Comte Carletti; but both were foiled by the new measures and barefaced depredations of the French, whose rapacity they vainly expected to lull asleep by unbounded concessions. The Republic of Venice was governed by the Doge MANIN, and by some distinguished Senators, who whilst they wished at any rate to preserve their independence, were at the same time fearful of forfeiting their landed property in Terra Firma. The Doge of Genoa, BRIGNOLÉ, though well intentioned, was a man of no abilities; nor were his colleagues in government, in any respect, his superiors. The Genoese Nobles, although proverbially proud, and retaining an utter detestation of the French, had all considerable sums of money invested in the French funds, and were all equally jealous of the good King of Sardinia, whom they considered as the natural enemy of their independence. They also wished to take advantage of

the general confusion, to become in a great measure the exclusive carriers of the French; and for a long time deluded themselves by believing, that when the Directory had sworn destruction to monarchies, they had resolved to spare republics.

Such was the general State of Italy, when the destroying genius of Buonaparte was sent to consummate its misery. Having through the means of Barras and a marriage with the lady he recommended, obtained the command of the French army in Italy, this young and enterprising General arrived at his head-quarters early in the spring of 1796. General Beaulieu was appointed, after some time, to the command of the Emperor's forces, and General Colli continued at the head of the Sardinian troops.

On the 6th of January, 1796, whilst the *Agamemnon* remained at Leghorn to refit, Captain Nelson in writing to his wife, said, "The French, I am certain, will this Spring make a great exertion to get into Italy, and I think Sir John Jervis must be active to keep them out. *They will improve on their last year's folly. I am convinced in my own mind, that I know their very landing place. If they mean to carry on the war, they must penetrate into Italy. Holland and Flanders, with their own Country, they have entirely stripped. Italy is the gold mine; and, if once entered, is without the means of resistance.*"

On the 19th of January, the *Agamemnon*



joined Sir John Jervis' fleet in Fiorenzo Bay, where Captain Nelson had his first interview with that Admiral; who, notwithstanding the jealousy and envy that prevailed against Nelson, very soon became his steady and liberal patron. The next day the following account of his reception was sent to Mrs. Nelson. "We were received, not only with the greatest attention, but with much apparent friendship. Sir John Jervis' offer of either the *St. George*, 90, or *Zealous*, 74, was declined; but with that respect, and sense of obligation on my part, which such handsome conduct demanded of me. I found the Admiral anxious to know many things, which I was a good deal surprised to find had not been communicated to him from others in the fleet; and it would appear, that he was so well satisfied with my opinion of what is likely to happen, and the means of prevention to be taken, that he had no reserve with me respecting his information and ideas, of what is likely to be done. He concluded by asking me, If I should have any objection to serve under him, with my flag; my answer was, *That if I were ordered to hoist my flag, I should certainly be happy in serving under him; but if Agamemnon were ordered to go home, and my flag were not arrived, I should on many accounts wish to return to England; yet still, if the war continued, I should be very proud of the honour of hoisting my flag under his command:* and, I rather believe, Sir John Jervis

writes home this day, that if the Fleet is kept here, my flag, on a promotion, may be sent to the Mediterranean. The credit I derive from all these compliments must be satisfactory to you; and, should I remain until peace, which cannot be very long, you will I sincerely hope make your mind easy."

*The Rev. Edmund Nelson to his Son Horatio,  
dated Jan. 4, 1796.*

"The commencement of a new Year, calls on a Father's tender and affectionate feelings, to rejoice with you on the many extraordinary escapes you have experienced, which do evidence a providential hand that has guarded you from impending dangers: may that Great and Good Being still be your Shield and Defender. I have also further joy in perceiving those self-approving reflections, which arise from a consciousness of having done all, that the great trust reposed in you could require; and this you must feel in the highest degree. May you, my dear Son, add year to year through a long life, with the indescribable delight, that your own heart condemns you not. . . . . The almost daily proofs of your faithful observance of your various professional duties, are pleasing compensations for your long absence: every disappointment has its consolation, every storm its succeeding sunshine, and we bring this home immediately to ourselves. You are now in the very meridian of life, and have daily oppor-

tunities of growing rich in knowledge, of filling your honest and well disposed heart with the stores of good grain, which in time to come, when the mental powers shall decay, shall prove a treasure and make good what time has stolen away. Old age is only made pleasant by happy reflections, and by reaping the harvest we have sown in youth. Be assured, my good Son, I now regret to find that my stock in this respect is low: my education, situation in life, and opportunities of improvement, have been all against me. But, thank God! I still retain some sources of delight. My setting Sun is clearer than when it was mid-day. My blessings are innumerable, my wishes most abundantly fulfilled. God bless you! and prosper all you undertake. Farewell. *Edmund Nelson.*”—Such letters, as Mr. Roscoe<sup>b</sup> observes of one addressed by Lorenzo de Medici to his celebrated Son, may be considered as the guide of the future life and fortunes of the person to whom they were addressed: they could not fail of making a lasting impression on his affectionate and religious disposition.

(1796.) Captain Nelson soon perceived, that the active and enterprising mind of Sir John Jervis was congenial with his own. Before the *Agamemnon* sailed from Fiorenzo, they had frequent conferences together, and the former was

<sup>b</sup> Vol. II. 8vo. edition, p. 196.

not long in acquiring that confidence from his Admiral, which gradually enabled Nelson to attain the summit of his own ambition, and eventually to promote the renown of his Commander in Chief. His correspondence with Sir John Jervis, at first, merely gave the official detail of the services on which the *Agamemnon* was employed.

*To Mrs Nelson, Gulf of Genoa, Jan. 27, 1796.*

“ I sent you a line just as I was getting under sail from St. Fiorenzo. The fleet was not a little surprised at my leaving them so soon, and, I fancy, there was some degree of envy attached to the surprise; for one Captain told me, *You did just as you pleased in Lord Hood's time, the same in Admiral Hotham's, and now again with Sir John Jervis; it makes no difference to you who is Commander in chief*: I returned a pretty strong answer to this speech.—My command here is to prevent any small number of men from making a descent in Italy.”

*Off the Hieres Islands, in continuation, Feb. 17.*

“ Time, my dear Fanny, will soon wear away, when we shall, I doubt not, possess a Cottage of our own and an ample income to live on, if not in luxury, at least in comfort. As yet, I appear to stand well with Sir John Jervis, and it shall not be my fault, if I do not continue to do so, my conduct has no mystery: I freely communicate my knowledge and observations, and only wish, that whatever Admiral I serve

under, may make a proper use of it. God forbid, I should have any other consideration on Service, than the Good of my Country.—I am now sent to examine the state of the ships in Toulon; their numbers we know full well, but the accounts of the state they are in, are so contradictory, as to leave us uncertain. Sir John Jervis is at present inferior to the French: they have built five sail of the line since we left Toulon.—(Feb. 28.) I am now on my way to Genoa, having been joined by the Admiral on the 23d, off Toulon. The French have thirteen sail of the line and five frigates ready for sea; and four or five which are in great forwardness, are fitting in the Arsenal. Sir John Jervis from his manner, as I plainly perceive, does not wish me to leave this station. He seems at present to consider me more as an associate, than a subordinate officer; for I am acting without any orders. This may have its difficulties at a future day; but I make none, knowing the uprightness of my intentions. He asked me, if I had heard any more of my promotion? I told him, no: his answer was, “*You must have a larger ship, for we cannot spare you, either as Captain or Admiral.*”

From Genoa Mole the Agamemnon sailed to Leghorn to refit; but previous to this, Captain Nelson on the 4th of March requested further information from Mr. Trevor, respecting the actual state of Sardinia. On the 16th, when at

Sea, he forwarded to Sir John Jervis a part of this diplomatic correspondence: "I beg leave, Sir, to transmit copies of all the letters that have passed between me and his Majesty's Ministers at Turin, Genoa, and Naples, that you may be in full possession of my conduct, and know whether I am worthy the honour of commanding the Squadron intrusted to my direction. My last letter to Mr. Drake, dated yesterday, is of so very important a nature, and the opinion I have given so very decisive, that I must request you will send me your ideas of my conduct, as soon as possible: should it unfortunately be disapprobation, I have only to regret that my abilities are not equal to my zeal."

(1796.) The following extracts are from the letters that were enclosed to the Commander in Chief, the principal of which was one that had been received from Mr. Drake, dated Milan, March 6. "My dear Sir, It was with great satisfaction that I learnt from your letters, Feb. 28, and March 2, your safe arrival at Genoa, after so perilous a passage to Toulon.—I have given directions to Mr. Brame, to communicate to you and Sir John Jervis, or any officer you may depute, whatever intelligence he may receive from Toulon, interesting to our Navy. I suppose the alarms respecting the Duchy of Masso Carrera are subsided for the present; but I do not think it by any means an improbable conjecture, that the Toulon armament may

be directed against the Gulf of Especia, in order to procure an entry for the French troops into Italy, on that side. . . . I am so deeply involved in business of various sorts, that I cannot at present get away from this place, otherwise I should endeavour to see you at Genoa; that I might confide to you some operations which I have lately proposed to Lord Grenville and his Majesty's Ministers, and in which I have taken the liberty of mentioning you for the principal actor. I expect an answer to my proposals in the course of this month, and if they are agreed to, I shall make a point of seeing you, as well as the Admiral, wherever you may be, either at Leghorn or Genoa. I cannot venture to say more than this, in a letter by the common post. I have every reason to hope, that the Emperor will be able to reassume his superiority in this quarter. No Commander in Chief is yet appointed in the room of de Vins; but the famous General Beaulieu is arrived here, and if he does not actually command, he will undoubtedly have a very considerable influence on the military operations. I shall give you some ideas of the plans which it is intended to follow, by a future opportunity. All prospects of peace have completely vanished, and I suppose the armistice on the Rhine will soon give place to hostilities. The French government holds a very high language; but I am credibly informed, that its arrogance is confined to the gazettes, and the

sittings of the two Councils. The Directory trembles, and feels conscious that its credit, nay even its existence, depends on the issue of the first battle."

(1796.) Mr. Drake having returned for a few days unexpectedly to Genoa, requested an immediate interview with Captain Nelson, who had sent an official communication to his Excellency, dated March 15: "Having received information, on which I am told I may depend, that Salicetti is now here with other Commissioners, for the express purpose of expediting the operations of the French army, towards the invasion of Italy; and that one of the three columns into which that army is to be divided, is either to penetrate through the Genoese territory, or to be conveyed coastways to take possession of Port Especia, which will instantly give them the flat country as far as Leghorn, and no doubt but a small army appearing before Leghorn, would without any difficulty make themselves masters of it; I therefore feel it my duty, as Commanding Officer of his Majesty's squadron employed on this coast, and in the absence of the naval Commander in chief, to state clearly the fatal consequences which will attend this plan of the French commissioners. The possession of Port Especia will always give an easy access to every part of Italy, even to the kingdom of Naples, and also security to transports, ships of war, and small vessels; and



I moreover beg it may be understood, that if the French flotilla proceeds along the coast, our ships of war cannot molest them; not being able to approach the coast, from the shallowness of the water. I must besides observe, that the enemy possessing Leghorn, cuts off all our supplies, and of course our fleet cannot always be looked for on the northern coast of Italy. I therefore beg leave to state, that to obviate these misfortunes, two plans are necessary to be attended to: the first, and best, is the possession of Vado Bay; this done, as far as human foresight can discern, Italy is safe; the next is the taking of Port Especia—and, as a sea officer, I beg leave to say, that unless one of these plans is adopted, my Admiral, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's fleet, cannot answer for the safety of Italy from any attempts that may be made on it coastways."

On the 16th of March, having seen Mr. Drake, Nelson sent a second letter to his Admiral, giving him an account of that interview. "Mr. Drake having expressed a wish to see me, to communicate many things, which he did not think it right to trust to paper, I arrived yesterday morning at Genoa, with Meleager and Blanche, and held a conference with him. The same cause, which prevented him from writing, prevents me from entering fully on the part of the plan intimated in his letter, and which at present is submitted to the consideration of

Ministers: but, when I have the honour of meeting you, I am at full liberty to communicate it; for I would receive no information, or plans, which I might not freely communicate to you. Mr. Drake expressed himself pleased at your determination to give the Austrian General a meeting, whenever he chose to bring his army on the coast: but, at the same time, he said, he found it extremely difficult to make them hear of the Riviera, although he had pressed very much to have the plan of the last year carried into execution; with the exception, in the first instance, of penetrating into Provence. The Commander in Chief of the Army was not yet fixed on; but it was understood, that the Archduke was to be the nominal, and General Beaulieu the active Commander in Chief; that Beaulieu wished to meet the French in the plains of Lombardy, and then to follow up the blow which he had no doubt would be decisive.

“I could not help observing, That the very reason why the General wished to meet them in a particular place, would of course be the reason why the French would not penetrate by that route; and that respecting the information which I had received, of the intention of the Directory to order the movement of their army in three columns, one by Ceva, another by the pass of the Bochetta, and another to march through the Genoese territory, or be carried coastways to Port Especia, which would give

them an easy entry into the plains of Italy; I had no doubt the two first would be feints, and the last the real plan.—I must here observe, that, before night, Mr. Drake had the same information communicated to him; and also, that a body of troops would be embarked on board the fleet, the moment Richery arrived from Cadiz, and a push be made for Port Especia. This information induced me, and if possible more strongly than ever, to press the measure of taking Vado, or Port Especia, without delay; and I added, that without one, or the other was done, you could not answer for the safety of Italy coastways, it being now perfectly clear for what the two hundred flat boats were built, and the numerous gun-boats fitted out. Mr. Drake told me, that he had already urged the measure of taking Vado, and would continue to do it, and would also instantly press the necessity of possessing Port Especia; if I would declare, that our naval force should support the Austrians from attacks by sea; which, I said, there could be no doubt of, for it would be the home of our squadron employed on this coast. He then desired me to give my opinion in writing, as the authority of a sea officer would have more weight than all he could urge; and this was the cause of my writing the letter, on which I am so anxious to obtain your sentiments.”

Such constant anxiety and exertion of mind, were almost too much for the constitution of

Nelson; for in a letter to Mr. Drake, on the 25th of March, he said, "I do not know when I have been so ill, as during this cruise, but I hope a good opening to the Campaign will set me quite to rights. Whilst I receive from your Excellency, from Mr. Trevor, and my Admiral, every approbation of my conduct, I should be a wretch not to exert myself."—When writing to Mrs. Nelson on the same date, he sent home to her and his father, the following very honourable testimony to his exertions, from Sir John Jervis. "I have received by the *Blanche*, your two letters, of the 16th and 19th instant, together with the several enclosures, and copies of your correspondence at Turin, Genoa, and Naples; and I feel the greatest satisfaction, in communicating this public testimony of my thorough approbation of your late conduct, and recent correspondence." In his private letter, Sir John Jervis added, "No words can express the sense I entertain of every part of your conduct, and I shall be very happy to manifest it in the most substantial manner: a distinguishing pendant you shall certainly wear, and I will write to Lord Spencer about you. In short there is nothing, within my grasp, that I shall not be proud to confer on you."—All this, my dear Fanny, is certainly flattering and pleasant; and these blossoms may one day bring forth fruit. I have just read in the papers, that Admiral Christian has a red ribbon; and it has

given me pleasure to see, that merit, although unfortunate, is not always neglected. God bless you, and give us a happy meeting and soon, is the most sincere wish of your affectionate husband."

On the 8th of April, 1796, the Commodore sent to Sir John Jervis a most able <sup>i</sup>reply to those complaints of insult and accusations of a breach of neutrality, which the republic of Genoa continued to forward, owing to French influence, through its minister the Marquis of Spinola, to our Court. It concluded in the following manner. "Having thus, Sir, answered every part of the accusation made by the Genoese Minister, I beg leave to say a few words on his conclusion, which is certainly a most extraordinary one. To pretend to assert, that although our enemies take possession of and continue in the republic of Genoa, we are not, by every means in our power, to attack them both at sea and on shore, will bear reasoning upon; but I can with truth declare, that in the act of distressing our enemies in the republic of Genoa, the greatest forbearance and even acts of kindness, have been constantly shewn to individual Genoese. The republic of Genoa has now had six months unmolested fraternization with the French army;

<sup>i</sup> See Quarto Edit. Vol. 1. Page 265—267. and also Commodore Nelson's conversation with the Baron de Malcamp, Pages 270, and 271.

and I am assured, that the inhabitants of the republic had rather again encounter our fancied breaches of neutrality, and violation of territory, than the fraternal embraces of the French troops, which have been given to their women, their churches, and olive trees.”

(1796.) The *Agamemnon's* broad Pendant had not been long flying off Genoa, before the circumstance of the Commodore's arrival, rendered the diplomatic corps extremely anxious to enjoy the advantage of that decision and intuitive conception of the proceedings of the enemy, which marked the character of Nelson. A message was accordingly despatched to request his immediate attendance, and in his letter to the Admiral, April 9, he seems to chide himself for an unavoidable delay. “On my arrival off here, yesterday morning, I was so strongly pressed by the Sardinian and Imperial Ministers to come into the port, in order that they might have some conversation with me, that, although rather against my inclination of anchoring, I could not refuse; and I am just going on shore to meet them. There has been some little skirmishing between the advanced piquets of the two armies in the vicinity of Voltri; but it is generally thought the French will retire to Savona, Vado, &c. Ceva and Ormea are to be the two places attacked by them; but I hope General Beaulieu on his passing the heights of Vado, may find an opportunity of taking them,

and give us the anchorage of Vado Bay. We are on the best terms with the Genoese; and as far as a private communication to the Secretary of State, through Mr. Brame, they are certain of our good disposition towards them, and of our sincere wish to see the Republic really enjoying her neutrality: At the same time, I desired Mr. Brame to signify, that vessels, to whatever nation they belonged, bound to France with provisions or stores, would be seized; that I wished this to be understood, and that the seizures of vessels belonging to Genoese subjects, in the situation alluded to, ought not to be considered as hostile to the Genoese flag; for all other nations were precisely in the same situation. To this the Secretary replied, in his private character, That if merchants would run the risk, it rested with them, and that he did not think the government had any concern in it; that he should acquaint the Doge of the conversation, and was very happy to see me here with a broad pendant, which was saluted. The Secretary was full of praises of the late Austrian army; not a sixpence of debt had been left behind, nor an individual injured by their stay in the Riviera; contrasting it with the conduct of the French. Salicetti is gone from Genoa.

“I am just returned on board, and enclosed send you a copy of my note which is gone off by express to General Beaulieu. The Ministers of the Emperor, and King of Sardinia, were

pleased with it; and I hope it will meet with your approbation also. I have found from experience that we cannot be too clear with these gentlemen, and I am determined to leave no room for them to say, *We thought you could do this thing, or the other.*

*Commodore Nelson's Note to General Beaulieu.*

“Does General Beaulieu wish the English squadron should cruise off any particular point of the Coast, whence it may be satisfactory for the General to see it from the mountains, and of course be discouraging to the French?—It would be attended with this risk, That calms, or contrary winds, might put the squadron at a distance, at the time General Beaulieu may arrive on the coast: would the General, therefore, rather have us remain at Genoa, with a moral certainty of joining him in ten, or twelve hours, after the news of his arrival on the coast is sent to me?

“Next consideration: If General Beaulieu sends me notice, at what particular time and place it is probable he may attack the French, in that case it is almost certain I could be very near at hand, and act as opportunity might offer; for instance—suppose the attack is on the heights over Savona; the squadron, if the weather be moderate, could anchor about five or six miles from Savona, instead of waiting at Genoa. These considerations are submitted to General Beaulieu, who has only to express his wishes to have them as far as is possible, complied with.”—Notwith-



standing these wise precautions on the part of the Commodore, the Austrian attack on the enemy did not answer, as he could have wished; for in writing to Mr. Drake, April 11, 1796, he said, 'It had been well, but might have been better; for if I had been fully acquainted with the movements of the Army, I am sure not many of the French would have returned to Savona, our ships command every foot of the road. I beg you will endeavour to impress on those about the General, the necessity of punctuality in a joint operation for its success to be complete. I received yesterday afternoon at five o'clock, a note from the Baron de Malcamp, to tell me, that the General had resolved to attack the French at daylight this morning and on the right of Voltri: yet by the Austrians getting too forward in the afternoon, a slight action took place, and during the night the French retreated. My movements I kept secret; and, after the shutting of the gate, weighed the squadron from Genoa, and at half past nine I anchored within half gun shot of the Austrian Camp, sending Diadem and Blanche to anchor between Voltri and Savonna; but the French were aware of their perilous situation, and passed our ships in the night. I do not mean this as any complaint, but to shew the necessity of punctuality; for had the Austrians kept back, very few of the French could have escaped.'

(1796.) The age of the Austrian General, Field Marshal Beaulieu, who was upwards of 70,

though, as Nelson observes in one of his letters, he still possessed the fire of youth, which for a short time changed the character of the Campaign, must have rendered him a very unequal match to the enterprising spirit of Buonaparte, who had scarcely attained his 26th year: his rapacious love of plunder, and desperate fortunes, made him prodigal of human blood, and regardless of the means by which he promoted his own views and the wishes of his republic. Like Cataline, <sup>k</sup> *he possessed a tongue that could explain, and a hand that could execute.* The consequence was another defeat of the Austrians, whose slow measures were ill adapted to withstand the impetuosity of half starved soldiers, led on by such a General. The following letters from Commodore Nelson to Mr. Drake, and H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, were written subsequent to the surrender of the gallant Count de Provera, and to the noble conduct of General Beaulieu at the village of Dego. The letter to Mr. Drake is dated April 22: after noticing the disastrous events that had taken place, the Commodore adds, I cannot learn even the number of the Austrian army, nor of their loss: had not the General troops enough? if not, it is lamentable indeed. Sir John Jervis only waits until he can hear something, to form an opinion; we are in total ignorance. The French have reinforced

<sup>k</sup> *Cicero in Cat. 3. 7.*

their seamen at Toulon, to which place Sir John Jervis will proceed: he was in hopes the presence of the Fleet might have been of service, but if that has not been the case, he is better away; for then no blame can be attached to him. You will recollect that Admiral Goodall from judgment and myself from experience, have uniformly held out, That it was not in the power of our large ships to stop this coasting business: we must have a point of land to act from, give us that, and if supplies then get to the enemy, except in row-boats, we are answerable. I was placed in the Gulf, to meet the General on the sea-coast, and my squadron would have been risked to have supported him; but as he has not been able to get to the coast, do not let us be blamed. I wish we had all the French at sea, there as yet we have never failed.'

(1796.) *To H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.*  
 "Sir, I wish it had been in my power to send your Royal Highness a good account of the opening of the Campaign; but as the news, good or bad, must be known, I think it is proper for me to give you an exact relation of what has passed. I shall first call to your recollection a letter of mine, during the winter, wherein I told you that I was informed from the French themselves, they would open the Campaign with 80,000 men; and, by the first of May, would lay siege to Turin, or Milan. I shall now give your Royal Highness a brief account of this Campaign, as far as report

goes; for we have no official information from the General.

“On Monday, April 11, the Austrians took possession of Voltri,<sup>1</sup> with 10,000 men; nearly 300 of the enemy were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. About 4000 men effected their retreat, from the attack having commenced twelve hours before the time fixed by General Beaulieu, and previous to the General’s arrival, or I am satisfied not a Frenchman could have escaped; and, by what has followed, the disasters commenced from the retreat of those troops. Our ships so entirely commanded the road, that had the General’s concerted time and plan been attended to, I again assert, none of the enemy could have escaped. These troops retired during the day and night of the 11th, to Montenotte, about eight or nine miles on the back of Savona, where the enemy had about 2000 men posted. At day-break General Argenteau attacked this post with about 4000 men, not knowing of the reinforcement. He was repulsed, and pursued with great loss; 900 Piedmontese troops, 500 Austrians, field pieces, &c. fell into the enemy’s hands. The killed we know not, but it was hard fought. On the 13th and 14th, the French forced the gorges of Millesimo, and the village of Deago, which were well defended, but they were carried by superior numbers. On the morning of the 15th, the Aus-

<sup>1</sup> Where General Cervoni commanded.

and pinnaces will be more than thirty. I think it may be done; at least, if you approve of the measure, nothing shall be wanting on my part for its complete success. My idea is, for ten barges to attack each frigate, one boat to be especially appointed with a most confidential officer, to cut the cable of each frigate, if the wind is off the land in ten minutes they must drive out of soundings, and ten boats would be left for the attack of the transports. I should wish you, Sir, to consider the matter, and I am then certain what is proper will be done. To morrow evening, at dark, I shall sail from hence and will be with you on Wednesday morning. I grieve when the French have any good fortune by sea.”—The convoy here alluded to by Commodore Nelson, got into Vado Bay whilst Sir John Jervis was off that place with his whole Fleet. In consequence of the above letter, the Admiral sent Captain Cockburn to reconnoitre the position of these French frigates; but when the *Meleager* looked into Vado, it appeared that the enemy had escaped under cover of the preceding night.

The supply which the French had thus gained, weighed extremely on the zealous mind of Nelson; and this had been increased by the arrival of fresh supplies, which he had witnessed whilst on board Sir J. Jervis's ship, and described on his return, in a letter to Mr. Drake, dated Genoa Road, April 19th. “To increase my measure of sorrow, a number of vessels, under convoy of

gun-boats, got into Savona Mole and Vado Bay on Sunday evening. I was on board the Victory, and saw them myself—pollacres, brigs, and galleys. The imperial Minister, and Mr. Nomis, I believe, fancy, that because our Fleet saw them, it was very possible for us to stop their course: they know but little of what a Fleet can do, and therefore they are in some measure excusable.

(1796.) The support which Commodore Nelson so invariably received from his Admiral, and the scope which thus was given for a display of his great abilities, is highly honourable to the character of Sir John Jervis. It is but seldom that humble individuals are thus allowed a preference, amidst the juggle of political interests, and the claims of political connexions. Happy is the Country, and honourable is the Service, in which such a wise and noble conduct can long be persevered in. The following letter to Mrs. Nelson describes the effect which such conduct had on the feelings of her husband, dated Gulf of Venice, April 24. “ You will be informed, from my late letters, that Sir J. Jervis has such an opinion of my conduct, that he is using every influence, both public and private, with Lord Spencer for my continuance on this station; and I am certain you must feel the superior pleasure of knowing, that my integrity and plainness of conduct are the cause of my being kept from you; to the receiving me as a person, whom no Commander in Chief would wish to keep under

his flag. Sir John was a perfect stranger to me, therefore I feel the more flattered; and when I reflect that I have had the unbounded confidence of three Commanders in Chief, I cannot but feel a conscious pride, and that I possess abilities. Rest assured, my dearest Fanny, of my unabated and steady Affection, which, if possible, is increasing by that propriety of conduct which you pursue.

(1796.) *Commodore Nelson to Admiral Sir John Jervis, dated off Loano, April 25.*—“This morning having received information, that a convoy laden with stores for the French army had anchored at Loano, I lost no time in proceeding off that place with the ships named in the margin.<sup>m</sup> On my approach, I was sorry to observe that instead of a Convoy, only four vessels were lying under the batteries; which opened on our nearing them, and the fire was returned as our ships got up, under cover of which our boats boarded the four vessels and brought them off: but these vessels lying very near the shore, a heavy fire of musquetry was kept up on our boats, and it is with the greatest grief I have to mention, that Lieutenant James Noble of the *Agamemnon*, a most worthy and gallant officer, is I fear mortally wounded.”

Captain George Cockburn was on the same day despatched with the four prizes to Leghorn,

<sup>m</sup> *Meleager, Diadem, Peterell.*

with orders to rejoin the Commodore as soon as possible. Sir John Jervis transmitted this official communication to the Admiralty on the 11th of May, and expressed the satisfaction which he felt in having an Officer of such zeal, and local knowledge, in the important station which the Commodore occupied.

(1796.) Amidst the general wreck of the Continent of Italy, which was now daily increased, the unhappy situation of the good King of Sardinia particularly merits attention. Surrounded by treachery, and insulted by an enemy who framed mischief as it were by a law, this aged Sovereign was at times even disposed to doubt the sincerity of his real friends. And whilst he possessed proofs, as he assured one of our foreign Ministers, that a British Admiral had in a preceding Century been withdrawn from his duty by a bribe, his Majesty did not so implicitly rely, as he ought to have done, on the honour of the English character. Commodore Nelson in writing to Sir John Jervis on the 26th of April, and first of May, noticed that consequent want of firmness which the Court of Turin displayed, and thus concluded:

“ I have thus, Sir, got to the end of our naval business, and shall therefore now take up the account of the proceedings of General Beaulieu, and the Sardinians, where Mr. Drake leaves off. The treaty is finished, and an armistice is agreed on, until the return of the courier from Paris. I



never had much faith in the Sardinian Ministers, after their extraordinary request to me last year, and I much fear they have not done their utmost to defend Piedmont, and the French seem to have understood them. Neither Ceva, nor the strong posts, were then taken, as I sent you word in a former letter, nor are they to this day. Twenty thousand French pushed forward to within six miles of Turin : General Beaulieu advancing with celerity from Acqui, was on one side of the plain, and next day would have attacked the French army. The French had already begun to retreat, when an express reached him that an armistice, and most probably a peace, had taken place between the Sardinians and French. Mr. Trevor, with the Imperial, Neapolitan, and Russian Ministers, waited on the King, to desire that Alessandria and Tortona might be delivered up to the Germans, which was peremptorily refused : upon this the Ministers quitted the kingdom, without taking leave, and it is very probable we have now an additional enemy. General Beaulieu is retreating, I am told, towards the Milanese ; but how far he has fallen back, I do not hear. The French near Acqui are very ill supplied, and the convoy expected is of the greatest importance to their future operations ; I am told if it does not reach them, they must come again to the sea coast. I learn with pleasure that we knocked to pieces the largest of the batteries at Loano, and killed 25 French in it. The place is also very

much damaged, which I regret; but these things must happen where batteries are situated in a town. I have authorised Mr. Brame to declare, should any conversation with the Secretary of State here turn that way, that I will never fire the first shot; and, therefore, if the inhabitants of the Genoese towns prevent the French from firing, which they can do if they please, their towns are safe; if they do not, the act rests with them. P. S. I have great pleasure in saying my poor Lieutenant, Noble, is still alive, and we have some hopes.—*May 2.* General Beaulieu's army has taken post at Valenza, and between that place and Alessandria. The King of Sardinia, if the Convention ratifies the treaty, is to give up Cuneo and Alessandria, some say Suza; the latter place, I believe, as security for his punctual adherence to the treaty. I have written to Mr. Drake what I have desired Mr. Brame to say..." "As this," added he in writing to Sir J. Jervis, "should be the language of the Secretary of State here, can he for a moment fancy that I will receive shot and shells from every part of the coast, and not consider it as a hostile one? This indeed he may be assured of, that I never have, nor ever will fire the first shot; but if shot are fired, I will do my utmost to destroy the batteries firing at the English flag, although, in doing this, I shall guard as much as possible against injuring any individual Genoese, a Nation which I respect on many accounts. The Secretary however must

be sensible, that the fire of cannon once opened, is terrible to a town."

(1796.) The spirit with which Sir John Jervis resisted these continual Insults of the Italians, appears, amongst other documents, from the following letter, sent by that Admiral, to the Hon. W. F. Wyndham, dated, Victory, off Toulon, 5th of May. "Sir, I very much admire the manner, in which your Excellency has treated the subject of the outrage committed upon his Majesty's colours, within the limits of the port of Leghorn, and I have read with indignation the language held by the Tuscan Minister. I have, in addition, to complain of two flagrant violations of the Neutrality, which ought to subsist between the two Courts, in the fort at Leghorn having fired shot at his Majesty's ship *la Minerve*, and a transport under her convoy, and at his Majesty's sloops, *l'Eclair*, *Vanneau*, and the *Fox* cutter. After having pledged my word of honour to the late Governor *Serrati*, that I would be answerable for the conduct of his Majesty's ships under my command, I little expected so soon to have heard of an insult, bordering on hostility, committed against the British nation, not to be endured for a moment. The crew of *l'Horrible* are, I conceive, to be considered as pirates to all intents and purposes, and to be tried as such: if there were any consistency in the French government, the Minister of that republic at Florence would be the first to demand it. There

being no tribunal in Tuscany competent to the decision of an act of piracy, I can scarcely believe—because the law of nations upon a crime so destructive to commerce and navigation, is equally binding on all civilized Countries. I request your Excellency will have the goodness to make the strongest remonstrances against these unjustifiable proceedings.”

(1796.) The Commodore left Genoa on the 3d of May, and on the next day joined the *Blanche*, and the *Meleager* also arrived from Leghorn. In a letter on the 8th to his Admiral he said, “Yesterday evening we chased into Loano a French gun-boat, two light brigs, and one deep one, they came last from the anchorage at Alassio; but we are rather inclined to believe they sailed at first from Vado: it fell stark calm, as we got within shot, and dark. Several shot struck the *Blanche*, and one a hot one, which set her on fire, but we soon got the shot cut out, and towed off; her sails and rigging were also cut, but not a man was killed or wounded. With our general good luck, not a shot struck us, and only one gun was fired from the squadron; we were long gun shot distant, and it would have been merely a waste of powder and shot. The enemy have at least 500 men at work building a new battery, and I am waiting for a good wind to get at them, when I shall fully expect the deep laden brig.

“Two brigs, and several tartans, having got

into Finale, which we supposed to be French, I took the opportunity of the enemy's fancying we were looking at them, to send the boats of the squadron, under Lieutenants Culverhouse, Compton and Drummond, belonging to Meleager, Agamemnon, and Peterell, and also Lieutenant Grant of the Blanche, to cut out the vessels at Finale; which they did without a person in the town, or vessels, knowing it: but they were all Genoese, and I released them this morning, sending a note to the Governor of Finale, which I trust can do no harm and may be of some use to us.'

*To the same, dated Leghorn Roads, May 18.*—I have felt, and do feel, Sir, every degree of sensibility, and gratitude, for your kind and flattering attention, in directing me to hoist a distinguishing pendant; but as the service, for which it was intended to be useful, is nearly, if not quite at an end, I assure you I shall have no regret in striking it; for it will afford me an opportunity of serving nearer your flag, and of endeavouring to shew by my attention in a subordinate station, that I was not unworthy of commanding. Reports are afloat that a Promotion is certainly very near; and, if so, the Admiralty will either direct my flag to be hoisted here, or I shall have a land voyage.

“I must now, dear Sir, take the liberty of saying a word respecting my health. It certainly is not bad, on the contrary I believe it

is better than what medical people assert; but, I believe, a little rest and the baths of Pisa, the same nearly as those of Bath, would render me great benefit. If I could without any impediment to the service, take twenty days to fit me for another winter, I should not dislike it; and yet, perhaps, I shall do without it.—I do not much like what I have written.”

(1796) In a letter to Mrs. Nelson, on the 20th of May, from Leghorn, he mentioned with his usual gratitude, a relation who had shewn him a most generous and marked attention. “This may possibly find you at Mr. Suckling’s;”<sup>n</sup> if so, I beg you will say every kind thing for me. We are certainly under greater obligations to him, than to any one, he is a good man, and a respectable character.—If I am ordered to hoist my flag in this country, the compliment is great; and therefore we must both rest contented for a little time. The French must soon be tired, and I believe all our Allies are so already. The Dukes of Parma, and of Modena, have both made treaties with the French, paying large sums of money; and, in their treaties, it is specified that certain pictures are to be delivered to be sent to Paris. The palace of the Louvre is to have the finest gallery of pictures in the

<sup>n</sup> The late Mr. William Suckling, of the Custom House, then residing at Kentish Town, brother to Captain Maurice Suckling, B. N. died at the close of the year 1798.

world. The Pope has offered ten millions of crowns to prevent their coming to Rome; and it is said they have refused it, unless the famous statue of the Apollo Belvidere is sent to Paris. What a race of people! but they have done wonders. Reinforcements are coming to join General Beaulieu; and the inhabitants of the Tyrol, a hardy and warlike nation, are rising to join the General. If all the states of Italy make peace, we have nothing to look to but Corsica; which, in the present state of its inhabitants, is not, in my opinion, an object to keep us in the Mediterranean: we shall, I hope, quit it, and employ our Fleet more to our advantage."

(1796.) When writing to Sir John Jervis, May 30, he thus noticed the arrival of an officer, who afterwards served so long with him. "Lieutenant Berry joined me in the Comet, and I have as far as I have seen, every reason to be satisfied with him, both as a gentleman and an officer. I had a few days ago a plan for taking the French brig of war out of Vado, and intrusted the execution of it to him: it miscarried from an unforeseen and improbable event, but I was much pleased by Mr. Berry's strict attention to my instructions.

"The Meleager joined me yesterday, and I send you, Sir, all the letters and information received by her. Mr. Trevor seems to think a Spanish war is almost unavoidable, and that the French, after all their protestations, will take

possession of Leghorn. My mind is clear, if they have force to penetrate further into Italy, they will possess themselves of that place. The Toulon information is, as I always thought; pleasant to know, but never to be depended upon; all is guess, they may go east, west, north, or south. These Commissioners know nothing, they write a history to get money, and in this I fancy they succeed wonderfully well. I hope to hear from Mr. Drake of the actual situation of the Armies, and if he has hopes: should he have none (for he will have them, if within probability, however distant) I shall not have the smallest."

(1796.) On May 31, Commodore Nelson's squadron gained additional honour by the capture of a valuable convoy of arms, intrenching tools, and ammunition, which had been sent to Buonaparte for carrying on the siege of Mantua. The following is the official account which the Commodore sent to Sir John Jervis, dated June 1, off Oneglia. "Sir, At two P. M. yesterday, seeing six sail running along shore, which I believed to be French, and knowing the great consequence of intercepting the cannon and ordnance stores that I had information were expected from Toulon, to be landed at S. Pier d' Arena for the Siege of Mantua, I made the signal for a general chase, when the vessels hoisted French colours and anchored close under a battery. I directed Captain Cockburn of the *Meleager* to lead me



in, which he did in a most officerlike manner, and at three o'clock the *Meleager*, and *Agamemnon*, anchored in less than four fathoms water, and did soon afterwards the *Peterell* and *Speedy*. After a short resistance from the battery, and vessels, we took possession of them. It is impossible I can do justice to the alacrity and gallantry ever conspicuous in my little squadron: Our boats boarded the national ketch, the *Commodore* of the convoy, in the fire of three eighteen-pounders, and one eighteen-pounder in a gun-boat. The *Blanche* and *Diadem* being to leeward, the former could not anchor until the vessels had struck; but the boats of all the ships were active in getting the prizes off the shore, the enemy having cut their cables when they surrendered. A smart fire of musquetry was kept up from the shore during the whole of this service. The *Agamemnon's* masts, sails, and rigging, are a little cut, but of no material consequence.

“Much as I feel indebted to every Officer in the squadron, yet I cannot omit the mention of the great support, and assistance, I have ever received from Captain Cockburn, who has been nearly a year under my command on this station; and I should feel myself guilty of neglect of duty, were I not to represent his zeal, ability, and courage, which are conspicuous on every occasion that offers. Enclosed I transmit you a list of the killed and wounded, and of the vessels taken.”

Sir John Jervis transmitted this letter to the Admiralty, on the 8th of June, 1796, when off Toulon, and added, "Their Lordships are so thoroughly acquainted with the vigilance and enterprise of Commodore Nelson, that I forbear to repeat his merits."

In writing afterwards to Sir John Jervis, Captain Nelson said, "In my public letter it was impossible to enumerate every individual; but next to Captain Cockburn, stands Captain Stuart of the *Peterell*; Spicer<sup>o</sup> commanded the boats which first boarded the ketch, under the heavy fire, and had a little skirmish when on board, and to him the Commander surrendered."

(1796.) The grateful manner in which the affectionate disposition of Nelson expressed his obligations to his Commanding Officer, and his rigid determination to remain afloat notwithstanding a most painful indisposition, are expressed in a letter dated June 3. "I feel obligations to you on every occasion, since I have had the pleasure of serving under your command; and I endeavour by an assiduous attention to my duty, to merit the continuance of your good opinion. I shall not go to Pisa at present, we may be useful here; and, to say the truth, when I am actively employed, I am not so bad. My complaint is as

• The following officers, as appears from some memoranda, were at this time Lieutenants of the *Agamemnon*, 1. Berry, 2. Spicer, 3. Suckling, 4. Summers. 5. Noble, 6. Compton.

if a girth were buckled taut over my breast, and my endeavour, in the night, is to get it loose. If the service will admit of it, I shall, perhaps, at a future day take your leave. I wish, Sir, that Captain Cockburn had the *Minerve*; he is worthy of her, or a better ship. My poor soldier-officer (Lieutenant Pearson) wishes much to go with me; if it be possible, pray indulge us."

An apprehension which the Commodore sometimes indulged, in those moments of depression which the great exertions both of his mind and body produced, was the painful idea, that having been so long in the Mediterranean, in an old and worn out ship, he should be removed from serving under the flag of an Admiral, who had shown him such attention. Whilst in this state of mind, he received one of those encouraging and flattering letters from Sir J. Jervis, which never fail to impart additional energy to a zealous and ingenuous mind. Nelson's answer is dated Fiorenza, June 4, 1796. "I feel highly flattered by your desire to have me to continue to serve under your command, which I own would afford me infinite satisfaction; and I therefore beg leave to propose some measures, that may still give me that pleasure.

"The first is, although the *Agamemnon* can certainly remain in this country for the next three months, she must be in England before the winter. Another is, that if a sixty-four is ordered to go, although *Diadem* is certainly in

better plight than Agamemnon, yet in point of sailing she is much inferior. The third is, if you really think that the Admiralty will order my Flag to be hoisted in this country, that you would direct me to hoist my pendant on board any ship you judge proper. You will easily perceive that my wishes to stay are sincere; were they not, after your kindness to me, I should be ungrateful.

*June 5th.* I am not, Dear Sir, less anxious than yesterday, for having slept since my last letter:—indeed I cannot bear the thoughts of leaving your command. You have placed an unbounded confidence in me, and, I own, I feel that no exertion of mine has been wanting for a moment, to merit so great an honour.”

(1796.) Amidst the excesses and cruelty which the French at this time committed, it was their custom to sell their Austrian prisoners to the Spaniards, who transported some of these wretched victims to their mines in South America, and selected the best for recruits. This outrage to all humanity, was also noticed by the Commander in Chief, Sir John Jervis, in the following letter to Lord Bute: “The French commissioners, on the coast of Genoa, make a practice of selling the Austrian prisoners to the agents for recruiting the Spanish army. Commodore Nelson has fortunately had an opportunity of incontestably proving the fact, and was supplicated by the aforementioned agents not to re-

port upon it. But he has my orders, to make an exact representation of the case to the General commanding the Austrian army in Italy, and a formal complaint may be expected shortly from the Court of Vienna to that of Madrid."—In another letter to Mr. Jackson, Secretary of Legation at Turin, Sir John Jervis added: "From a Swiss dealer in human flesh, the demand made upon me to deliver up 152 Austrian grenadiers, serving on board his Majesty's Fleet under my command, is natural enough; but that a Spaniard who is a noble creature, should join in such a demand, I must confess astonishes me; and I can only account for it, by the Chevalier Caamano being ignorant, that the persons in question were made prisoners of war in the last affair of General Beaulieu, and are not deserters, and that they were most basely and inhumanly sold by the French commissaries, in the western Riviera of Genoa, to the vile crimps who recruit for the foreign regiments in the service of Spain. It is high time a stop should be put to this abominable traffic, a million times more disgraceful than the African slave trade; and I trust the strong remonstrances about to be made by the Court of Vienna, to the Court of Madrid, will produce the desired effect. In the mean while, I request you will make my acknowledgments to Mr. Wickham, for the judicious manner in which he treated

the subject, in his correspondence with the Chevalier Caamano.”<sup>p</sup>

The sanguine mind of the Commodore received, whilst at St. Fiorenzo, the completion of his wishes; and, on the 9th of June, he thus expressed to the Admiral the satisfaction which his kindness had afforded: *I rejoice, my dear Sir, not a little, at the certainty of remaining under your Command: four hours will change all my matters, and I am very anxious to resume my station.*

XVI. He also took an early opportunity to send home intelligence of this mark of favour with his Commander; which gratified Nelson the more, from his knowing that so many Officers were then moving all their interest to be sent out to the Mediterranean. The following is the first letter that was written after leaving his old ship the *Agamemnon*, dated *Captain*, at sea, *June 13*. “You will see, my dear Fanny, by the date of this letter, that I have at last left poor old *Agamemnon*. Whether it is right or wrong, time must determine. I have remained in a state of uncertainty for a week; and had the corn ships which were momentarily expected from Naples, arrived, I should have sailed for England. The Admiral has on every occasion behaved with the greatest attention to

† The communication from Commodore Nelson, which Sir J. Jervis noticed, when writing to Lord Bute, as incontestably proving this nefarious traffic, is dated June 5, 1796. See *Quarto Edit.* Vol. 1. Page 289.

me; and, if I am to serve, it is better I should serve in this country, where I am known and respected, than to take my chance by being sent home and ordered to another station.

On June 19th, the Commodore commenced his correspondence with Colonel Graham, respecting the operations of the allied Army, and such communications as he wished to make to General Beaulieu; and on the 20th, according to Sir John Jervis' directions, he also began a confidential correspondence with Mr. Graves at Rome, on such subjects as came within the limits of the command between Toulon and Genoa.

In a letter to Captain Locker of the same date, June 20th, Nelson informed him, that, on Captain Sutton's declining to go home in the *Egmont*, he stood for England in the *Agamemnon* for more than a week; however, when it was known in the Fleet that the *Egmont* did not return, many wished to go, and the Commander of the Captain being in a bad state of health, had the preference: "I left Sir J. Jervis," adds the Commodore, "yesterday off Toulon, in good health and spirits, he most particularly desired me to make his kindest remembrances to you, and to say, he had not a moment to spare from the constant correspondence he is obliged to continue; for our ministers at all the Italian ports are constantly writing. As to news, the armies of the French so far outnumber General Beaulieu, that he has been obliged to retreat

into the Tyrol.”—It may be here observed, that notwithstanding the numbers of the French Army and its skill, it owed still more to that series of bribery and treachery, which gradually became established into a Military System: “It is well known,” says a political writer, “that Buonaparte one day incautiously declared, *That the Austrian army cost him more than his own.*”<sup>9</sup>

(1796.) On the 23d of June, Commodore Nelson sent the following letter to his Admiral: “The complaints of the Genoese government are so ridiculous, that I hardly know what to say: if we are to allow the free passage of the Enemy coastways, we are useless. The best mode, in my opinion, is to speak openly—*that so long as the French are in possession of batteries on the coast, which fire on our ships, so long we shall consider it as an enemy’s coast.* I have the pleasure to declare, our conduct has so completely alarmed the French, that all their coasting trade is at an end; even the corvettes, gun-boats, &c. which were moored under the fortresses of Vado, have not thought themselves in security, but are all gone into Savona Mole, and have unbent their sails.”

These Complaints being afterwards officially presented against the Commodore, in a most illiberal manner, he felt himself obliged in honour to answer them to his Admiral, *June 25th.* “I send you, my dear Sir, a full reply to the

<sup>9</sup> Nouveau Interêts de l’Europe.



three complaints of the Genoese Secretary of State, a copy of which I have also enclosed for Mr. Drake, that he may answer the government of Genoa, if he thinks it right. The Genoese can only make these complaints to please the French; but I cannot think it right, that we are to be traduced to please any Nation on earth." In this Statement' the Commodore entered into a long and necessary detail of facts; and repelled, with his wonted ability, the uncandid accusations which the Genoese government had preferred against him to Lord Grenville, without affording the Commodore an opportunity, as he declared, of refuting, or even explaining his conduct: *A measure, added he, which I consider as tending, in a certain degree, to injure my character, by the possibility of an impression remaining on the mind of my Sovereign, of my having acted wrong.*

The following letter to Sir John Jervis gives some interesting details of the operations of the French army under Buonaparte, when taking possession of Leghorn. "*Leghorn Roads, June the 28th.* Sir, I made the best of my way to this place, as I wrote you word from Genoa was my intention; but from calms, and contrary winds, it was yesterday morning before I anchored in the northern road of this port. The French took possession of the town about one

† The only copy that remains, which consists of five folio pages, is in the collection of Earl St. Vincent, dated June 24, 1796,

o'clock, and immediately fired on the Inconstant, and a prize of Captain Hood's laden with timber; but without doing them any damage. The exertions of Captain Fremantle must have been very great; for the Consul, and Mr. Fonnereau, tell me, that except bad debts and the loss of furniture, nothing of any great consequence was left in the town. I hear the Governor behaved with all the attention in his power to the English, by doubling the guards on the Mole to prevent them from being molested in getting out their vessels; and, that when it was represented to him, that 200 bullocks, and some bread, were shipping for the English, his answer was, *Leghorn is a free port, and shall remain so, until I receive contrary orders from the Grand Duke.*

“ I have just detained a fishing boat from the town: the troops entered at Porta Pisa, and marched through Via Grande to the Mole battery. General Buonaparte went to the palace of the Grand Duke, and thence made a visit to the Governor and took possession of the house of the English Consul. A French sentinel is mounted at the gates with a Tuscan. Except the French troops necessary for the batteries, the rest lie outside the town, on the glacis, for not one has a tent. The Governor set off directly for Florence. I have written to say,

• Twenty-three sail of square-rigged vessels, and fourteen tartans, put to sea with this officer.

That whatever may be their policy, in withholding a few vegetables and fruit from me, yet that their fishing-boats might safely go out as usual; for we never wished to distress innocent inhabitants. I intend remaining here for a day or two, in order to prevent any English ship from entering, until the news may spread about. It is then my intention to proceed to St. Fiorenzo, to get wine, wood, &c. and thence to go to Genoa. I find my ship well manned, although not active.”

(1796.) In a letter to Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Viceroy of Corsica, dated from St. Fiorenzo, July the 1st, the Commodore further noticed the proceedings of the French at Leghorn:—  
 “The English are under infinite obligations to Spannochi, who is suffering for it, and to Captain Fremantle. You may be assured that no exertions of my own were wanting to have got sooner to Leghorn; but it was Thursday noon before we heard the rumour at Genoa, and on the same day they knew it at Leghorn, when an express was sent me. Calms prevented my arrival until Monday morning: fortunately my assistance was not wanted, and it was owing to these apparently unlucky calms that so much property was saved.”

The good faith of the Governor Spannochi

<sup>t</sup> Spannochi was by birth a Neapolitan, and had commanded, in 1793, the *Guiscardi* at Toulon, under the *Mareschal Forteguerri*.

formed a striking contrast to the ignoble conduct of those who were so ready to make any peace with the enemies of their Country. The following are the curious epistles which on this occasion passed between Buonaparte and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. “ *Leghorn, June 29.* Royal Highness, An hour before we entered Leghorn, an English frigate carried off two French ships worth 500,000 livres. The Governor suffered them to be taken under the fire of his batteries, which was contrary to the intention of your Royal Highness, and the neutrality of the port of Leghorn. I prefer a complaint to your R. H. against this Governor, who in his whole conduct displays a decided hatred against the French. He yesterday endeavoured, at the moment of our arrival, to make the people rise up against us, there is no kind of ill treatment he did not cause our advanced guard to experience. I should doubtless have been justified in bringing him to trial before a military commission; but from respect for your Royal Highness, and being intimately convinced of the spirit of justice, which directs all your actions, I preferred sending him to Florence, where I am persuaded, you will give orders to have him punished severely. I must, at the same time, return my thanks to your R. H. for your goodness in appointing General Strasoldo to supply the army with every thing that was necessary, he has acquitted himself with equal

zeal and success. *Buonaparte.*—"To this insolent abuse of the brave Spannochi succeeded the following letter of his Sovereign. "General, General Spannochi, confined by your order, has been brought hither. It is a point of delicacy to keep him in arrest until the motives of this step, which I presume to be just, are known to me: in order to give you, as well as the French republic and all Europe, the greatest proof of equity conformably to the laws of my Country, to which I have always made it my duty to submit myself. I send this letter by the Marquis Manfredini, my major domo, whom I request you to inform in what Spannochi has been culpable. You may besides repose full confidence in him relative to all the objects interesting to the repose of my subjects. I ardently desire to receive a letter, written by yourself, which in the present circumstances may render me completely tranquil, and at the same time confirm the repose of Tuscany. FERDINAND."

(1796.) Early in the morning of the 8th of July, Commodore Nelson, then close off the *Melora*, received a letter from the Viceroy of Corsica, with whom he had orders to cooperate in all respects, respecting his intention to possess Porto Ferrajo; upon which the Commodore instantly dispatched the *Meleager* with the above letter to Genoa, and directed Captain Cockburn to remain forty-eight hours in that port, in order to receive whatever information

could be collected; whilst he himself proceeded with the Peterell sloop, off Porto Ferrajo.— During the night he sent in a boat to see whether the French or English had possession of the place, and found the Southampton lying there: in the morning, the convoy hove in sight, and the Inconstant, Captain Fremantle, was seen working up to join him.

Sir Gilbert Elliot, in his letter to the Governor of Porto Ferrajo, dated Bastia, *July 6*, gave him the following reasons for the measures which the insidious conduct of the French had induced the Viceroy to adopt. “ Sir: The French troops have taken possession of the city of Leghorn; the cannon of the fortresses have been directed against the ships of the King in the road, and the property of his Majesty’s subjects at Leghorn has been violated, notwithstanding the neutrality of his R. H. the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the reiterated protestations of the French to respect it. There is likewise reason to believe, that the French have the same intentions upon the fortress of Porto Ferrajo, hoping by such means to facilitate the designs which they meditate against the kingdom of Corsica. These circumstances have determined us to prevent the plans of the enemies of the King, which are equally hostile to the Grand Duke, by placing at Porto Ferrajo a garrison capable of defending that place; our only intention being to prevent that fortress, and the whole

be a further proof of what may be effected by the hearty cooperation of the two services.

“ I cannot conclude without expressing my fullest approbation of the zeal and good conduct of every Captain, officer, and man in the squadron; and also, that during the time I was necessarily employed on shore, my first lieutenant, Edward Berry, commanded the ship, and placed her opposite the grand bastion, within half pistol shot; and in such a manner as could not have failed, had we opened our fire, to produce the greatest effect. The place is mounted with one hundred pieces of cannon, and garrisoned by 400 regulars, besides militia.”

(1796.) *Commodore Nelson to Sir John Jervis, dated Leghorn Roads, July the 18th.* “ Dear Sir: I hope his Holiness the Pope may yet wage war against the French. I have never heard that he has been in actual hostility against them. The blockade of Leghorn is complete, not a vessel can go in or come out without my permission. Yesterday a Dane came out laden with oil and wine for Genoa: I told him he must return, or I should send him to Corsica. His answer was, ‘ I am a Neutral, and you may take me, but I will not return.’ I therefore took possession, and intended giving him to a Corsican privateer; when, in about two hours, he begged I would allow him to return. On this I sent him back with a letter to the Danish Consul, whence

the following is an extract: *Respect for the Danish flag, and humanity to the owners of this vessel, impel me to return her into their possession, and not proceed to those extremities which the laws of nations allow in case of a declared blockaded port.* This I am satisfied was a trial of what I intended; for he said, all the neutrals were determined to come out. If we are firm, the Grand Duke will sorely repent his admission of the French: his repeated proclamations for the people to be quiet, have given time to the French to lay powder under all the works; and, in case of any disturbance, they say, *up shall go the works.* Cannon are pointed from the wall to every street, and all the cannon and mortars are mounted; the famous long brass gun is on the mole head, and also a mortar. The Grand Duke declares he yet hopes the Directory will order Buonaparte to leave Leghorn, but I believe the French now wish to get into fortified towns, to prolong the campaign.

“The Captain has her wants, but I intend she shall last until the autumn; for I know when once we begin, our wants are innumerable. I hope the Admiralty will send out fresh ships. The French are fitting out here from four to six tartans, with thirty-six pounders, to drive me out of the roads; but I am prepared against fire vessels, and all other plans, as well as I am able. The tartans, it is said, will be out to-night: two thousand French are arrived, and more are ex-



pected. I have only now to beg, that whenever you think the enemy will face you on the water, you will send for me; for my heart would break to be absent at such a glorious time."

(1796.) *Commodore Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, dated Captain, Leghorn Roads, under sail for Genoa, July 20.* "Sir: I was this morning honoured with your Royal Highness's letter of May 30th, and it gives me real satisfaction to be assured of the continuance of your good opinion. Indeed I can say with truth, that no one whom you may have been pleased to honour with your notice, has a more sincere attachment for you than myself. It has pleased God this war, not only to give me frequent opportunities of shewing myself an Officer worthy of trust, but also to prosper all my undertakings in the highest degree. I have had the extreme good fortune, not only to be noticed in my immediate line of duty, but also to obtain the repeated approbation of his Majesty's Ministers at Turin, Genoa, and Naples, as well as of the Viceroy of Corsica, for my conduct in the various opinions I have been called upon to give, and my judgment being formed from common sense, I have never yet been mistaken.

"You will hear of our taking possession of Porto Ferrajo; if we had not, to a certainty the French would, and then they would have been too near Corsica, where I fear we have an ungrateful set of people, and one party acknow-

ledged friends to the French, which, although greatly outnumbered by our friends, constantly makes disturbances. The armistice of the Pope and King of Naples, will I believe come to nothing; it was only done to gain time, and they will be guided by the success or defeat of the Austrians. The King of Naples is firm, he has been by far the most faithful ally of England: He is at the head of 80,000 men at Velletri, only two posts from Rome; where the people are ripe for a revolt, and already declare that the busts, statues, and manuscripts, shall not go out of Rome. The French possessing themselves of Leghorn, so contrary to the repeated pledges of the Directory, will afford such an opportunity for all the Italian States to break with them again, that perhaps they may be induced to give it up: the King of Naples, if they refuse, would march to attack it, and we are sure of the lower order at Leghorn. The garrison is reinforced to 5000 men, and provisions are getting into the citadel: the French General has told the inhabitants, that if they are not quiet, he would blow all the works up round the town, and which in fact would blow half the town up: the mines are laid; large vessels are also fitting with forty-two pounders, and furnaces, to annoy me; but I am prepared, as much as possible, against whatever may happen."

The cordiality which prevailed amongst all those who at this time held high situations in

the Mediterranean, is a proof that the interests of the British Nation had been intrusted to men of great and liberal minds, who wanted no additional impulse or fresh instructions from the cabinet, to regulate their conduct. "I was unacquainted," says Sir J. Jervis, in writing to Mr. Wyndham, "with the enterprise against Porto Ferrajo, until it came into our possession, having given orders to Commodore Nelson to cooperate in all respects with the Viceroy." The confidence which the Commander in Chief, the Viceroy, and the Commodore, uniformly possessed in each other, appears in all their operations; the only object they appeared to covet, was Honour. "I experience, Sir," said Nelson, in writing to Sir J. Jervis, August 1, "the highest degree of pleasure which an officer is capable of feeling, the full approbation of his Commander in Chief; which must not be a little

u Amidst those Ministers in the Mediterranean, whose sound integrity and loyalty were in 1796 opposed to the craft and democratic subtilty of the French, the Hon. William Wyndham particularly deserves notice, as being related to that celebrated Royalist, Sir Thomas Wyndham, who is mentioned with so much honour by Hume. "A few days before his death, in 1636, Sir T. Wyndham called to him his five sons: *My children*, said he, *we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last Sovereigns: but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native Country. But whatever happens, do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown though it should hang on a bush.*"

increased by knowing that his Commander is such a character as Sir John Jervis, without disparagement or flattery, allowed to be one of the first in the service."

The following letter that had been sent to Mrs. Nelson on the 2d of August, displays those features of the zealous and sanguine mind of the Commodore, which must in vain be sought for in any other communication: "Had all my actions, my dearest Fanny, been gazetted, not one fortnight would have passed during the whole war without a letter from me: one day or other I will have a long gazette to myself; I feel that such an opportunity will be given me. I cannot, if I am in the field for glory, be kept out of sight. Probably my services may be forgotten by the great, by the time I get home; but my mind will not forget, nor cease to feel a degree of consolation, and of applause, superior to undeserved rewards. Wherever there is any thing to be done, there Providence is sure to direct my steps. Credit must be given me in spite of envy. Even the French respect me: their Minister at Genoa, in answering a note of mine, when returning some wearing apparel that had been taken, said, *Your Nation, Sir, and mine, are made to shew examples of generosity, as well as of valour, to all the people of the earth.* The following is a copy of the note\* I had sent him: 'Ge-

\* Dated Genoa Mole, June 22, 1796.

nerous Nations, Sir, are above rendering any other damage to individuals, than such as the known laws of war prescribe. In a vessel lately taken by my squadron was found an imperial full of clothes, belonging to a general officer of artillery, I therefore send you the clothes as taken, and some papers which may be useful to the officer, and have to request you will have the goodness to forward them to him.'—I will also relate another anecdote, all vanity to myself, but you will partake of it: A person sent me a letter, and directed as follows, *Horatio Nelson, Genoa*. On being asked how he could direct in such a manner, his answer in a large party was, *Sir, there is but one Horatio Nelson in the world*. The letter certainly came immediately. At Genoa, where I have stopped all their trade, I am beloved and respected both by the senate and lower order. If any man is fearful of his vessel being stopped, he comes and asks me; if I give him a paper, or say, 'All is right,' he is contented. I am known throughout Italy; not a kingdom, or state, where my name will be forgotten. This is my gazette. I had a letter a few days since from H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, assuring me of his unalterable friendship. With kindest love to my Father, believe me your most affectionate husband."

(1796.) *The Rev. Edmund Nelson to his Son Horatio, dated July 4.* "Your affectionate letter in August, my dear Horatio, is arrived, which

brings me fresh assurances, if such were wanting, that neither time, nor distance, nor multiplicity of business, can change or shake those principles of filial affection, which, from a very early period, have indicated a mind guided by true morality and evangelical religion; and those principles will be your support throughout the period of your life. You are rendering to the public every claim it can demand from your professional station: all your time, your talents, and abilities, are exerted in its service; and though success does not always crown our best endeavours, yet it is a proof of sound judgment, when, in a series of events, success shews itself to have arisen from plans of operation founded on professional knowledge, and depth of thought. The advantages of an active life are so many, that no one of common understanding ever hesitated in preferring what is likely to be useful, both to himself, and to society. As it has pleased God to give you abilities to act, so I trust your own exertions in using those powers will be approved of, and receive a blessing from an all wise and gracious Benefactor: O may He continue to preserve, direct, and assist all your endeavours in doing what is right. Weigh in your own scale of sound judgment all things which you can best understand, and from causes discern effects.— God bless, preserve, and prosper you. Edmund Nelson.”

(1796.) On the 15th of August, Nelson re-

ceived an order which established him Commodore with a Captain under him; and on the same day, when at sea, informed the Admiral, that he was going to Bastia to consult with the Viceroy on the subject of the Leghorn expedition. On his arrival there the next day, he appears sanguine respecting the project they had in view, and the successful event of a Spanish war: "All will be well I am satisfied in our Leghorn expedition, provided Wurmser is victorious; upon this ground only have I adopted the measure. We are impatient for the battle of the 3d; there are reports at Florence that the Austrians are checked; but no account of this had been published by the French at Leghorn on the 14th. All the heavy stores are shipping here, and at St. Fiorenzo, and twenty-four hours, when the opportunity offers, will be sufficient. I hope we shall have settled Leghorn before the Dons, if they intend it, arrive. I have still my doubts as to a Spanish war, and if there should be one, with your management I have no fears. Their fleet is ill manned, and worse officered, I believe, and they are slow. Lord Bute's letter paves the way very clearly for your line of acting: Ministers seldom commit themselves in an opinion. Should the Dons come, I shall then hope I may be spared, in my own person, to help to make you at least a Viscount."

(1796.) *Commodore Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, dated August 19.* "Sir: In

the present situation of affairs I will not let slip an opportunity of writing to your Royal Highness. The check which the Austrians have met with in Italy on the 3d, 4th, and 5th, must give another unfavourable turn to the affairs of our Allies. The French have made the most of it, and they were no doubt masters of the field of battle. I wish to say more than I dare to trust to the post, of the object of an expedition that was to have taken place the moment Wurmser became victorious, in which I was to have been a principal actor.—Our affairs in Corsica are gloomy; there is a very strong republican party in that island, and they are well supported from France; the first favourable moment they will certainly act against us. The French are endeavouring to get over from the continent twenty and thirty men at a time, and they will accomplish it in spite of all we can do. Gentili, a Corsican, who commanded in Bastia when we took it, is arrived at Leghorn, to command in Corsica. Twenty field pieces have been sent from here, and are landed near Ajaccio.

“As to our fleet, under such a Commander in Chief as Sir John Jervis, nobody has any fears. We are now twenty-two sail of the line; the combined fleet will not be more than thirty-five sail of the line, supposing the Dons detach to the West Indies. I will venture my life, Sir John Jervis defeats them; I do not mean by a



regular battle, but by the skill of our Admiral, and the activity and spirit of our officers and seamen. This country is the most favourable possible for skill with an inferior fleet; for the winds are so variable, that some one time in twenty-four hours you must be able to attack a part of a large fleet, and the other will be becalmed, or have a contrary wind, therefore I hope government will not be alarmed for our safety, I mean more than is proper. I take for granted they will send us reinforcements as soon as possible; but there is nothing we are not able to accomplish under Sir John Jervis. I am stationed, as you know, to blockade Leghorn, and now Corsica may prevent my going to the fleet, which I feel very much, but all cannot be as we wish. I assure your Royal Highness that no small part of my pleasure in the acknowledgment of my services, has arisen from the conviction that I am one of those of whom from your early youth you have been pleased to have a good opinion; and I have to beg that your Royal Highness will ever believe me your most faithful Horatio Nelson."

(1796.) The character of the English Nation, and of the Commodore, is delineated in the letter which he sent to De Lavilette, Governor of Leghorn, dated Leghorn Roads, August 22. "Your Excellency, from the great length of time you have been at Leghorn, well knows that it is the pride of the English to relieve and

alleviate the misfortunes even of their enemies; much more then would it be a pleasure to England to assist the Tuscans in their distress, from the breach of faith of the French, and their most extraordinary conduct towards a neutral state: I therefore had given passports to every fisherman to go out as usual with their tartans, and it is with astonishment I find that these poor fishermen, who are obliged to come on board my Sovereign's ship to obtain that permission, which not only maintains a number of poor Tuscan families, but also supplies the town of Leghorn with fish; are by your Excellency as president of the health office, subjected to a quarantine of ten days, although I have given my word of honour, which until now was never doubted, that I am with my squadron *in libera practica*. I must desire, Sir, that you will represent my liberal conduct, contrasted with yours, to His Royal Highness your Sovereign. You must have noticed my long forbearance, in not having repelled the firing of the batteries against his Britannic Majesty's ships; you must have known that it has been humanity, and not want of power, towards a town and its innocent inhabitants belonging to your Sovereign, whose situation I have pitied: but now, as the enemy have withdrawn such numbers of their troops, and the Tuscan soldiers being so superior to the French, I beg leave to acquaint you, that if in future one shot is fired at his Britannic Majesty's

ships, I shall chastise the battery; and whatever damage may happen to the town, your Sovereign and the inhabitants of Leghorn must lay the entire blame on his Excellency Jaques De Lavilette, and not on your Excellency's most obedient servant Horatio Nelson."

The Governor in reply, after informing the Commodore that he had received a copy of his letter, the original being left in the hands of the Commandant of the French troops, gave as his excuse towards the fishermen, that the Commodore had not made the public declaration respecting his squadron, which the regulations of the office of health required; and that with respect to the second part of his letter, he had been misinformed, for the remaining force of the French in Leghorn was much superior to the Tuscan. "Besides," added the Governor, "the batteries and all the forts are occupied by the French: I hope therefore, from your moderation, and the well known sentiments of generosity of his Britannic Majesty, that you will not place yourselves in such situations as to be annoyed by those batteries, and in consequence attempt to revenge yourselves; which would fall on this innocent and unhappy country."

In a letter to Mrs. Nelson, dated Leghorn Roads, August 23, the Commodore informed her, that as soon as affairs were settled with the Grand Duke, he should pay his Holiness the Pope a visit. "I do not think," added he,

“that he will oppose the thunder of the Vatican against my thunder; and you will I *dâre* say hear, that I am at Rome in my barge. If I succeed, I am determined to row up the Tyber, and into Rome.”

(1796.) The correspondence of the Commander in Chief with some of the leading characters in the Mediterranean, and with the Government at home, occasionally illustrates the various events which connect the proceedings of the Commodore with the operations of the fleet. On the 23d of August, in writing to the Viceroy, Sir John Jervis had touched on the utility of evacuating Corsica, and obtaining possession of Porto Ferrajo: “I am free to say,” observed the Admiral, “that if the Corsicans do not manfully resist the machinations of the enemy, it would be very bad policy indeed to continue in possession of the ports longer than is absolutely necessary for our own convenience. Porto Ferrajo would be a very good transfer, equally *à portée* to Leghorn; and while the Austrians make any stand in Italy, I conclude it will be the determination of our Cabinet to bolster them up; for should the fleet be withdrawn, the French would be masters of the Adriatic, give the law to Naples, take possession of Sicily, and in short overthrow the whole system in Italy. I enclose the copy of a paper I gave in to Lord Spencer, at his request, in October, which was laid before the Cabinet.”—On the 28th of Au-

gust Nelson had been informed by the Admiral, that the descent with which the western side of Corsica was threatened, had occasioned Captain Towry's being placed at Ajaccio to fit out a flotilla, with the following force under his command, Dromedary, Tarleton, Poulette, Bellette, gun-boat, and yard launches: and on the 30th, when writing to Lord Bute, the Admiral had also added respecting Corsica, "at Genoa, at Port Especia, and Leghorn, are numerous assèmlages of Corsican Emigrants in the interest of France, waiting to get over in feluccas, while their emis-saries are intriguing with too much effect within the island. To frustrate the intended descent, I have ordered a flotilla to be equipped at Ajaccio, in the vicinity of which one of the debarkations is intended to be made; and another at Alteria, between Porto Vecchio and Bastia: this latter I must leave to Commodore Nelson and the Viceroy to watch, for the numerous objects I have to attend to have swallowed up all my means, which were not large."

(1796.) The dubious neutrality of the Genoese, apparent in half measures, which a fatal timidity and selfishness had induced them to adopt, gradually brought on an open rupture with the Commodore, notwithstanding his anxiety to prevent it. Towards the end of August, Mr. Heatley, agent victualler to the Navy, had come to Genoa from Corsica, and given orders that one hundred bullocks should be purchased for the fleet. The

oxen were accordingly procured, and vessels were chartered to carry them to St. Fiorenzo. On the 31st of August, the Eclair sloop, Captain Tyrrell, arrived at Genoa, in order to convoy the vessels to Corsica, and was himself supplied with eight oxen and such other refreshments as he required; when, on the next day, notice was given by the Genoese government that the oxen could not be embarked, for the exportation of them had been prohibited by a decree in the preceding year, dated October 30th, 1795; although a considerable number had, since that date, been shipped for the supply of our Navy.<sup>y</sup> On the 10th of Sept. the Commodore addressed a note to the Genoese Secretary of State, desiring to be informed whether an answer would on that day be given to his repeated applications for the embarkation of the cattle; and he declared, that if he received none, he would in the evening send off an express to Mr. Drake, and Sir John Jervis; and would withdraw his Majesty's ships from the fort of Genoa.

When writing to Mrs. Nelson on the 10th, he had touched on the same subject, and with less reserve had spoken of himself, and of the principles on which he had invariably acted: "I have memorialised the Senate, and had an audience of the Doge, but still these wise heads are puzzled. The Doge was very curious about me; he asked

my age, said he had heard much of me, that the blockade of Leghorn was strict beyond what he could have thought possible; at the same time he publickly thanked me for my goodness on many occasions to Genoese vessels. It has hitherto, my dearest Fanny, been my good fortune to have combined the strictest rigour of my duty with gaining the good will of the parties interested. My conduct has been open: That has been my secret, and it has answered."

(1796.) On the 11th of September, another, and if possible a more flagrant breach of neutrality and good faith took place at Genoa. The French had a battery at St. Pier. d'Arena, and had landed all sorts of warlike stores under the guns of Genoa. Some deserters having in the preceding night escaped in a boat, the Commodore at daylight, on the 11th, had ordered Lieutenant Noble to examine the moles and to endeavour to regain the boat, but without effect; and on the Captain's getting outside the mole head, the Commodore had sent Lieutenant Berry and two boats, but without soldiers, to examine the beach of St. Pier. d'Arena: his orders were, If the French battery fired on them, they should board the vessel which appeared to be landing something at the French battery; but even if the case required this, they were not to molest the vessel unless laden with warlike stores. On Mr. Berry's approach the French battery had fired on our boats; upon which he had boarded

the vessel, and finding her laden with warlike stores, had brought her off to the Commodore. Whilst performing this service, the battery called the Lanthorn, had also fired on the English boats; and afterwards the guns from the forts at Genoa had opened on the English squadron. The indignant Nelson immediately drew up and circulated what he emphatically styled,

*Facts for the knowledge of every person in Genoa and the neighbourhood.*

“ A French battery at St. Pier. d’Arena fired on His Britannic Majesty’s boats, the French landing all sorts of warlike stores under the guns of Genoa; the boats boarded and took a French vessel landing warlike stores, abreast of the French battery, on which all the guns of Genoa opened a fire on H. B. M. ships, but not a shot was returned against the Genoese fortresses, and only three were directed at the French battery to mark the power of the English, and their humanity in not destroying the houses and innocent inhabitants of Genoa. How can the serene Government defend this conduct, as being strictly neutral? The place where the French erect batteries cannot be considered as neutral ground. The inhabitants of St. Pier. d’Arena, and the Genoese soldiers on the batteries, will, if they declare the truth, support the whole of my assertion, That the French fired first, and that the English boats had committed no act, good or bad, before the French fired.



Signed, off Genoa, Sept. 11, 1796, Horatio Nelson."

The Commodore having many letters for the Viceroy of Corsica, and wishing much to see him, stood afterwards for Bastia, and on the 14th, during his passage, wrote as follows to the Admiral: "I assure you, dear Sir, on the most mature reflection, I feel nothing in this affair to reproach myself with; and I shall much rejoice to find you think the same. Some steps must necessarily be taken. You have formerly said, you would pardon my writing opinions to you; therefore, should not a squadron demand of the government of Genoa the free admission of their ports? the insult and cruelty of firing on our boats, is, I suppose, more a ministerial affair; and in case of refusal, then comes the consideration what is next to be done: are the French to be attacked at St. Pier. d'Arena? is the trade of Genoa to be stopped? I mean are all Genoese vessels to be sent into St. Fiorenzo, and then ordered to remain with the masters and crews on board, in full possession of their vessels, until the government of Genoa open their ports and give satisfaction for what has happened? This last, to be sure, may be easily got over: I have in some measure taken upon myself to chastise the French, although supported by Genoa. I shall close this letter with whatever conversation I may have with the Viceroy.

“*Sept. 15th.* It is no small degree of pleasure for me to tell you, that the Viceroy most fully approves of every measure I have taken. He also wishes that the taking and securing Genoese ships be adopted, as a pledge for the safety of the English property at Genoa, and as a measure of reprisal for the conduct of the government. As the Viceroy will write more fully, I shall not touch on our intended Expedition.”

The letter which Sir John Jervis afterwards addressed to Mr. Consul Brame, at Genoa, was written in the original spirit and loyalty of a British Admiral. “Sir: I have read with astonishment and indignation, the paper sent to you by the Secretary of State of the most Serene Republic of Genoa, wherein he charges Commodore Nelson with making use of a subterfuge, to justify the boarding and carrying off a French tartan that was disembarking cannon and ordnance stores, at San Pietro d’Arena. I have no doubt you repelled this shameful attack on the bright honour of the Commodore; which you were fully enabled to do, by the deserters being actually in your possession at Genoa, and the boat in a bay near it. In addition to this, the enemy having erected a battery to cover and protect their depot of military stores in the territory of the most serene republic, was justifiable ground for the Commodore to have acted upon, exclusive of their shameful fire on a small open boat. I have always respected the flag,

and shewn friendly regard to the subjects of the Genoese government; and I am very solicitous to continue the practice, conformably to the will and pleasure of the King, my Royal Master, who is renowned for his good faith. But I desire you will take the earliest opportunity to make known to the most serene republic, That if the representations lately made by the Viceroy of Corsica, Commodore Nelson, and myself, are not listened to, and summary justice done thereon, I shall feel myself bound by every principle which can govern an officer invested with the high command I have the honour to bear, to proceed to Genoa with the fleet and to exact it from the mouths of my cannon."

(1796.) Sir Gilbert Elliot, in a previous letter to the Commodore, had directed his attention to the island of Capraja, and had expressed a wish, that it could be secured in time from the designs of the enemy. As the Viceroy possessed the entire confidence of the Commander in Chief, no time was lost in projecting an Expedition which Nelson had already hinted at to the Admiral. The Viceroy in his letter of instructions to the Commodore, dated Sept. 15, began with recapitulating the provocations which had compelled the adoption of that measure: the Genoese government had not only refused satisfaction for its insult and hostility on the 11th, but had intimated in answer to the representations made on that subject, that all the ports

of the republic were shut against the British ships: hostilities had also been committed against Corsica, and his Majesty's subjects, by vessels fitted out at Capraja during the last two years, contrary to the laws of neutrality; and so far from any satisfaction having been obtained, the Genoese Government had even declined to admit a British Vice Consul at Capraja, who might have given information of such injurious proceedings and have restrained the many abuses of which we had reason to complain. An agent of the French republic had also been constantly established and avowed at Capraja, who had carried on every species of depredation and hostility; and the enemy had made a practice of coming over to that island, with stores and ammunition destined for the re-conquest of Corsica: "I have for these reasons," added the Viceroy, "judged it expedient to take possession of the fort and island of Capraja in his Majesty's name, and to place a British garrison there, until due satisfaction is made by the government of Genoa for the abovementioned injuries, and a sufficient security is obtained against the repetition of them in future. Under these circumstances I do not scruple, Sir, to request your assistance and cooperation, having had many opportunities of knowing your zeal and readiness on every occasion of public service. For particulars respecting the troops, to be embarked on this Expedition, and all other matters relative to its

execution, I beg leave to refer you to Lieutenant General de Burgh,<sup>z</sup> Commander in Chief. Major Logan who commands the troops, will concert every point with you and will join you in the summons, capitulation, or any other correspondence which you may find it necessary to have with the commissioner or commandant of the place.”

Having received the troops under the command of Major Logan on board the *Captain* and *Gorgon*, the Commodore immediately sailed from Bastia, in company with the *Vanneau* and *Rose* cutters, and on the next day was joined by *la Minerve*, Captain G. Cockburn.—During their passage the signal was made for the commander of the *Rose*, lieutenant Walker, and of the *Vanneau*, lieutenant Gourly, who had distinguished himself both at Toulon and Bastia, to come on board the Commodore, in order to furnish whatever information they possessed respecting Capraja. Lieutenant Gourly informed him, that there was a place to the northward of the port, where he thought troops might be landed close to a tower of two guns, near which a hill was situated that looked down upon the town. The Commodore on hearing this, determined to send 200 men thither in the *Rose* and *Vanneau*, whilst he himself would endeavour to get the other troops on shore near the southern part of the island. Owing to the excessive calm

<sup>z</sup> The late Lord Clanricarde.

weather, it was the 17th of September before they arrived off Capraja, which had afforded time to the inhabitants to prepare every thing for the prevention of their landing; and there were not more than three places where it was possible for troops to be disembarked. This opposition, which was unexpected, induced Major Logan to divide his forces, in order to distract the attention of the enemy. The Commodore was baffled in his intentions of landing near the southern part of the island; but in the mean time, lieutenants Walker and Gourly, having succeeded in effecting a landing at the northern end of Capraja after a slight opposition, had gained possession of the two gun battery and the adjacent hill, with which information the *Rose* was dispatched to the Commodore. Four privateers that were lying in the harbour with above 500 men on board, as the day closed, made every preparation to come out; on which lieutenant Gourly immediately ran the *Vanneau* off the harbour's mouth, within half musket shot of the batteries; this effectually daunted the privateers, who imagined he was backed by other ships, and as it grew dark he got under weigh, and worked across, from side to side, until near midnight, when he was opportunely joined by *la Minerve*, Captain Cockburn, who with a light breeze had come to his assistance.

(1796.) In his official letter to Sir John Jervis, dated Sept. 19, the Commodore gave an account of the surrender of the island on the 18th;

commended the complete effect which had been produced by Major Logan's division of his forces, and declared, that lieutenants Walker and Gourly had conducted themselves much to his satisfaction. "I landed 100 troops under the command of lieutenant Pierson, whom Major Logan and myself hold ourselves much pleased with for his management of the capitulation. A party of seamen were also landed under lieutenant Spicer, who carried cannon up the mountain with their usual spirit and alacrity. It would be doing injustice were a distinction to be made between the two services; all had full employment, and I am confident but one opinion prevailed, that of expediting the surrender of the island by every means in their power.

"I cannot conclude," adds the Commodore in his official letter, "without assuring you of my most sincere approbation of the conduct of Captain Cockburn of *la Minerve*, Captain Dixon of the *Gorgon*, and lieutenant Berry, who had the temporary command of the *Captain*, and of every officer and man in the squadron. Two French privateers are taken and two destroyed, with several vessels their prizes, and some magazines of French property on shore."

Whilst these plans of the Viceroy had been thus ably and successfully executed, he had resolved to extend the operations of the Commodore; and accordingly ordered the *Rose*, which had been sent to him with an account of the surrender of Capraja, to return immediately with

fresh instructions respecting a design on Castiglione. The Commodore in his answer said, "I received your letter on Tuesday morning at three o'clock, and immediately weighed from Capraja, where indeed all my business was not finished; but I never can rest idle if any thing is to be done. I ordered lieutenant Walker to keep by me, as I was totally ignorant of the navigation, and his cutter would be most useful in taking out the privateers. It was the evening before I got to Castiglione, having had bad weather and dangerous navigation, such as is rarely met with in the Mediterranean. I stood under Cape Troya, where I sent my boats on board some Neapolitan vessels, and afterwards to some Neapolitan towers on shore. I learnt that the French had taken possession of Castiglione on Wednesday evening with 500 men, and the Neapolitan officer expected them every moment to take possession of his towers. I have therefore been obliged to bring back your letters, which I have desired Colonel Montresor to forward to Bastia, for my presence is absolutely necessary at Leghorn."

(1796.) On the 24th of September the Commodore informed Mr. Udney, the Consul General for Tuscany, that all Genoese vessels would be detained until satisfaction should be given for the insults that had been offered to his Majesty's flag, by firing on it, and also for the seizure of the British shipping and property in Genoa.



The fate of this devoted city had long been expected and guarded against by the Commander in Chief; who in writing to Mr. Drake at Venice, on the 17th of September, had said, "I had long, Sir, foreseen the fate of Genoa, and given Commodore Nelson particular directions to keep his eye upon it. I also discouraged some merchants, who retired from Leghorn, sending a valuable cargo thither; but their spirit of adventure outran my discretion: two empty transports were also ordered to repair to Genoa to receive the effects of our merchants. I now despatch orders by his Majesty's sloop l'Eclair to temporise with the serene republic, until he can secure the factory and their property. Your absence is deplored by us all. Your commissioner gives a very exact account of the number of French ships of the line, frigates, and corvettes at Toulon ready for sea, with the exception of their sails not being all bent. We are frequently inferior to them in our number of line of battle ships, and they have between twenty and thirty frigates and corvettes, while I have not one: the whole of mine being employed in the Archipelago, Adriatic, blockade of Leghorn, covering Corsica, and convoying between Naples and Corsica. I have the satisfaction to assure you, that there never was a squadron in higher health, order, or government, than the one I have the honour to command. I have caused every ship to be thoroughly caulked at sea, and we are for the most

part patched and painted; and when I reflect that we are in the close of the three and twentieth week at sea, I cannot be too thankful for the goodness of Providence. The Emperor must employ young and uncorrupt men in the command of his armies, or these devils will run over them every where: I fear French gold has been successfully distributed both in his Camps and Councils."

In order to give the infatuated government of the serene republic of Genoa every opportunity to recollect its own interests, and the general security of Italy, the Commander in Chief had sent the Commodore to Genoa, with a flag of truce and an offer to restore Capraja, on condition that things were placed on their ancient footing. But nothing could rouse the degraded spirit of the Genoese senators, who have since paid so severely for the pusillanimity and dishonour of their conduct, which laid Italy open to the perfidy and avaricious extortion of the French; whose army, as they themselves have acknowledged, must in 1794, and 1795, have been inevitably starved, whilst its headquarters were at Nice, if it had not been supplied by the Genoese.

The Captain being sent from Leghorn to Ajaccio, an acting order to command her was given to Mr. Berry; and the Commodore, for the time, shifted his broad pendant on board the *Diadem*, 64, Captain G. H. Towry, and directed

his principal attention to the designs of the French in Corsica and the important service he would again have to perform in that island. On his passage to Bastia to consult with the Viceroy, Nelson, in writing to the Admiral, Sept. 28, 1796, delineated those extraordinary powers of discrimination in his mind, which minutely searched and investigated every possible event that was likely to occur: "Sir: During the course of yesterday, I received repeated information of the movements of the privateers which are to carry the Corsicans. On the 25th, each Corsican was paid 100 livres, and they behave so ill at Leghorn that the French are determined to send them off, upon their general principle of acting, *If these fellows succeed, so much the better for us; and if they do not, we get rid of a set of scoundrels.*

"Now, Sir, the point for me to consider is, where the French will land in Corsica? my idea runs strongly that Porto Vecchio, which is reported to be neglected by us, and in which is a fort, is the object the enemy mean to possess; if their friends in the island intend to support them, that port is a sure refuge for their vessels, and an opening for the introduction of more troops and supplies. If the Viceroy will order some proper men into the fort, and I find the Sardine, I will, with the Vanneau, which I have ordered from Leghorn for that purpose, place them as guard ships in the harbour; and I will endea-

your to have a frigate off that part of the coast. If the enemy land nearer Bastia, these vessels with those which may be there will be sure to destroy them; although it is possible the men may get on shore: but I hope from the small craft which may be sent about the islands between Corsica and the main, we may get accounts of their approach. If their intention be to land on the western coast of Corsica, I take for granted they will never attempt the route by Cape Corse, which would every hour expose them to the sight of some of our ships, and of course would be fatal to them. Be they to land on the eastern or western side, I shall act on the idea that they will proceed to the southward passing Piombino to Castiglione, the last place in their possession: but if I can get at them on that coast, I believe it will be in my power to spoil their expedition. If they are to pass the straits of Bonifacio, that must be a work of time, and we shall have many chances for their destruction: no opportunity for which shall be omitted by, Sir, your most obedient Servant. P. S. The French are very angry at our taking Capraja: the commissioner was heard to say to Gentili, *I told you we should have sent 300 men and taken Capraja; you now see the consequences.*"

The evacuation of Corsica being at length determined on, in consequence of the war with Spain, the Admiral sent the information to the Commodore, September 25, with directions to

proceed to Bastia. The Commodore on reaching Bastia, September 29th, informed the Admiral of it. "Sir: Last night on my arrival I received your most secret orders; but I believe many people on this island have an idea that something like your orders is going forward. I shall not fail to arrange what transports may be necessary for each port, which is all that I can do until matters are brought to greater maturity. The Viceroy thinks that there will not be more than about 600 emigrées, Corsicans and French, and the stores I do not believe are very numerous; for the ordnance which we found in the different fortifications, the Viceroy will not I imagine think it right to take away. His Excellency is very much distressed by this measure, and believes the island is at this moment in a most perfect state of loyalty to the King, and affection for the British nation: but what strikes me as a greater sacrifice than Corsica, is the King of Naples: if he has been induced to keep off the peace, and has perhaps engaged in the war again by the expectation of the continuance of our fleet in the Mediterranean, hard indeed is his fate: his kingdom must inevitably be ruined."

As the measure of the evacuation of Corsica, and the withdrawing of the fleet had been determined on, the active mind of the Commander in Chief became anxious for its speedy execution: "I trust," said he, in writing to the Viceroy, October 2d, "that by the 20th or 25th instant,

every thing will be ready for us to proceed. The war with Spain is certain, for I have orders to attack ships of war of that nation, in fleets, or singly, wherever I meet them. How unfortunate that Commodore Nelson could not have been put in possession of this in time. I only received it last night. . . . Your letter to the Duke of Portland is replete with sound reasoning; but it was determined to abandon Corsica, in case of a war with Spain, a year ago.”—The active mind of Nelson, equally impatient with that of the Admiral to execute his orders, replied on the 15th of October to Sir J. Jervis, “As far as my powers and abilities go, you may rely on me that nothing shall be left undone which ought to be done, even should it be necessary to knock down Bastia. Last night I took the Viceroy and Secretary of State afloat; and at daylight this morning went to General de Burgh, and told him, that from the embarkation of the Viceroy, the evacuation and regulation of this town became entirely military, and of course devolved on us. I hope the General will join me cordially. I have been to the magazines and have arranged, as far as I have the means, the embarkation of provisions; and the General says he will have proper guards to keep off the populace. I have recommended to him to send for the municipality, and to tell them that the direction of affairs was in our hands, and that it would be at their peril were they to interfere in

the embarkation of any property belonging to us. Had not the ships arrived when they did, yesterday would have lost us Bastia; the ships are laid opposite the town, with springs. I am sorry to say the convoy with Southampton, is not in sight and it is calm, the Captain is not at anchor: it is the terror of the ships which will keep order here. If you could order a ship round and two transports, they would be very useful. I have detached a felucca to prepare Capraja, and shall send Southampton to attend at Elba, but that evacuation not to take place until we are finished here, which according to the present appearances will be some time. Had not Elba been ours, our Smyrna convoy and transports, I believe, would have been lost. I purpose taking the ships from Leghorn when we are absolutely all afloat, or we shall have swarms of privateers to torment us."

(1796.) *Oct. 17, in continuation.* "I have received your letter, and am going on as well as a heavy surf will permit. The despatches of this morning are wonderful: do his Majesty's Ministers know their own 'minds? If you stay, we are sure of the coast opposite to Elba and the fine bay of Telamon. It does not become me to say a word: the national honour and the fate of Italy cannot, I am confident, be placed in better hands than yours. The whole weight is left on,

\* Counter orders respecting the fleet.

you. *October 18,* We are smoother than we have been, but still there is a good deal of surf. I shall strictly attend to all your orders, and will write more fully to morrow."

The withdrawing of our fleet from the Mediterranean, in consequence of the expected junction of the French and Spanish squadrons, was by no means consonant to the feelings of Nelson; and whilst his mind was irritated with the idea of this retreat, he had thus expressed himself in a letter to his wife. "We are all preparing to leave the Mediterranean, a measure which I cannot approve. They at home do not know what this Fleet is capable of performing; any thing and every thing. Much as I shall rejoice to see England, I lament our present orders in sackcloth and ashes, so dishonourable to the dignity of England, whose fleets are equal to meet the world in arms; and of all the fleets I ever saw, I never beheld one in point of officers and men equal to Sir John Jervis's, who is a Commander in Chief able to lead them to glory."

The Admiral on being made acquainted with the vast superiority of the Spanish squadron, which had entered the Mediterranean Sept. 28th, determined to leave his station off Toulon to the care of Captain Troubridge in the Culloden, and to proceed to San Fiorenzo to water, and hasten the embarkation. It had been the intention of the Commodore, on hearing of Sir John Jervis' arrival at San Fiorenzo, to have gone



over and conversed with him, but this not being thought prudent, he determined to remain and act with the Viceroy: considerable apprehensions had been entertained on the night of the 14th that the citadel would be lost, from the state in which Bastia was at that time. Still however, the zeal and resources of Nelson found the means of executing the important service on which he was engaged. By the 19th the greater part of the flour, and all the salt provisions were on board, and they were getting off the powder. *Noon, Oct. 19th.* "We have just received accounts from the municipality, that a number of French have landed near Cape Corse and have sent to demand of the municipality, what part they mean to take. The Viceroy has informed the municipality, that we wish to quit them amicably and in the state we promised; but if they permitted the French to enter the town, or in any way embarrassed our embarkation, that it would end in the destruction of the batteries and would be highly detrimental to Bastia. We shall act I see with prudence and retreat in time. The garrison of Capraja is arrived."

(1796.) The King of Naples heard with consternation of the late measure that had been adopted, and beheld the ruin of his kingdom in the retreat of the British fleet. His Majesty lost no time in expressing his feelings on this subject to Sir John Jervis; who, on the 19th of October,

returned the following answer from Fiorenzo Bay. "Sire: The gracious condescension your Majesty has been pleased to shew to me, in delineating under your royal hand the dreadful effect which the retreat of the fleet of the King my master from these seas, would have upon your Majesty's dominions and upon all Italy in the present crisis, has prompted me to exert every nerve, to give all the support in my power to the cause of Religion and Humanity in which we are engaged. . . Permit me, Sire, to express the high sense I entertain of your Majesty's goodness to me, and to assure your Majesty that I shall be proud of every occasion to give proof of my profound respect."

(1796.) The whole of the evacuation of Bastia was conducted to the entire satisfaction of the Viceroy, of General de Burgh, and of the Commodore, who afterwards went to Porto Ferrajo, whence the following report was made by him to the Admiral, dated Captain, Oct. 21. "Sir, Between the 14th, when I arrived at Bastia, and the 19th, I was joined by Captain, Excellent, Egmont, and Southampton. The ships of the line were moored opposite the town. The embarkation of stores and provisions which commenced on the 15th, was continued without intermission until the 19th at sunset. In that night every soldier and other person was brought off with perfect good order from the north end of the town. It is unnecessary for me to mention

to you the fatigue of the whole of this duty; but I cannot omit to state the merit of every officer employed on it, and most particularly that of Lieut. Day, agent for transports; and much which has been saved may be fairly attributed, without disparagement to any one, to his indefatigable attention and ability. The Captains of all the ships of war, although not particularly in their line of duty, never omitted night and day their personal exertions. This service was carried on with the utmost cordiality between his Excellency the Viceroy, Lieutenant General de Burgh, and myself, and I cannot but think it right to inform you of it."

Anno  
Ætat. 39. (1796.) XVII. During the active scene in which Nelson had been engaged, his correspondence with the Duke of Clarence experienced some interruption; but having completed this important service, the Commodore took the earliest opportunity to send information of it to his early and stedfast friend, dated Captain, Oct. 25. "Sir, I was honoured with your Royal Highness's letter of Sept. 2d a few days past, in the midst of a very active scene, the evacuation of Bastia; which being our first post was intrusted to my direction, and I am happy to say, that not only Bastia, but every other place in the island is completely evacuated. The Corsicans sent to Leghorn for the French, as was natural for them, in order to make their peace; and the enemy was in one end of Bastia,

before we had quitted the other. The exertions of the Navy on this occasion, as on all others which I have seen, have been great, and beyond the expectations of those who never will believe what we are capable of performing. Our troops are ordered to Porto Ferrajo, which can be defended against any number of the enemy for a length of time; and the port, although small, will hold with management our whole fleet and transports. As soon as all our transports are arrived at Elba, we are to go out to look for Man, who is ordered to come up: we shall then be twenty-two sail of such ships as England hardly ever produced, and commanded by an Admiral, who will not fail to look the enemy in the face, be their force what it may: I suppose it will not be more than thirty-four sail of the line. . . If I live, your Royal Highness shall have no reason to regret your friendship for me, and I will support Sir John Jervis to the utmost of my power. . . I hope soon to hear that your flag is flying, which I am sure will be most honourable for yourself and I trust most advantageous for our King and County. I am, as ever, your most faithful *Horatio Nelson*."

On the 11th of the ensuing month of November, when at sea, he sent a full account of the whole proceeding to his Royal Highness. "Sir, What may be thought in England of our evacuation of Bastia I know not, but I conceive myself to have a fair right to be well spoken of, as the

few facts which I shall state will evince. I shall relate them to your Royal Highness, to give you an idea of the state of our army and the Viceroy on my arrival.

“On the 14th of October I was close in with Bastia, before daylight, in the Diadem, Captain Towry. Before the ship anchored I went on shore to the Viceroy, landing opposite to his house. I found his Excellency very happy at my arrival, and he immediately requested I would permit his most valuable papers to be sent off in my boat, for it was impossible to say how long they might be safe on shore. The Viceroy then told me the state of the town and country: that a committee of thirty had taken on them the government of the town, had sequestered all the property of the English on shore, and in the Mole, and also that a plan was laid to seize his person, that the town was full of armed Corsicans who had mounted guard at every place, and that our troops were in the citadel, except the guard at his house.

“From the Viceroy I went to General de Burgh, passing through the town full of armed men, where I learned that as many armed Corsicans as British were in the citadel, that they had mounted guard with our troops at the citadel gate, on the batterics, barrier gates, and at the storehouses of government and of the merchants, and that it was necessary for our troops to stand to their arms for self defence; in short, that

there was not a prospect of saving either stores, cannon, or provisions. I submitted to the General the propriety of shutting the citadel gate in order to prevent any more armed men from getting into it, and that I would moor the ships opposite to the town. On my return from the General and the Viceroy, the merchants, owners and captains of privateers, came to me in tears, stating the fact of even a trunk with wearing apparel being refused them, and that they were beggars without my help: a transport's boat had, they said, been refused permission to leave the Mole until she was searched, and on nothing being found in her they suffered her to pass; a privateer was moored across the mole heads. I requested them to be quiet, and that nothing should be left undone by me for their relief. About ten A. M. the Egmont, Captain Sutton, arrived, which I moored the same as the Diadem. At noon, having made the signal for boats manned and armed, I ordered Captain Towry to proceed into the Mole with them, and to open the passage for all the vessels who chose to come out; with instructions to take the first English vessel he came to in tow, and if he met with the smallest molestation he was to send to the municipality in my name, and inform them, that if the least impediment were thrown in the way in getting any vessel out of the Mole, or in embarking any property belonging to the English from the town, I would instantly batter it down. Captain

Sutton very handsomely went to Towry's assistance, for on the approach of the latter to the Mole the privateer pointed her guns, and 100 muskets were levelled from the Mole head. On this Captain Sutton sent my message, and pulling out his watch gave them one quarter of an hour for an answer, when the ships would in five minutes open their fire. Upon this the people on board the privateer, and from the Mole heads, even to the Corsican sentries, quitted the place with the utmost precipitation, and of course every vessel came out of the Mole.

“In the afternoon an owner of a privateer came to me to say, he had forty hogsheads of tobacco with various other goods in the custom-house, and that the municipality refused to deliver them: I directed him to go to the committee, and say I sent him for his goods, which if not instantly delivered I would open my fire. In five minutes he returned with the keys, and said the committee turned as white as a sheet, said not a word, but gave him the keys. At night they made an effort to get duty paid for some wine landed, and of course going to be embarked, by an English merchant. I had only occasion to send word that I would pay them a disagreeable visit if I had any more complaints. This was a last effort; from that moment not an armed man was seen in the street. Bastia never had been it was acknowledged so quiet and orderly, since we have been in possession of the island.

“The Viceroy consented to go on board my ship that night, which took off from the General and myself all concern for his safety. On the 15th in the morning, I landed my troops to take post at the Viceroy’s house, which covered our embarking place, and a hundred seamen as a working party; the General ordered about another hundred men from the troops, for the same purpose, and the rest kept post in the citadel. We set heartily to work, and continued without intermission until the 19th at sunset; when I calculate we had saved about 200,000*l.* sterling worth of cannon, powder, stores, and provisions, exclusive of baggage, household stuff, &c. &c. for the poor emigrées could not afford to leave a rag. Our boats never ceased night nor day.

“On the 18th the French had landed troops near Cape Corse, about thirty-six miles from Bastia. On the 19th they sent a message to the municipality, desiring to know how they intended to receive them: if as friends, they demanded that the English should be prevented from embarking. In this state nothing more could be attempted to be saved: therefore at twelve at night our troops quitted the citadel, first spiking the guns, and came to the north end of the town, where there is an open line of ground on which they could act in case of being attacked. The French passing at the back of the town were in the citadel at one A. M. From its blowing a gale of wind, it was the dawn of day when the



General and myself<sup>b</sup> went into the barge, not one man being left ashore; and we took with us the two field pieces brought down to cover our retreat. It is impossible I can do justice to the good dispositions of the General, or the admirable management of the Viceroy with the Corsicans, not one of whom but wept on parting with the latter: even those who had opposed his administration could not but love and respect so amiable a character. It was clear the dread of the French was more predominant in their minds, than dislike to us; and it was this perhaps that led them to their first unjustifiable resolutions, and which nothing but the terror of our ships kept them from adhering to. At this time the Spanish Fleet was off Cape Corse, but we had a fair wind, and before night I had every vessel safe moored in Porto Ferrajo, for its size the most complete port in the world.”

(1796.) When writing to Captain Locker, Nov. 5th, the Commodore had said, “I have seen the first and the last of Corsica. Its situation cer-

<sup>b</sup> Commodore Nelson was the last person who left the shore. On getting into his boat he turned round to the Corsican mob, and with the coolness of a sailor anathematised the whole of their ungrateful race, adding, *Now John Corse, follow the natural bent of your detestable character, plunder, and revenge.* Seneca, when describing the Corsicans of his day, used nearly the same expressions:

*Lex prima ulcisci, lex altera vivere raptò,  
Tertìa mentiri, quarta negare Deos.*

tainly was most desirable for us, but the generality of its inhabitants are so greedy of wealth and so jealous of each other, that it would have required the patience of Job and the riches of Cræsus to satisfy them. They acknowledge they are only to be ruled by the governing power destroying all its enemies, and bribing all its friends: they already regret our departure. I need not give you the character of Sir J. Jervis, you know him well, therefore I shall only say he is worthy of such a fleet as I never before saw at sea; for he knows how to use us in the most beneficial manner for our Country. Towry can want no recommendation to me, or Sir John; his courage and abilities as a commander have been eminently displayed, and his qualities as a gentleman are equalled by few and exceeded by none. I am under particular obligations to him. My pendant was in his ship for three weeks, and nothing could surpass his goodness to me. I know Sir John Jervis has the highest regard for him."

The next important service on which the Commodore was engaged was the evacuation of Porto Ferrajo; and to this Sir John Jervis had alluded, in a note, in which he marked the neglect which too many officers experienced who served at a distance from the immediate notice of their country. "Without giving Lord Spencer a greater degree of credit than is due to any minister, he certainly is sincere in his professions.

to you; because he has written to me fully respecting you, and has promoted Berry. Unfortunately for those who serve at a distance, and do not publish their own achievements in the newspapers, the value of their services is never made known to John Bull; and they who dispense patronage are niggardly to them, while they are profuse to the young men in frigates, employed to protect the trade, or the coast. I have much to say, and shall very soon have to employ you on a most critical and arduous service. Most faithfully yours." Accordingly on December the 10th, Nelson received an order to hoist his broad pendant on board the *Minerve* frigate, Captain George Cockburn, and to take the *Blanche*, Captain Preston, under his command, and with them to proceed to Porto Ferrajo, in order with the assistance of the ships in that port to convey the troops and stores that had been landed there to Gibraltar and Lisbon. "Having experienced," added the Admiral, "the most important effects from your enterprise and ability upon various occasions, since I have had the honour to command in the Mediterranean, I leave entirely to your judgment the time and manner of carrying this critical and arduous service into execution."

(1796.) During the passage to Porto Ferrajo the Commodore fell in with two Spanish frigates; and the following letters to his Admiral, dated Dec. 20, give the official account of the capture

and recapture of *la Sabina*. “Sir, Last night at ten o'clock, I saw two Spanish frigates, and directed Captain Cockburn in the *Minerve* to attack the ship which carried a poop light; the *Blanche* bore down to attack the other. I have not yet received from Captain Preston an account of his action, but as I saw the *Blanche* this morning to windward with every sail set, I presume she has not suffered much damage. Captain Cockburn brought his ship to close action at twenty minutes before eleven, which continued without intermission until half past one A. M. when *la Sabina* of 40 guns, twenty-eight eighteen pounders on her main-deck, and 286 men, Captain Don Jacobo Stuart, having lost her mizen mast, as she did after the action her main and fore masts, and having 164 men killed and wounded, struck her colours. You are, Sir, so thoroughly acquainted with the merits of Captain Cockburn,<sup>c</sup> that it is needless for me to express them; but the discipline of the *Minerve* does the highest credit to her Captain and Lieutenants, and I wish fully to declare the sense I entertain of their judgment and gallantry. Lieutenant<sup>d</sup> Culverhouse, the first lieutenant, is an old officer of distinguished merit. Lieutenants

<sup>c</sup> At present Commander of the *Pompée*, 74 guns, in which Ship he particularly distinguished himself as Commodore of part of the Naval force at the taking of Martinique, 1809.

<sup>d</sup> Lately lost by the upsetting of a boat at the Cape of Good Hope.

Hardy, Gage, and Noble, deserve every praise which gallantry and zeal justly entitle them to, as does every other officer and man in the ship. You will observe, Sir, I am sure with regret, amongst the wounded, lieutenant James Noble, who quitted the Captain to serve with me, and whose merit and repeated wounds received in fighting the enemies of our Country, entitle him to every reward which a grateful nation can bestow. The *Minerve's* opponent being commanded by a gallant officer, was well defended, which has caused her list<sup>e</sup> of killed and wounded to be great, as also her masts, sails, and rigging to be much damaged:"

*Dec. 20, seven P. M. in continuation.* "Sir, In addition to my letter of this morning, I have to acquaint you that lieutenants Culverhouse and Hardy, with a proper number of men, being put in charge of *la Sabina* and she taken in tow, at four A. M. a frigate was seen coming up, which by her signals was known to be Spanish; at half past four she came to action with the *Minerve*, who cast off the prize, and lieutenant Culverhouse was directed to stand to the southward. After a trial of strength of more than half an

<sup>e</sup> Killed 7, wounded 34, missing 4, supposed to be in the prize. Officers wounded, Lieutenant J. Noble, Mr. Merryweather, boatswain. Petty Officers killed and wounded, one Midshipman killed. Captain's clerk wounded, and the serjeant of the 11th regiment serving as marines.—*Damages.* All her masts shot through, and furniture much cut.

hour, she wore and hauled off, or I am confident she would have shared the fate of her companion: at this time three other ships were seen standing for the *Minerve*, hope was alive that they were only frigates, and also that the *Blanche* was one of them; but when the day dawned, it was mortifying to see there were two Spanish ships of the line and two frigates, and the *Blanche* far to windward. In this situation, the enemy frequently within shot by bringing up the breeze, it required all the skill of Captain Cockburn, which he eminently displayed, to get off with a crippled ship: and here I must also do justice to lieutenants Culverhouse and Hardy, and express my tribute of praise at their management of the prize; a frigate repeatedly firing into her without effect, and at last the Spanish Admiral quitted the pursuit of the *Minerve* for that of the *Sabina*, which was steering a different course, evidently with the intention of attracting the notice of the Admiral, as English colours were hoisted over the Spanish. The *Sabina's* main and fore masts fell overboard before she surrendered. This is, Sir, an unpleasant tale, but the merits of every officer and man in the *Minerve* and her prize, were eminently conspicuous through the whole of this arduous day.<sup>f</sup> The enemy quitted the pursuit of the *Minerve* at dark.”

<sup>f</sup> *Killed*, none; *wounded* 10. *Officer wounded*, Mr. Hunter, gunner,—Main-mast much damaged, sails and rigging much cut.

The *Minerve* arrived at Porto Ferrajo on the 27th of December, and was there repaired; her main and mizen masts were so badly wounded that the builder reported them unfit for use. On the 29th the Commodore sent the Admiral, Captain Preston's official account of the share which the *Blanche* had taken in the late action; by which it appeared, That when the unexpected approach of the fresh Spanish ships had prevented Captain Preston from taking possession of his prize, he wore to join the *Minerve*; but perceiving that the strange ships did not close with his late antagonist, he had again stood after her, when the Spaniard outsailed the *Blanche* and had been joined by another ship standing from the land. Captain Preston particularly mentioned the steadiness of his first lieutenant Mr. Cowen, and the great assistance he had received from Captain Maitland who was a passenger on board to join his ship.—On the same day, Dec. 29, Nelson transmitted the following note in a flag of truce by the *Fortuna*, Lieutenant Gourly, to Don Miguel Gaston the Captain General at Carthagena: "I send your Excellency a flag of truce which carries every Spanish prisoner from this place, and I request that your Excellency will direct the English prisoners with you to be immediately sent on board. I shall not urge the humanity attending the frequent exchange of unfortunate people; it will, I am sure, appear in

the same light to you that it does to your Excellency's most obedient servant, Horatio Nelson."

On the 29th of December he also transmitted to Sir John Jervis a correspondence with Lieutenant General de Burgh, who not having received any order whatever from England, felt himself considerably embarrassed in withdrawing the army from Elba; and was of opinion that no decisive steps could be taken or entered 'on, until they had heard from England, Naples, or both, unless something serious should precipitate the measure. "I will at the same time," added the General, in a letter dated Dec. 28, "confess that my only motive for urging delay, arises from a wish to have my proceedings in some measure sanctioned by orders we ought to expect, and by no means from an idea that we assist the service by staying here; for I have always held the opinion, that the signing of a Neapolitan peace with France ought to be our signal for departure."

(1797.) In writing to Mrs. Nelson, from Porto Ferrajo, Jan. 13, he said, "I expect Sir Gilbert Elliot here every hour, he goes down to Gibraltar with me; he is a good man, and I love him. As to peace, I do not expect it, Lord Malmesbury will come back as he went; but the people of England will, I trust, be more vigorous for the prosecution of the war, which can alone insure an honourable peace. Naples is alarmed at hers. The French Minister is travelling thither with a train of 300 persons, a printing-press, &c. and



a company of comedians, &c. The Pope has not made his peace, and is most seriously alarmed."

(1797.) The indefatigable Commodore was at this time extremely anxious to return to Sir John Jervis; the superior strength of the enemy required every addition to be made to his force, and the possibility of being absent when a general Action should take place, under such an Admiral, had long irritated and depressed the mind of Nelson. That nothing might be wanting on his part, he intended in his passage down the Mediterranean, as he informed the Admiral, January 25th, to look into Toulon, Mahon, and Carthage, in order to bring with him the latest apparent state of the combined fleet; and although General de Burgh had not thought himself empowered to evacuate Porto Ferrajo, "yet," adds the Commodore, "I have notwithstanding withdrawn all our naval establishment from that place, having first completed every ship to as many stores as their Captains pleased to take. Every transport is victualled, and so arranged that all the soldiers and stores can be embarked in three days."

On the 29th of January, the *Mimerve* sailed from Porto Ferrajo, with some other ships of war, and twelve sail of transports; and on the 10th of February arrived at Gibraltar, where the Commodore received Lieutenants Culverhouse and Hardy, with the other prisoners who had been exchanged by the Spaniards. He re-

mained one day at Gibraltar, and then proceeded to the westward to rejoin his Admiral. The *Minerve* was chased by two Spanish line of battle ships from the bay, and fell in with the Spanish Fleet off the mouth of the Straits.

(1797.) XVIII. Owing to the easterly winds, it was the 6th of February before Sir John Jervis had reached his station off Cape St. Vincent; and in writing to Mr. Lempriere the Consul at Faro on that day, the Admiral had said, "I am without the smallest intelligence respecting the movements of the Spanish Fleet; its continuance at Carthagena for such a length of time is incomprehensible, unless waiting for supplies of stores and provisions."—On the 10th he informed Captain Lord Garlies that information had been received of the Spanish Fleet having passed the Straits; and had ordered him to join with the squadron under his command. On the 13th of February the *Minerve* reached the station off

\* From A Narrative, published by Johnson, 1797, of the Proceedings of the British Fleet on the 14th of February, as observed from the *Lively* repeating frigate, by Colonel Drinkwater. Nelson in his memoir (page 25) has referred to this accurate letter, which has been occasionally resorted to in the subsequent account of this memorable action. The Colonel informs us, That on the *Minerve's* joining the British Fleet, the *Lively* frigate was appointed to proceed with Sir Gilbert Elliot, and the gentlemen accompanying him to England; but there being at that time reason to expect an approaching Action between the two fleets, the *Lively*, at the joint solicitations of Sir Gilbert Elliot and Lord Garlies, was detained with the squadron until the event should be known.

Cape St. Vincent, and the same day having communicated some important intelligence to the Admiral respecting the force and situation of the Spanish Fleet, the Commodore was directed to shift his broad pendant on board the Captain, R. W. Miller, Esq. Commander. During the same evening Captain Lindsay, in the *Bonne Citoyenne* sloop, arrived with fresh accounts of the approach of the enemy. Before sunset the signal was made to prepare for battle, and to keep in close order during the night. Further information respecting the Spaniards was also given by Captain Campbell,<sup>b</sup> an Englishman in the Portuguese service.

During the whole of the 13th, Sir John Jervis, as he expressed himself on that day in a letter to the Admiralty, had entertained hopes of falling in with the Spanish Fleet; and these hopes "were," as he said, "confirmed that night,<sup>i</sup> by our distinctly hearing the report of their signal guns, and by intelligence received from Captain Foote of the *Niger*, who had with equal judgment and perseverance kept company with them for several days on my prescribed rendezvous, which from the strong south east winds I had

<sup>b</sup> This officer, who received great kindness from Sir John Jervis, is said to have declared to the Captain of the British Fleet, that if he did not lead the Admiral in the right track to fall in with the Spanish Fleet, he might order him to be run up at the yard-arm. Some further particulars of Captain Campbell are given in a note in the second volume of the quarto edition.

<sup>i</sup> Official account of the action, dated February 16, 1797.

never been able to reach, that they were not more than three or four leagues from us.”

The anxious hours of the night until the dawn of the 14th were passed by the Admiral in meditating a design, which the most determined mind would have hesitated to adopt, without that reliance on the zeal, discipline, and valour of his Fleet, and the attachment both of his officers and men, which Sir John Jervis had obtained. Nor would the confidence, as it appeared which he reposed in these great resources, have alone induced him to make so daring an attempt, which he foresaw nothing short of success could justify: *The honour of his Majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in those seas requiring a considerable degree of enterprise*, formed the official defence of the Admiral against the apparent temerity of assailing an enemy so much his superior: a safe and skilful retreat would have satisfied both the expectation of the Country, and the ambition of an ordinary chief. To the bitter mortification of having been forced to yield the Mediterranean to a superior enemy, were to be added many severe losses and disasters against which no foresight could have guarded, and for which no remedy could be provided.

(1797.) Such had been the situation of the British Admiral, when at sunset on the evening of the 13th of February, the signals of the day terminated with that for directing the Squadron to keep in close order during the night. Nor

was the situation of the Spanish Vice Admiral, D. Joseph de Cordova, less critical, notwithstanding his superiority of force. He had sailed from Carthagena on the 4th of February, and on the 5th had passed Gibraltar, when he heard from an American who had fallen in with the English Squadron the preceding day, that it consisted of nine ships of the line only, which was indeed the fact at that time; for Admiral Parker with a reinforcement of five ships, and the Culloden which had parted company in chace on the first of February, had not then joined. This information had induced the Spanish Admiral to pass by Cadiz, and seek an engagement with an enemy he deemed so inferior. On the 14th when the day broke, a fog at first concealed from him the exact number of the English Squadron; and afterwards, when the signal was made from one of his own look-out ships, that the British Fleet was at no great distance; the Spanish Admiral relying on the American's intelligence and erroneously despising the British force, had paid no attention to it, but suffered his ships to remain too far extended and in a certain degree of disorder. The Spanish look-out ship finding her signal thus disregarded, in order to rouse the Admiral, as the Captain of her afterwards expressed himself, instantly made another signal, *That the English force consisted of forty sail of the line.* This sudden and alarming information had more than its intended effect; it perplexed and

confounded the Commander in Chief, and spread a general alarm throughout the Spanish Fleet.

Whilst this trepidation pervaded every ship of the enemy, Sir John Jervis, to continue his own words, had anxiously waited the dawn of day; when being on the starboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing east by north eight leagues, he had the satisfaction of seeing a number of ships extending from south west to south, the wind then at west by south. His ships during the night had been kept in the most compact order of sailing,<sup>k</sup> and at daybreak were seen by Colonel Drinkwater from the *Lively*, formed in two divisions, standing on a wind to the S. S. W.<sup>l</sup> About half past six A. M. the *Culloden*, Captain Troubridge, made the signal for five sail in the S. W. by S. quarter, which had been soon after confirmed by the *Lively* frigate, Lord Garlies, and by the *Niger*, Captain E. J. Foote, and that the <sup>m</sup>strange sail were by the wind on the starboard tack: the *Bonne Citoyenne* sloop of war, Captain Lindsay, was therefore directed to reconnoitre. At a quarter past eight o'clock, the Squadron was ordered by signal to form in close order, and in a few minutes afterwards the signal

<sup>k</sup> So obedient were the Captains to the orders of their Admiral, that every one of the English ships might have been hailed during the night, from the ship next to her.

<sup>l</sup> The first plate annexed to Colonel Drinkwater's Narrative represents this position with the utmost exactness.

<sup>m</sup> Colonel Drinkwater's Narrative, page 10.

was repeated to prepare for battle. About half past nine o'clock the Culloden, Blenheim, Captain T. L. Frederick, and Prince George, Admiral Parker, Captain T. Irwin, were ordered to chase in the S. by W. quarter; which ships, upon the Bonne Citoyenne's making a signal that she saw eight sail in that quarter, were afterwards strengthened by the Irresistible, Captain G. Martin, Colossus, Captain G. Murray, and Orion, Sir J. Saumarez. Soon after ten o'clock the Minerve, Captain G. Cockburn, made the signal for twenty sail in the S. W. quarter, and in a few minutes of eight sail in the S. by W. Half an hour afterwards the Bonne Citoyenne made the signal that she could distinguish sixteen, and immediately afterwards twenty-five of the strange ships to be of the line. The enemy's fleet were now become visible to all the British squadron.

By carrying a press of sail, Sir John Jervis was fortunate in getting in at this time with the enemy's ships, before they had been able to connect and form a regular order of battle: such a moment, as he expressed himself in his official letter, was not to be lost. Confident in the skill, valour, and discipline of his officers and men, he felt himself justified in departing from the regular system; and passing through their fleet in a line formed with the utmost celerity, tacked, and thereby separated one third from the main body, after a partial cannonade. The high dis-

tion of leading into action fell to the Culloden, Captain Troubridge; about half past eleven o'clock the firing commenced from his ship against the enemy's headmost ships to windward.

A copy of the log-book of H. M. S. the Captain, Commodore Nelson, gives the following correct relation of her proceedings, on the morning of the 14th of February. "Between two and three o'clock A. M. heard the report of several guns to the southward which we supposed to be the Spanish Fleet, as we knew it to be near us. At four, the Victory south one mile; at daylight made the signal for a strange sail to the northward. At half past five heard the report of two guns, S. W. At half past eight set the mainsail. At ten, up mainsail; moderate and foggy. At half past ten saw the Spanish Fleet bearing S. S. E. four or five miles; the signal to form the line and chase the enemy. At twenty minutes before twelve the headmost ships of our line began to engage the enemy as they passed us on the other tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing north ten leagues. A few minutes before noon we opened our fire on their leading ship and passed nineteen sail of the line, giving and receiving as we passed, our leading ships having eight of their rear ships to tack by breaking the line."

The animated and regular fire of the British squadron, as viewed at this time from the Lively frigate by Sir Gilbert Elliot and Colonel Drink-



water,<sup>a</sup> was but feebly returned by the enemy's ships to windward, which being frustrated in their attempts to join the separated division, had been obliged to haul their wind on the larboard tack: those to leeward, and which were most effectually cut off from their main body, attempted also to form on their larboard tack, apparently with a determination of either passing through, or to leeward of our line, and joining their friends; but the warm reception they met with from the centre ships of our Squadron, soon obliged them to put about, and excepting one, the whole sought safety in flight, and did not again appear in the action until the close of the day.

The single Spanish ship thus mentioned by Colonel Drinkwater as not having put about with her companions, is described by him as persevering in passing to leeward of the British line, and being covered with smoke her intention was not discovered until she had reached the rear; when she was not permitted to pass without notice, but received the fire of our sternmost ships, and as she luffed round the rear, the *Lively* and other frigates had also the honour of exchanging with this two-decker several broadsides.

A part of the Admiral's plan having been thus crowned with success, he was now able to direct his attention to the enemy's main body to wind-

<sup>a</sup> Colonel Drinkwater's Narrative, page 12.

ward, consisting at this time of eighteen sail of the line. At eight minutes<sup>o</sup> past twelve the signal therefore was made for the British Fleet to tack in succession, and soon after he made the signal for again passing the enemy's line. The Spanish Admiral's plan seemed to have been to join his ships to leeward, by wearing round the rear of our line, and the ships which had passed and exchanged shots with our squadron, had actually borne up with this view. This design of D. Joseph de Cordova, more ably conceived than executed, was frustrated by the extraordinary presence of mind and enterprise of Commodore Nelson, whose station in the rear of the British line, afforded him an opportunity of observing this manœuvre of the Spaniards; and who, well knowing that his Commander in Chief allowed a considerable degree of discretion to the gallantry and judgment of his approved officers, executed the following bold and decisive exploit, without dreading any signal of recall. "At eighteen minutes before one P. M." according to the Commodore's Log-book, "the Captain having passed on the starboard tack the last of the enemy's line of nineteen sail, which were on the larboard tack, the Spanish Admiral in the Santissima Trinidad bore up, evidently with a design to join a division of his fleet of eight sail of the line, which were on the Captain's lee bow,

<sup>o</sup> Colonel Drinkwater's Narrative, page 13.

on which the Commodore ordered the ship to be wore; when, passing between the Diadem and Excellent, she was immediately engaged by the Santissima Trinidad a four-decked ship, and two other three-deckers and several two-deckers; so that at one time we were engaged by nine line of battle ships, in which we were most nobly supported by Captain Troubridge of the Culloden. The Spanish Admiral desisted from his attempt of joining his other division, and hauled to the wind on the larboard tack. About two P. M. the Culloden having got between us and the enemy we ceased firing about ten minutes, till we got ahead of her and became engaged as before. Employed the interval in replenishing our shot, and repairing our rigging. About half past two, our sails and rigging being almost cut to pieces, the Blenheim passed between us and the enemy: employed as before while our fire ceased. At three we came to engage several of the enemy's line, particularly the San Josef and San Nicholas; saw a Spanish two-decker strike to the Excellent, soon after we shot away the mizen mast of the San Josef, which caused her to fall on board the San Nicholas to windward. At half past three the Excellent passed us to windward, engaging the San Josef within pistol shot as she passed by; on which she and the San Nicholas fell on board of each other. The San Josef having lost her mizen mast, the Captain, whose fore top-mast was at this time

shot away, immediately luffed alongside; prepared for boarding, and having engaged very sharply for a few minutes, in which we had fifteen men killed and wounded, the Commodore ordered the ship to be laid on board, when himself, <sup>p</sup>Captain Berry, Noble, and Pierson, and Messrs. Samwell, Withers, and Williams, Midshipmen, at the head of the boarders and troops entered on board the San Nicholas on the starboard quarter, and from her boarded the San Josef and hauled down the colours at five minutes before four o'clock: the latter mounting 112 guns, Rear Admiral Winthuysen, and the former 84 guns, Commodore Geraldino; they were both mortally wounded and died soon after the action ceased. Commodore Nelson put Captain Berry in charge of the San Josef and Lieutenant Spicer of the San Nicholas, with 150 men in each ship: found the latter on fire, but extinguished it. At five, all firing ceased. While we were entangled with both ships, found the San Nicholas to be on fire again in the fore hold; but it was happily extinguished by our firemen. The Commodore afterwards went on board the Irresistible."

A more circumstantial and animated account of this memorable enterprise of Nelson, was drawn up by himself and transmitted to his friend the Duke of Clarence with a short note, in which

<sup>p</sup> Recently promoted; but still serving with the Commodore as a Volunteer.

the Commodore said, "The praises and honours of my Admiral tell me I may relate my tale: I therefore send your Royal Highness,

*A few Remarks relative to myself in the Captain, in which my Pendant was flying on the most glorious Valentine's Day.*

"At one P. M. the Captain having passed the sternmost of the enemy's ships which formed their van and part of their centre consisting of seventeen sail of the line, they on the larboard, we on the starboard tack; the Admiral made the signal to tack in succession: but perceiving the Spanish Fleet to bear up before the wind or nearly so, evidently with an intention of forming their line going large, and joining their separated division at that time engaged with some of our centre ships, or flying from us; to prevent either of their schemes from taking effect I ordered the ship to be wore, and passing between the Diadem, Captain G. W. Towry, and Excellent, Captain C. Collingwood, at a quarter past one o'clock, was in close action with the headmost and of course leewardmost of the Spanish division. The ships which I knew, were the Santissima Trinidad 136, San Josef 112, Salvador del Mundo 112, San Nicholas 80, San Isidro 74, with another first rate and a 74 names not known. I was immediately joined and most nobly supported by the Culloden, Captain Troubridge. The Spanish Fleet from not wishing, I suppose, to have a decisive battle, hauled to the

wind on the larboard tack, which brought the ships abovementioned to be the leewardmost in their Fleet. For near an hour, I believe, but do not pretend to be correct as to time, did the Culloden and Captain support this apparently, but not really, unequal contest; when the Blenheim, Captain T. L. Frederick, passing between us and the enemy, gave us a respite and sickened the Dons: At this time the Salvador del Mundo and San Isidro dropped astern, and were fired into in a masterly style by the Excellent who compelled the San Isidro to hoist English colours, and I thought the large ship Salvador del Mundo had also struck: but Captain Collingwood disdain- ing the parade of taking possession of beaten enemies, most gallantly pushed up with every sail set to save his old friend and messmate, who was to appearance in a critical situation; the Captain at this time being actually fired upon by three first rates and the San Nicholas and a seventy-four, within about pistol shot distance of the San Nicholas. The Blenheim being ahead and the Culloden crippled and astern, the Excellent ranged up, and hauling up her mainsail just astern, passed within ten feet of the San Nicholas, giving her a most awful and tremendous fire. The San Nicholas luffing up the San Josef fell on board her, and the Excellent passing on for the Santissima Trinidad, the Captain resumed her station abreast of them and close alongside. At this time the Captain having lost her fore top

mast, not a sail, shroud, or rope left, her wheel shot away, and incapable of further service in the line, or in chace, I directed Captain Miller to put the helm a starboard, and calling for the Boarders ordered them to board.

“The soldiers of the 69th regiment with an alacrity which will ever do them credit, and Lieutenant Pierson of the same regiment, were amongst the foremost on this service. The first man who jumped into the enemy’s mizen chains, was Captain Berry, late my first Lieutenant; (Captain Miller was in the very act of going also, but I directed him to remain;) he was supported from our spritsail yard which hooked in the San Nicholas’s mizen rigging. A soldier of the 69th regiment having broken the upper quarter gallery window, jumped in, followed by myself and others as fast as possible. I found the cabin doors fastened, and the Spanish officers fired their pistols at us through the windows; but having burst open the doors, the soldiers fired; and the Spanish Brigadier (Commodore with a distinguishing pendant) fell as retreating to the quarter deck on the larboard side near the wheel. Having pushed on to the quarter deck, I found Captain Berry in possession of the poop, and the Spanish Ensign hauling down. I passed with my people and Lieutenant Pierson on the larboard gangway to the fore-castle, where I met two or three Spanish officers, prisoners to my seamen, and they delivered me their swords: at this moment a fire of

pistols, or musquets, opening from the Admiral's stern gallery in the San Josef, I directed the soldiers to fire into her stern. Our seamen by this time were in full possession of every part of the ship; about seven of my men were killed and some few wounded, and about twenty Spaniards. Having placed centinels at the different ladders, and calling to Captain Miller ordering him to send more men into the San Nicholas, I directed my brave fellows to board the first rate, the San Josef, which was done in an instant, Captain Berry assisting me into the main chains. At this moment a Spanish Officer looked over the quarter-deck rail and said they surrendered; from this most welcome intelligence it was not long before I was on the quarter deck, when the Spanish Captain with a bended knee presented me his sword, and told me the Admiral was dying of his wounds below. I asked him on his honour, if the ship were surrendered? he declared she was; on which I gave him my hand, and desired him to call to his officers and ship's company and tell them of it, which he did; and on the quarter deck of a Spanish first rate, extravagant as the story may seem, did I receive<sup>q</sup> the swords of vanquished Spaniards; which as I received I gave to William Fearney, one of my bargemen, who put them with the greatest sangfroid under

<sup>q</sup> The Commodore had originally written, "with William Fearney one of my bargemen as my aide de camp," but he afterwards drew his pen across it.



his arm. One of my sailors now took me by the hand, saying, *He might not soon have such another place to do it in*, and assuring me he was most heartily glad to see me there. I was surrounded by Captain Berry, Lieutenant Pierson 69th regiment, John Sykes, John Thompson, Francis Cook, and William Fearney, all old Agamemnons, and several other brave men, seamen and soldiers: thus fell their ships. The Victory passing saluted us with three cheers, as did every ship in the Fleet. The Minerve<sup>r</sup> being sent by the Admiral to my assistance, I went on board her and directed Captain Cockburn to hoist my pendant and carry me to the van, and place me on board any of the line of battle ships then engaged; however, before this could be effected, the signal being made to wear and discontinue the action, I went with Captain Cockburn on board the Victory, when the Admiral received me on the quarter-deck, and having embraced me, said he could not sufficiently thank me, and used every kind expression, which could not fail to make me happy. From the Victory I went to the Irresistible, 74, Captain G. Martin, who was ordered to hoist my pendant as my own ship was completely disabled, and she was then taken in tow by the Minerve. My bruises were now looked at, and found but trifling, and a few days made me as well as ever."

**The ship's Log-book thus continues the official**

Some additions have been made from the original found among the Nelson papers.

account of the proceedings of the Captain, after Nelson had gone on board the *Irresistible*: "At six got clear of the prizes. Wore to join the fleet, having been between them and the enemy, who stood towards us with a fresh breeze but hauled their wind again. Employed cutting away the remnant of the foresail and clearing the wreck of the fore top mast. At seven the *Minerve* took us in tow; our standing and running rigging with all the bending sails being cut to pieces, our wheel, fore top mast and fore top shot away, and our masts severely wounded, the main mast having three shot through the heart. Employed filling powder and replenishing shot, knotting and splicing, and to get ready for battle again as soon as possible. Found that another ship of 112 guns, the *San Salvador del Mundo*, and the *San Isidro*, 74 guns, had struck to our fleet. Our frigates took them in tow. Found we had twenty-four men killed and fifty-six wounded. In the Spanish prizes we took, the slaughter must have been very great, as there were people employed all night throwing the dead overboard."

The result of this memorable day is well known, and has been often faithfully narrated. On board the Captain, Major William Norris of the marines and Mr. James Goodench, a midshipman, were killed,\* with twenty two of the ship's com-

\* See Appendix for the list of ships composing the British and Spanish fleets, with an account of the killed and wounded.

pany: and two officers with fifty-four of the crew were wounded. The loss of the whole Squadron in killed and wounded, amounted to three hundred. The Captain, according to Colonel Drinkwater, fired more shot than is usually given to a ship of her rate at her first equipment; and it was observed, that when shot or grape were wanting on board this ship for the carronades, the seamen substituted in their place, some nine-pounders, seven of which were frequently discharged at one time, and at so short a distance, that every shot must have done execution: the Captain expended 146 barrels of powder, the Culloden 170, the Blenheim 180, and the other ships in the same proportion. If it had not been for the approach of night, the Santissima Trinidad, which carried the Spanish Admiral's flag, would certainly have been taken, as she was reduced to a perfect wreck: Colonel Drinkwater gives it as his opinion, that the close of the day before the four prizes were secured, undoubtedly saved the Spanish Admiral's flag, from falling into our hands. The judicious termination of this glorious Action displayed that vigilant and collected mind so conspicuous in the character of Sir John Jervis, which was equally unimpaired by the anxiety that preceded the battle, or the success that followed it: For had the signal to bring to been delayed even five minutes longer, his prizes would have been placed in a very dangerous situation, and possibly might have re-

verted into the hands of the enemy. From the situation of both fleets, our ships could not have formed without abandoning the prizes and running to leeward, the enemy having at that time at least eighteen or nineteen ships which had suffered little or no injury, whilst the Captain was lying a perfect wreck on board the San Nicholas and San Josef, and many of our other ships were so shattered in their masts and rigging as to be wholly ungovernable.\* The Salvador del Mundo, 112, the San Josef, 112, the San Nicholas, 84, and the San Isidro, 74 guns, accompanied our fleet to Lagos bay.

(1797.) On the 16th of February, Sir John Jervis whilst in Lagos bay issued his general thanks to the Officers of his Squadron, declaring, "That no language he was possessed of could convey the high sense which he entertained of their exemplary conduct, and that the late signal victory was entirely to be attributed to their determined valour and discipline." On the same day he also sent the following private letter with his official despatch, to Lord Spencer. "My Lord: The correct conduct of every officer and man in the Squadron on the 14th instant, made it improper to distinguish one more than another in my public letter, because I am confident that had those who were least in action been in the situation of the fortunate few, their behaviour

\* Naval Chronicle, Vol IV. page 37.

would not have been less meritorious. Yet to your Lordship it becomes me to state, that Captain Troubridge in the *Culloden* led the Squadron through the enemy in a masterly style, and tacked the instant the signal flew; and was gallantly supported by the *Blenheim*, *Prince George*, *Orion*, *Irresistible*, and *Colossus*. The latter had her fore and fore top-sail yards wounded, and they unfortunately broke in the slings in stays, which threw her out and impeded the tacking of the *Victory*. Commodore Nelson, who was in the rear on the starboard tack, took the lead on the larboard, and contributed very much to the fortune of the day, as did Captain Collingwood; and, in the close, the *San Josef* and *San Nicholas* having fallen foul of each other, the Captain laid them on board, and Captain Berry, who served as a volunteer, entered at the head of the boarders, and Commodore Nelson followed immediately and took possession of them both."

(1797.) *Commodore Nelson to Mr. Windham, member for Norwich, dated Irresistible, off Lisbon, February 26.*—"Sir: Particular circumstances having put the Spanish Rear Admiral's sword, Don Xavier Francisco Winthuysen, into my hands on the most glorious 14th of February, and Admiral Sir John Jervis having done me the honour of insisting on my keeping possession of it, I know no place where it would give me or my family more pleasure to have it kept, than

in the capital city of the county in which I had the honour to be born. If therefore you think, Sir, that the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich would wish to accept such a present, I have to request that you as a Representative of Norwich would send my letter and the box containing the sword to the Mayor."—This valuable relic was received by the Mayor and Corporation with every respect, and is placed in the council chamber of their Guildhall with an inscription and various ornamental devices.

(1797.) *Commodore Nelson to Mrs. Nelson, dated Irresistible, Lisbon, Feb. 28.*—"We got up here with our prizes this afternoon; the more I think of our late Action the more I am astonished; it absolutely appears a dream. The Santissima Trinidad of four decks, lost 500 killed and wounded; had not my ship been so cut up, I would have had her; but it is well, thank God for it. As to myself I assure you I never was better, and rich in the praises of every man, from the highest to the lowest in the fleet. The Spanish war will give us a cottage and a piece of ground, which is all I want. I shall come one day or other laughing back, when we will retire from the busy scenes of life: I do not however mean to be a hermit, the Dons will give us a little money. If my Father should at any time wish for any part that is in my agent's hands, I beg he would always take it; for that would give me more real pleasure than buying house or land,

"I go to sea the day after to-morrow in this ship with a Squadron to be off Cadiz, consisting of the Irresistible, Orion, &c. Sir John Jervis has already spread the frigates; and I shall return by the time his fleet is ready for sea."

The manner in which Nelson was thus uniformly selected by his Admiral to command a detached Squadron was peculiarly gratifying, and heightened that reciprocal confidence and friendship between them, which rendered such important service to the general cause. On leaving the Tagus with this Squadron to watch the motions of the enemy, the Commodore had also in view to intercept a rich Spanish ship, which was to convey the Viceroy of Mexico and his treasures to Old Spain.—On the 12th of March, he spoke a vessel from Gibraltar, which informed him that the Spanish officers and seamen had been pelted and hooted by the mob at Cadiz.

(1797.) The Commodore in a letter to Mr. M'Arthur, March 16, has preserved a little of what was also said at Cadiz, after the defeat of their fleet: the flame of patriotism had not then awakened the national valour and ancient character of Spain: "Their first report was, That the action happening on a foggy day, when the fog cleared up they only saw fifteen sail of the British line, and therefore concluded that at least five were sunk. My usual good fortune attended me, which I know will give you

amongst my other friends satisfaction: I only got on board the Captain at seven o'clock in the evening of the 13th. I am now off Lagos bay with three sail of the line looking for the Viceroy of Mexico, who has two first rates and a 74 with him, but the larger the ship the better the mark."

(1797.) *Sir J. Jervis, K. B. to Commodore Nelson, dated Victory, Tagus, March 21.*—Sir: In obedience to the commands of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by far the pleasantest I ever received, I have the honour to convey to you personally His Majesty's most gracious approbation of your distinguished services in the Action with the fleet of Spain on the 14th of February, signified through Earl Spencer to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty."—Sir John Jervis also transmitted the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and of the Corporation of London.

(1797.) In some previous letters to Sir John Jervis, Commodore Nelson had alluded to the expectation of a promotion of Flag Officers, which had long prevailed in the Mediterranean. This event had taken place at home, on the 20th of February, six days after the late glorious action with the Spaniards, when the Commodore had been advanced to the rank of Rear Admiral. As no account however of this promotion reached Sir John Jervis until the end of March, the title of Commodore has been retained whilst his



broad pendant continued flying; on the striking of which, the second period of the life of this illustrious Naval Officer is concluded. What a career of glory and of perilous service has been pursued, since he left the humble parsonage of Burnham Thorpe in the year 1793; and hitherto without any of those attendant shades, which so often appear in the conduct of men of extraordinary genius and zealous dispositions. An high sense of the principles of Revealed Religion, a love for his venerable father and the chosen partner of his life, and an unwearied regard for the honour of his King and Country, are visible throughout the whole period. The following letters which about this time were addressed to him by his early friend and second mother Lady Parker, and by his Father, may give an additional interest to the close of this second book of his life, and connect it with the important and brilliant career that succeeds.

(1797.) *From Lady Parker,* "dated Portsmouth, March 15.—“My dear Nelson: I cannot let Sir Robert Calder sail from hence without writing you a few lines. There are no expressions in the English language that I am acquainted with, equal to convey the idea which I have of your gallant and meritorious exertions in your Country's cause upon all occasions. Your conduct on the memorable 14th of February, a proud

▪ From the Nelson Papers.

day for Old England, is above all praise; it never was, nor never can be equalled. All that I shall say is, that your Mother could not have heard of your deeds with more affection, nor could she be more rejoiced at your personal escape from all the dangers to which you were exposed on that glorious day. Long may you live my dear Nelson, an ornament to your Country and your profession, is the sincere wish of your old Commander Sir Peter and myself, and every branch of our family. Pray offer my most affectionate regards to your truly able and gallant Commander in chief; he shall henceforth be my Valentine. I must request you also to remember me to dear good Collingwood in the kindest manner, I am very happy at the glory he has gained: remember me also to George Martin, and the whole of the Invincible Fifteen that I have the honour of knowing. God bless you, my dear Nelson, your affectionate and sincere friend, Margaret Parker."

*From the Rev. Edmund Nelson.*

"My dear Rear Admiral: I thank my God with all the power of a grateful soul for the mercies he has most graciously bestowed on me, in preserving you amidst the imminent perils which so lately threatened your life at every moment; and amongst other innumerable blessings I must not forget the bounty of Heaven, in granting you a mind that rejoices in the practice of those eminent virtues which form great and good cha-

racters. The height of glory to which your professional judgment, united with a proper degree of bravery guarded by Providence, has raised you, few Sons, my dear child, attain to, and fewer Fathers live to see. Tears of joy have involuntarily trickled down my furrowed cheek. Who could stand the force of such general congratulation? The name and services of Nelson have sounded throughout the city of Bath,\* from the common ballad singer to the public theatre. Joy sparkles in every eye, and desponding Britain draws back her sable veil and smiles. It gives me inward satisfaction to know, that the laurels you have wreathed sprung from those principles and religious truths which alone constitute the Hero, and though a Civic Crown is all you at present reap, it is to the mind of inestimable value, *and I have no doubt will one day bear a Golden Apple.* Edmund Nelson.”

\* The honorary Freedom of the City was voted to him March 20, 1797, as a testimony of its high esteem for his brave conduct under Admiral Sir John Jervis, in the late gallant action with the Spanish Fleet.

## BOOK THE THIRD.

*From 1797 to 1805.*

I. SUCH was the Character and such had been the professional Services of Horatio Nelson, when he succeeded in his 39th year to the rank of Rear Admiral. His great abilities and approved integrity were known and acknowledged throughout all Europe, and had been extolled in the most liberal manner even by those enemies who had severely felt their ascendancy. As a Commander, he not only possessed the most unshaken valour and inexhaustible spirit of enterprise, but he also enjoyed the happy and rare talent of inspiring his followers with an unbounded confidence of success in whatever he undertook. The various and wonderful resources of his mind provided a remedy for every contingency. Patient of toil and hardship, but not of inaction, covetous of honour, but not of gold, he anxiously sought for situations of peril and exertion, where he might surpass the rest of his profession in supporting the dignity of his King, and the independence of his Country. The extraordinary, and as it were intuitive capacity of his mind created for itself opportunities of distinction in the most forlorn and perplexing situations.

The departure of our fleet from the Mediterranean had been observed with exultation by our enemies, as it enabled them in greater security to make preparations for their intended Expedition from Toulon. The victory of February the 14th and the blockade of Cadiz had checked but not prevented their ambitious designs. As soon as Sir John Jervis had refitted his fleet at Lisbon, he proceeded to reinforce Nelson's squadron in the blockade of Cadiz; on which station the latter had arrived in the beginning of April. Previous to this the Captain had joined the Rear Admiral, when he had hoisted his flag on board his old ship, still commanded by Captain Miller.

The various and important services which he had rendered his Country did not fail to make that impression on his Sovereign, which the too anxious mind of Nelson had rather hoped for than expected; but to be admitted into one of the noble orders of Knighthood, and without solicitation, was a mark of favour peculiarly adapted to gratify his loyal disposition, and an ambition which had hitherto been often mortified. Information of this intended honour was communicated to him by Lord Spencer in the handsomest manner, on the 17th of March.

Having received instructions from Sir John Jervis to render the blockade of Cadiz as strict as possible, the Rear Admiral issued his orders accordingly on the 11th of April to the respective Captains under his command; and also in-

formed the American and Danish Consuls at Cadiz, That in future no neutral vessel would be permitted to enter or leave that port, unless by leave obtained from the Commander in Chief: "I shall endeavour," added Nelson, when writing to his Admiral, "by fair means to accomplish your wishes in the blockade. I have myself no idea that the Spanish fleet will be ready for sea for some months; and, I own, Sir, that my feelings are alive for the safety of our army from Elba. If the French get out two sail of the line, which I am confident they may do, our troops are lost, and what a triumph would that be to them! I know you have many difficulties to contend with, but I am anxious that nothing should miscarry under your orders. If you think a detachment can be spared, I am ready to go and do my best for their protection. At all events I trust you will not imagine that my taking the great liberty of thus mentioning my thoughts, arises from any other motive than affection towards you."

(1797.) *Sir John Jervis to Rear Admiral Nelson, dated off Cadiz, April 12*—"Dear Sir, I return you very many thanks for your friendly hint about the garrison of Porto Ferrajo and your offer to go in quest of it; which I avail myself of by sending you orders to proceed with the Captain, Colossus, and Leander to Gibraltar, and after they are completed in their water and provisions, to make the best of your way up the Mediter-

ranean. I have reason to think the garrison is on its passage to Gibraltar under the charge of Captain Fremantle in the *Inconstant*. I left him to his own judgment, formed on the intelligence he might be possessed of at the moment of departure; promising nothing, but that I would protect him from Jack Spaniard by blocking up this port. The *Terpsichore* and *Dido* are going off Santa Cruz in the island of Teneriffe, to ascertain whether the Viceroy of Mexico be actually there."

The daring heroism of Nelson on the 14th of February, which had been rewarded by the munificence of his Sovereign, was also marked by various corporate bodies as claiming their thanks. In addition to those of the Irish Parliament which he received from Sir John Jervis, April 19; he had also transmitted to him the resolutions of the city of Bristol, and of the Grand Jury of the county of Stafford, expressive of the high sense which they all respectively entertained of his bravery and gallant conduct on that day.

In the mean time being detached from the fleet to secure the safety of the troops under General de Burgh, he had been joined off *Cabrita*, on the day after he left Sir J. Jervis, by the *Seahorse*, *Caroline*, and *Southampton*, and on the 15th of April by the *Meleager*. In getting to the eastward he spoke every vessel he met with to obtain information, and was repeatedly told, that a French squadron, of four sail of the

line, a frigate and a brig, was off the southern end of Minorca. The Southampton parted company in chace; on the 18th and 19th of April he passed Ivica, and Majorca, and within gun-shot of Port Mahon with a strong wind at N. W. "which probably," added he, in a letter to his Commander dated April 21, off the southern end of Corsica, "blew the French ships under St. Peters in the island of Sardinia: this morning with inexpressible pleasure I beheld the Convoy, which I shall hope to see safe into Gibraltar, and I dispatch Gibson to tell you this good news. I hope you will press General O'Hara about Teneriffe, what a stroke it would be! All is lost in Italy, the whole state of Venice is actually French. Trieste is said to be also in their possession, and that Buonaparte is within 150 miles of Vienna with 150,000 men. The Archduke Charles is fortifying some pass to make a stand; but there seems no prospect of stopping these extraordinary people."

(1797.) On the 19th of May, whilst the Rear Admiral was detained in Gibraltar bay, he issued the orders he had received from Sir John Jervis, respecting the subsequent destination and victualling of the ships under Captain Fremantle. On the 20th, having received a request from Mr. Simpson, the American consul, to protect twelve American vessels which were lying in the bay of Malaga, unable to proceed on account of three French privateers by whom the Americans



were closely watched; the Admiral returned for answer, "I shall immediately grant the protection you have requested, by sending the *Andromache*, Captain Mansfield, to-morrow off Malaga, who will protect the vessels close to the coast of Barbary, where you tell me they will consider themselves safe. In thus freely granting the protection of the British flag to the subjects of the United States, I am sure of fulfilling the wishes of my Sovereign, and I hope of strengthening the harmony which at present so happily subsists between the two nations."— Having joined the fleet and his ship the Captain being in so bad a state, Nelson shifted his flag towards the end of the month on board the *Theseus*, Captain Miller still accompanying him; and Captain Aylmer succeeded to the Captain.

On the 30th of May, the Commander in Chief having given out his orders respecting the firing of twenty-one guns, and three feux de joie, on the ensuing birth-day of the King, from each of the ships of the squadron; Rear Admiral Nelson was directed on sending a dispatch to the Spanish Admiral, to inform D. Josef de Mazarredo of the royal salute that had been ordered: upon which Nelson wrote as follows. "I embrace, Sir, the opportunity of assuring you of my high esteem for your character. The 4th of June being the birth-day of my Royal Master, Sir John Jervis intends firing a royal salute at eight o'clock in the evening, instead of the usual time

at one o' clock in the afternoon; and has desired me to mention it to your Excellency, that the ladies at Cadiz may not be alarmed." Don Josef with the high spirit of an old Castilian, replied, "*That the general wish of the Spanish Nation could not but accord with so august a motive.*"

In writing to Mr. M'Arthur, June 1, he added, "We are off Cadiz with a greater inferiority than before. We have every day flags of truce, the Dons hope for peace, but must soon fight us if the war goes on. I wish it was all over, for I cannot fag much longer; and, to please our fleet, I hear that a squadron is looking out in the limits of this station for the galleons daily expected: what a special mark of favour to us, who are enabling them to cruise so much at their ease. Believe me, dear Sir, your obliged and faithful servant. P. S. Sam. Hood is gone I hope to get riches, sure to get honour."

(1797.) The next mark of confidence which Nelson received from his Admiral was the being appointed to command the in-shore squadron off Cadiz; a post of honour well adapted to so vigilant and daring a spirit. It was his constant custom every night, when the boats were on their stations off the mouth of that harbour, to be rowed in his barge through the whole force, and, with his wonted attention, to inspect every thing that was going on. The following order from Sir John Jervis, June 5, relates to this perilous service, and will convey some idea of

the determined manner in which it was conducted. "The Commander in Chief thinks it expedient, from intelligence lately received, that the launches and the barges of the two divisions under Vice Admiral Thompson and Rear Admiral Parker, should assemble on board the Theseus between nine and ten o'clock every night, armed with carronades, pikes, cutlasses, broad axes and chopping knives, a clamp in each boat, with spikes, a sledge hammer, and a coil of small rope to tow off any armed brig, mortar or gun boat, that is carried, and follow the directions of Rear Admiral Nelson for the night:" and on the same day another order was issued, that the launches and barges were on that evening to be alongside the Theseus by half past seven o'clock; and these were supported by gun boats properly fitted for that particular service.

(1797.) After the action of February 14, a letter had inadvertently been published in the English papers, injurious to the professional character of one of the Spanish officers; and in consequence of this, a correspondence ensued between Admiral Nelson and the Spanish Vice Admiral Moreno, which commenced with the following note, dated Theseus, June 8. "Sir, A Spanish officer having said, that you had expressed a wish to obtain a letter supposed to have been written from his Majesty's ship Egmont, and inserted in an English newspaper, relating to the action of Feb. 14; every inquiry

has been made to obtain the newspaper, and hitherto without effect. Captain Sutton of the *Egmont* has also done every thing in his power, but without being able to learn whether any letter from that ship has been published. The inquiry has however produced from my Commander in Chief, Sir John Jervis, the most handsome testimony of the gallant conduct of a three decked ship, bearing the flag of a Vice Admiral, who did every thing which a good officer could do to attempt to cut through the British line, between the *Victory* and the *Egmont*.”

Nothing could equal the extreme attention with which the blockade of Cadiz was carried on by the Commander in Chief, and the intelligence which he constantly obtained of every transaction that passed in that harbour. On the 9th of June, in writing to the Marine Minister at Lisbon, Sir John Jervis said, “The French and Spanish privateers are preparing to elude the vigilance of this squadron, by taking out their masts and passing under the arch of the bridge at Leon, and taking them in again when through, with an intention of going out at the entrance of San Pedro; some Moorish vessels with corn have got in that way. I have therefore ordered the *Meleager* and *Raven* to anchor in front of that channel.”

(1797.) *Rear Admiral Nelson to Sir J. Jervis, June 9.*—“My dear Sir, The newspaper was at last found in the night, on the quarter deck, and

is gone as you desired: it will I fear militate against Cordova, if any weight be given to a newspaper account. Your testimony of Moreno's conduct will no doubt be of service to him; the trials are commenced, and every day an account is sent off to Madrid. The heavy charge against Cordova is not coming into Cadiz with his convoy, which they say he could have done the day after he had passed the straits. Morales, it is expected, will be shot, Cordova broke, Moreno acquitted. The long trial of the officers who gave up Figueras is just finished, and five are to be shot. All the officers who composed the council of war are to be degraded in their public and private rank.

(1797.) Admiral Nelson, when writing to his wife, on the 15th of June, mentioned a circumstance that must have been particularly grateful to his feelings. Amidst the dreadful commotion which had taken place in our Navy during that year, the *Theseus*, before she left England, had been disgraced by the prevailing madness; and some apprehensions had arisen respecting her men, on her first joining Sir John Jervis. For this reason, amongst others, Nelson had hoisted his flag on board her; and so powerful was the influence which this extraordinary man had over the crew, even in their then state of irritation, that it not only brought them back to a proper sense of their duty, but actually attached the whole ship's company to him as if they had been

old Agamemnons. The following extract from his letter will more clearly exemplify this. "A few nights ago a paper was dropped on the quarter deck, of which this is a copy: *Success attend Admiral Nelson! God bless Captain Miller! We thank them for the Officers they have placed over us. We are happy and comfortable, and will shed every drop of blood in our veins to support them, and the name of the Theseus shall be immortalised as high as the Captain's.* SHIP'S COMPANY."

(1797.) Whilst these transactions had been going on off Cadiz, and preparations were making for the bombardment of the town and for an expedition against Teneriffe, the gallantry of our seamen had been conspicuously displayed under lieutenant Hardy, in the road of Santa Cruz. On the 28th of May, Captain Hallowell in the *Lively* and Captain Cockburn in *la Minerve*, having discovered an armed brig at that anchorage, had ordered the boats of the two frigates, under lieutenant T. M. Hardy of *la Minerve*, to proceed into the bay and attempt the daring enterprise of cutting the brig out. Accordingly in the afternoon about half past two o'clock, lieutenant Hardy had proceeded on this service; and being gallantly supported by his brother officers and the seamen, he had boarded the enemy and carried her; notwithstanding a steady fire of musquetry from the brig and a heavy discharge of artillery and small arms from the town, to which for want of wind they were a

long time exposed, as also to the fire of a large ship lying in the road. The prize proved to be la Mutine French corvette of twelve six pounders, two thirty-six pound carronades, and 130 men, commanded by citizen Xavier Paumier, then on shore. The officers who particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion were lieutenants Bland, Hopkins, Bushby, and lieutenant Bulkeley of the Royal Marines belonging to the Lively; and lieutenants Hardy, Gage, and Mailing, of la Minerve: four men were wounded in the Lively's boats, and ten in those of la Minerve with lieutenant Hardy, who was immediately advanced for this achievement to the rank of Commander, and appointed to la Mutine.

The affectionate tenderness of the private character of Nelson, cannot be too generally known and admired: In writing to Mrs. Nelson June 29, as was his custom previous to his entering on any service of peril, he had said, "Rest assured of my most perfect love, affection and esteem for your person and character, which the more I see of the world the more I must admire. The imperious call of honour to serve my Country, is the only thing which keeps me a moment from you, and a hope that, by staying a little longer, it may enable you to enjoy those little luxuries which you so highly merit. I pray God it may soon be peace, and that we may get into the Cottage.—I have to thank many friends for their kind congratulations, and have had a long

letter and genealogy from the York Herald, Mr. Nayler, whom I have referred to my brother Maurice. I have sent my brother my supporters, crest and motto; on one side a Sailor properly habited, holding in his hand the broad pendant on a staff and trampling on a Spanish flag; on the other side the British lion tearing the Spanish flag, the remnants hanging down and the flag in tatters. Motto, what my brother William suggested turned into English, *Faith and Works*. I hope you will like them.—I intend my next winter's gift at Burnham should be fifty good large blankets of the very best quality, and they will last for seven years at least. This will not take from any thing the parish might give. I wish inquiry to be made, and the blankets ordered of some worthy man; they are to be at my father's disposal in November. I have received my dear father's letter, God bless him and you."

(1797.) On the 22d of June, the Duke of Portland had sent the following letter from Whitehall to Sir John Jervis, who had been created a Peer, by the title of Earl St. Vincent. "My Lord: His Majesty having been graciously pleased as a mark of his royal approbation of the eminent services of Rear Admiral Nelson, to nominate him to be one of the Knights Companions of the most honourable Order of the Bath; and it being necessary that he should be invested with the ensigns of the said Order,



which are transmitted to him by this opportunity, I am to signify to your Lordship the King's pleasure that you should perform that ceremony: and it being his Majesty's intention that the same should be done in the most honourable and distinguished manner that circumstances will allow of, you will concert and adjust with him such time and manner for investing him with the ensigns of the Order of the Bath, as shall appear to you most proper for shewing all due respect to the King's order; and as may at the same time mark in the most public manner his Majesty's just sense of the zeal and abilities which Rear Admiral Nelson has exerted in the service of his King and Country."

As if it had been in the original and true spirit of Chivalry, the renowned Sir Horatio Nelson was destined to keep the vigils of his Knighthood during the perilous night of the third of July, at the mouth of Cadiz harbour. On the evening of that day it had been given out in orders by the Commander in Chief, That all the barges and launches without exception, with their carronades properly fitted, and plenty of ammunition and pikes, were to be with Admiral Nelson at half past eight o'clock on a particular service. The garrison of Cadiz at this time consisted of from 4000 to 4500 men. On the line wall facing the bay, seventy pieces of can-

<sup>7</sup> The fees on this occasion, amounting to 42*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* were paid by virtue of the King's sign manual.

non and eight mortars had been mounted, and near Alameda were four other mortars; and from the Capuchins at the back of the town to the land point were three batteries of four guns each. Such was the strength of the forts at Cadiz when Sir Horatio Nelson undertook its bombardment, respecting which, he thus wrote to Earl St. Vincent on the 1st of July. "We will begin this night by ten o'clock; and I beg that all the launches of the fleet may be with me by eight, or half past at farthest, also all the barges or pinnaces. I wish to make it a warm night at Cadiz. The town and their fleet are prepared, and their gun-boats are advanced; so much the better. If they venture from their walls, I shall give Johnny his full scope for fighting. Mazarredo will be more than human, if he can keep the merchants of Cadiz in good humour. I am inclined to think he has been out this afternoon. I intend if alive and not tired to see you tomorrow, and ever to the last believe me your faithful Horatio Nelson."

The subsequent transactions of that memorable night were detailed by him in the following official letter to Earl St. Vincent, dated Theseus, July 4. "In obedience to your orders, the Thunder bomb was placed by the good management of lieutenant Gourly her present commander, assisted by Mr. Jackson master of the *Ville de Paris*, who volunteered his able services, within 2500 yards of the walls of Cadiz; and the shells

were thrown from her with much precision under the direction of lieutenant Baynes of the royal artillery; but unfortunately it was soon found that the large mortar had been materially injured by its former services: I therefore ordered her to return under the protection of the Goliath, Terpsichore and Fox, who were kept under sail for that purpose, and for whose active services I feel much obliged. The Spaniards having sent out a great number of mortar gun-boats and armed launches, I directed a vigorous attack to be made on them; which was done with such gallantry, that they were driven and pursued close to the walls of Cadiz, and must have suffered considerable loss; and I have the pleasure to inform you, that two mortar-boats and an armed launch remained in our possession.

“I feel myself particularly indebted for the successful termination of this contest to the gallantry of Captains Fremantle and Miller, the former of whom accompanied me in my barge, and to my coxswain John Sykes, who in defending my person was most severely wounded, as was Captain Fremantle slightly in the attack; and my praises are generally due to every officer and man, some of whom I saw behave in the most noble manner, and I regret it is not in my power to particularise them. I must also beg to be permitted to express my admiration of Don Miguel Tregoyen, the Commander of the gun boats; in his barge he laid my boat alongside,

and his resistance was such as to honour a brave officer, eighteen of the twenty six men being killed, and himself and all the rest wounded. Not having a correct list of our killed and wounded, I can only state that I believe about six are killed and twenty wounded."

*Earl St. Vincent to Sir Horatio Nelson.*

"My dear Admiral: I congratulate you most heartily on the events of last night. Every service you are engaged in adds fresh lustre to the British arms and to your character. The letter is characteristic of your noble soul, and cannot be improved by the ablest pen in Europe. Johnson, first lieutenant of the Emerald, is a man after your own heart; put him in a way of taking a gun-boat, and I will answer he succeeds or loses his life in the attempt. I think the barges and launches should come to you to-morrow after the night has closed, and you will make your arrangements accordingly; perhaps it would be better to try to carry some more gun-boats without the bomb ketch. The lieutenant who has the greatest merit in taking a brig, shall be made Captain of her immediately."—Sir Horatio replied, July 5th, "I am thankful, my dear Sir, for your flattering letter, which, as we all like, I will believe as much of as I can. To-night my plan is for Cadiz on the outside of the lighthouse: Jackson knows a good birth. If the brigs come out, we will have a dash at them, and as the boats will be in three divisions under Captains;

we may expect a little more regularity in case of any unforeseen event. Your encouragement for those lieutenants who may conspicuously exert themselves, cannot fail to have its good effect in serving our Country; instead of their thinking that if a vessel is taken, it would make the son of some great man a Captain, in the place of the gallant fellow who captured her. At present the Brigs lie too close to each other to hope for a dash at them, but soon I expect to find one off her guard, and then—We have eighty-seven living prisoners now on board, and near thirty have died of their wounds. News from Cadiz this morning is, that some people were killed in the town, and fifteen were killed and a great number wounded in the Spanish gun-boats.”

Lord St. Vincent in a subsequent letter, said, “You may believe, my dear Admiral, every thing I say and write of you and to you; my public letter closes thus, *Rear Admiral Nelson's actions speak for themselves, any praise from my pen would take from his merit.*”—His Lordship also added in this despatch, which is dated July 5, “The Rear Admiral, who is always present in the most arduous enterprises, with the assistance of some other barges boarded and carried two of the enemy's gun-boats, and a barge launch of one of their ships of war, with the Commandant of the flotilla. In this short conflict eighteen or twenty Spaniards were killed, the Comman-

dant and several wounded; himself and twenty-five men were made prisoners, and the rest swam on shore. This spirited action was performed with inconsiderable loss on our part. The launch of the *Ville de Paris* sunk by a raking shot from the enemy's gun-boats; but by the active intelligent mind of Captain Troubridge has been got up, and repaired on board the *Culloden*."—The noble conduct of John Sykes, who is since dead, was thus mentioned by Admiral Nelson, "*The attack of the Spanish gun-boats was a service hard to hand with swords, in which my coxswain John Sykes, now no more, twice saved my life.*" This brave man twice saved the life of his beloved Commander by parrying the blows that were aimed at him, and at last actually interposed his own head to receive the full force of a Spanish sabre; which, fighting as they were hand to hand, he could not otherwise have prevented from falling on Sir Horatio.

(1797.) During the ensuing night July 5, the Rear Admiral, as he informed Lord St. Vincent the next morning at half past three, was merely a spectator. The enemy had got the exact range of the bomb vessel and boats with both their shot and shells; and, as the end had answered of annoying the town, forty or fifty shells having been thrown into it, Nelson had taken the caution of advising Captain Bowen to tow the vessel off: one man belonging to the *Theseus* was killed

and seven badly wounded, and the ship had received some shot in her hull. On board the *Urchin* six were wounded. The enemy's gun-boats kept close under the walls; "and no opportunity," added Sir Horatio, "was offered Bowen to make a dash."

The following more circumstantial account was sent home by Lord St. Vincent to the Admiralty. "Rear Admiral Nelson ordered a second bombardment of Cadiz on the night of the 5th, under the direction of Captain Bowen of the *Terpsichore*, Captain Miller of the *Theseus*, and Captain Waller of the *Emerald*; and appointed Mr. Jackson, master of the *Ville de Paris*, to place the *Thunderer*, *Terror*, and *Strombolo*. The bombardment produced considerable effect in the town, and amongst the shipping; ten sail of the line, amongst them the ships carrying the flags of Admirals Mazarredo and Gravina, having warped out of the range of the shells with much precipitation the following morning."

(1797.) The indefatigable exertions made by the Rear Admiral for a third attempt, in which he was baffled by the winds blowing too strong down the bay, are glanced at in his letter to Earl St. Vincent, July 7; a thousand piastres had been promised by the Spaniards, to any of their vessels that should take or sink an English sloop, and five thousand if they should take or sink an English bomb vessel. "My dear Sir; I am making arrangements for fixing the ten inch howitzer in the mortar-boat, and doubt not of

succeeding; the other boat is larger and better calculated for bad weather than the one I sent you to look at; but I shall be more particular in the plan I have now in my head. The information from Cadiz by a market boat is, that our shells did much damage, the town was on fire in three places: one shell that fell in a convent destroyed several priests. Plunder and robbery were going on, displaying a horrid scene of confusion: they added, that representations have been made to Mazarredo and to Madrid, for the fleet to go out. At this instant I see an Admiral moving forwards, it is Mazarredo! Please God, I hope the Spanish fleet are coming out; another Admiral is under sail, and I open my letter to say they are all on the move."

(1797.) These sudden movements of the Spanish flag ships only disappointed the sanguine hopes of Nelson. On the 9th of July, he informed Lord St. Vincent, that although he hoped enough had been done to force out the Spanish fleet, yet in case there had not, he would try them again, "When," he added, "down comes Cadiz, and not only Cadiz, but their fleet, if Mazarredo will not come out. As for their shot flying about the Theseus it will do her good, and make her the better for your support in some proud day, not far distant, I hope. Portugal ought to be grateful for your attention to her interest; and so ought little England. The Dons will be tired enough to take a good nap this



afternoon. The people of Cadiz are told, that they have made great destruction amongst us, and believe it, and reports say their gun and mortar-boats are to attack our advanced squadron the very first calm night. If they succeed in either destroying some of us, or crippling our masts, then Mazarredo puts to sea and destroys you: therefore do not be surprised, my dear Sir, if you hear a cannonade; I am prepared."

(1797.) *H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence to Sir Horatio Nelson, dated July 4.*—"Dear Nelson: I was very happy to find you had executed with so much success and promptitude Lord St. Vincent's order for the evacuation of Porto Ferrajo. I feel for poor Oakes on every account, and sincerely wish he was safe at home; and believe me, I am also much concerned at the state of your own health. After such long and distinguished service you will of course get leave to return. In answer to your last letter, I can only say, that I hope, and believe, our confidence is mutual; therefore in future no more apology on either side is wanted. Under this idea, I must begin by defending an officer, against whom you have become prejudiced . . . . Want of discipline in some of our home squadrons, and the energy of infamous incendiaries, had for many months thrown the whole fleet into a state of democracy and absolute rebellion. I rejoice that the *Theseus* has fallen into such good hands, and I shall shortly hear that she is in the best order of the Mediter-

anean fleet. One word more about what has passed at Spithead, Plymouth, and the Nore, and I will never mention the disgraceful business again; but I cannot pass over unnoticed your remark about short weights and measures. Every officer must know that by the old allowance, the men on board the King's ships had more provisions than they could consume, and that they always sold a part; therefore an increase of provisions was not wanted. I will not hurt your mind by relating the horrid particulars of the late events, but shall conclude the subject by observing, that in your next you will unsay what you have too hastily expressed. I dread nothing, as the government here appear to pursue proper measures, and I am convinced St. Vincent will keep up his fleet in discipline. Lenity at first is severity at the last. My best wishes and compliments attend your gallant Commander: my only acquaintance with him is as an officer. His very great attention and abilities were shewn to me during the Spanish armament, since which time I have, and always shall respect him.

“ You will I am sure always distinguish yourself; and I am afraid, from the exorbitant demands of the Directory, that for some time your fleet will be constantly employed. I am happy to find you are at last come over to my way of thinking. As circumstances arise pray write, and ever believe me, dear Sir, yours sincerely,  
WILLIAM.”

(1797.) In a letter to Lady Nelson, July 12—14, Sir Horatio had repeated his wish that a Cottage should be purchased for them, as he adhered to his determination of coming home on the 1st of October: “I should be glad if the house were bought: and, if you do not object, *I should like Norfolk in preference to any other part of the kingdom*; but do you choose. I am sure the time is past for doing any thing for George Tobin; had he been with me he would long since have been a Captain, and I should have liked it, as being most exceedingly pleased with him. My late affair here will not I believe lower me in the opinion of the world. I have had flattery enough to make me vain, and success enough to make me confident. When you know I am sent from the fleet, never calculate on a letter till you hear I am returned. I am always sorry when you are disappointed; and as I may now be absent for a short time, do not be anxious about letters, for you cannot hear from me. Ever believe me your most affectionate husband.”

(1797.) II. The detached service to which the gallant Admiral here alludes, was the long projected expedition to Teneriffe; which, as appears from a preceding letter to the Commander in Chief, had originated in the daring suggestion of Nelson himself. To the advantages which an attack on the town of Santa Cruz had previously offered, was now added the intelligence that had

been received respecting the arrival there of a rich Spanish ship, *El Principe d'Asturias* from Manilla, bound to Cadiz with treasure and a rich cargo. On the morning of the 14th of July, at half past eight, Sir Horatio weighed and stood towards the main body of the fleet; and at noon received orders to take under his command the *Theseus*, Captain J. W. Miller, *Culloden*, Captain T. Troubridge, *Zealous*, Captain S. Hood, *Leander*, Captain T. B. Thompson, *Seahorse*, Captain Fremantle, *Emerald*, Captain Waller, *Terpsichore*, Captain R. Bowen, *Fox cutter*, Lieutenant Gibson, and a mortar boat; and by a sudden and vigorous assault to attempt the town of Santa Cruz. Lord St. Vincent, notwithstanding the critical situation in which he was placed, liberally allowed Nelson to select such ships and officers as he approved from the fleet. The next day, Saturday the 15th, at six A. M. Sir Horatio and his squadron made sail to the westward, without waiting for the *Leander* who had not then joined from Lisbon, but followed him on the 18th; and in a hasty note he informed the Admiral, *That nothing which ought to be attempted should be left undone.*

(1797.) According to the Journal<sup>a</sup> of their pro-

<sup>a</sup> Drawn up for the information of Lord St. Vincent under the direction of Admiral Nelson. The original copy, afterwards slightly altered, was found amongst the Nelson papers. This has been referred to and enlarged from a private Journal, which the Admiral kept until the loss of his arm. Two detailed accounts

ceedings, on Sunday, July 16, when distant thirty leagues from Cape St. Vincent, they were joined by the *Terpsichore*. On the 17th the Captains of the squadron came on board the *Theseus*, and received further instructions; and on the 18th the small armed men were directed to exercise themselves and fire at a target. On the 20th, when within thirteen leagues distance of Teneriffe, a general signal was made for the Captains; and Captain Troubridge, who commanded the seamen and marines to be landed, received the following orders:

(1797.) *To Thomas Troubridge, Esq. Captain of H. M. S. Culloden, and Communder of the Forces ordered to be landed for taking Santa Cruz, dated Theseus at sea, July 20.*—“ Sir, I desire you will take under your command the number of seamen and marines named in the margin,<sup>b</sup> who will be under Captains Hood, Miller, Fremantle, Bowen and Waller, and the marines under Captain Thomas Oldfield, and a detachment of the royal

of these transactions were found amongst some papers in a Spanish schooner going home with despatches, captured off the coast of Barbary in August 1797, by the *Alcmene* and *Andromache* frigates.

<sup>b</sup> <i>Theseus</i> . . . . .	200	Exclusive of commissioned Officers and servants. The <i>Leander</i> had not then joined.
<i>Culloden</i> . . . . .	200	
<i>Zealous</i> . . . . .	200	
<i>Seahorse</i> . . . . .	100	
<i>Terpsichore</i> . . . . .	100	
<i>Emerald</i> . . . . .	100	
	900	

artillery under Lieutenant Baynes, all of whom are now embarked on board his majesty's frigates Seahorse, Terpsichore, and Emerald. With this detachment you will proceed as near to the town of Santa Cruz as possible, without endangering your being perceived; when you will embark as many men as the boats will carry, and force your landing in the north east part of the bay of Santa Cruz, near a large battery. The moment you are on shore I recommend you first to attack the battery; which when carried, and your post secured, you will either proceed by storm against the town and mole-head battery, or send in my letter, as you judge most proper, containing a Summons of which I send you a copy; and the terms are either to be accepted or rejected in the time specified, unless you see good cause for prolonging it, as no alteration will be made in them: and you will pursue such other methods as you judge most proper for speedily effecting my orders, which are to possess myself of all cargoes and treasures which may be landed in the island of Teneriffe. Having the firmest confidence in the ability, bravery, and zeal of yourself, and of all placed under your command, I have only heartily to wish you success, and to assure you that I am your most obedient and faithful servant, Horatio Nelson."

(1797.) *To the Governor, or Commanding Officer of Santa Cruz, the Summons of Sir Horatio Nelson, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath,*

*Rear Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his Britannick Majesty's forces by sea and land before Santa Cruz; dated Theseus, 20th July.*

—“Sir, I have the honour to acquaint you, that I am come to demand the immediate surrender of the ship *El Principe d'Asturias* from *Manilla* bound to *Cadiz*, belonging to the *Philipine Company*, together with her whole and entire cargo; and also all such other cargoes and property as may have been landed in the island of *Teneriffe*, and not intended for the consumption of its inhabitants. And, as it is my earnest wish that not one individual inhabitant of the island of *Teneriffe* should suffer by my demand being instantly complied with, I offer the most honourable and liberal<sup>c</sup> terms; which if refused, the horrors of war that will fall on the inhabitants of *Teneriffe*, must be by the world imputed to you and you only; for I shall destroy *Santa Cruz* and the other towns in the island by a bombardment, and levy a very heavy contribution on the island.

The following judicious Regulations were recommended by him.—First, That the boats of each ship should be kept together by towing each other, which will keep the people of each ship collected, and the boats in six divisions will be nearly got on shore the same moment. Secondly, The marines of each ship of the line to

§ See Quarto Edit. vol. ii. page 30.

be put in their launches, which will carry them. Thirdly, The moment the boats are discovered by a firing being made on them, the bomb vessel to commence her fire on the town, and to keep it up till the flag of truce is hoisted from either the enemy, or from us. Fourthly, That a Captain should be directed to see the boats put off from the beach, that more men may be speedily got on shore with the field pieces. Fifthly, Frigates to anchor as soon as possible after the alarm is given, or the forces are ashore, near the battery in the N. E. part of the bay. Sixthly, Immediately as the forces are ashore, they are to get in the rear of the battery marked S. in the N. E. part of the bay, and to instantly storm it, and also to take post on the top of the hill which is above it. Every ship to land the number of men as against their name expressed, with a proper proportion of officers: And the Captains are at liberty to send as many more men as they please, leaving sufficient to manage the ship, and to man the launch and another boat. Every Captain, that chooses, is at liberty to land and command his seamen, under the direction of Captain Troubridge.

“It is recommended to put on the seamen as many marine coats or jackets as can be procured, and that all should have canvass crop belts. The marines to be all under the orders of Captain Oldfield, the senior marine officer, and he is requested to put himself under the direction of



of Captain Troubridge, as is lieutenant Baynes of the royal artillery with his detachment.”

The experience, and the cautious mind of Nelson endeavouring to anticipate every possible obstacle, appear throughout the whole of these Orders and Regulations; Copies of which having been sent to the respective Captains, the boats of the squadron were in the afternoon hoisted out to take the force, to be landed from the different ships, on board the Seahorse, Terspichore and Emerald frigates; and a general signal was then made, for the Captains of those ships to repair on board the Admiral and receive the following final Orders:

“*July 21.* The Culloden’s officers and men with only their arms, to be ready to go on board the Terspichore at one P. M. this day, to carry with them four ladders, each of which is to have a lanyard four fathoms long, a sledge hammer, wedges, and a broad axe. The boats oars to be muffled either with a piece of canvass or kersey. H. N.

‘*Memorandum.* The Culloden and Zealous each to make a platform for one eighteen-pounder, the Theseus a sley for dragging cannon. Each ship to make as many iron ramrods as possible, it being found that the wooden ones are very liable to break when used in a hurry. The Seahorse to make a platform for one nine-pounder.’—Having received these orders, the Captains went on board the frigates, and stood for Teneriffe.

' On Friday the 21st of July, I directed,' adds the Admiral in his Journal, ' to be embarked on board the Seahorse, Terpsichore, and Emerald frigates, 1000 men, including 250 marines; attended by all the boats of the Squadron, scaling ladders, and every implement which I thought necessary for the success of the enterprize. I directed that the boats should land in the night, between the fort on the N. E. side of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the town,<sup>d</sup> and endeavour to make themselves masters of that fort; which when done, my summons to the Governor was to be sent in, and half an hour allowed for its acceptance or rejection. Although the frigates, by twelve o'clock, approached within three miles of the intended place of debarkation; yet from the unforeseen circumstance of a strong gale of wind in the offing, and a strong current against them inshore, they were not able to get within a mile of the landing-place before the day dawned, and discovered our force and intentions to the Spaniards. At half past three on the morning of the 22d, the Theseus and squadron bore up for Santa Cruz, and at half past four we saw the Seahorse, Terpsichore, and Emerald off the island, with the mortar-boat, and the ships' boats pulling off shore.

" On my approach, Captains Troubridge and

<sup>d</sup> According to a private letter, " About two miles to the eastward of the town."

Bowen, with Captain Oldfield of the marines, came on board to consult with me what was best to be done; and were of opinion, that if they could possess themselves of the heights over the fort above mentioned, it could be stormed; to which I gave my assent. At nine the frigates anchored inshore, off the east end of the town, and landed their men. Stood off and on Santa Cruz with the line of battle ships, and wore occasionally. At ten o'clock made the signal to prepare for battle, intending to batter the fort with the line of battle ships, in order to create a diversion; but this was found impracticable, not being able to get nearer the shore than three miles, from a calm and contrary currents; nor could our men possess themselves of the heights, as the enemy had taken possession, and seemed as anxious to retain, as we were to get them. Thus foiled in my original plan, I considered it necessary for the honour of our King and Country, not to give over the attempt to possess ourselves of the town, that our enemies might be convinced there was nothing which Englishmen were not equal to; and confident in the bravery of those who would be employed in the service, I embarked every person from the shore on the 22d at night.

“On the 24th of July, I got the ships to an anchor about two miles to the northward of the town; and made every shew for a disposition of attacking the heights, which appeared to answer the end from

the great number of people they had placed on them. The *Leander*, Captain Thompson, joined in the afternoon, and her marines were added to the force before appointed, and Captain Thompson also volunteered his services. At half past five in the evening the squadron anchored a few miles to the northward of Santa Cruz; and at six the signal was made for boats to prepare to proceed on service as previously ordered."

"At eleven o'clock at night," adds the Journal, "the boats of the squadron containing between 6 and 700 men, with 180 on board the *Fox* cutter, and about 70 or 80 in a boat we had taken the day before, proceeded in six divisions towards the town. The divisions of the boats were conducted by all the Captains, except Fremantle and Bowen, who attended with me to regulate and lead the way to the attack; every Captain being acquainted that the landing was to be made on the Mole, whence they were to hasten as fast as possible into the great square, and there to form and proceed on such services as might be found necessary. We were not discovered until half past one o'clock, when being within half gun shot of the landing place, I directed the boats to cast off from each other, give an huzza, and push for the shore. The alarm bells immediately rang, and a fire of thirty or forty pieces of cannon, with musquetry from one end of the town to the other, opened upon us; but nothing could stop the intrepidity of the Captains leading the divisions. Unfortunately,

the night being extremely dark, the greatest part of the boats did not see the Mole; but went on shore through a raging surf, which stove all the boats to the left of it. It was only Captains Fremantle, Thompson, Bowen, and myself, with four or five boats who found the Mole; which was instantly stormed and carried, although defended apparently by four or five hundred men, and the guns, six twenty-four pounders, were spiked: but such a heavy fire of musquetry and grape shot was kept up from the citadel and houses at the head of the Mole that we could not advance, and nearly all were killed or wounded. Having at this moment<sup>e</sup> my right arm shot through, I was carried off to my ship."

Previous to their making this last desperate attempt, the gallant Sir Horatio with some of the Captains of his squadron, had agreed to meet at supper on board the Seahorse, Captain Fremantle, at whose table the lady whom he had lately married in the Mediterranean presided. Nelson on leaving the Theseus, being sensible of the extreme danger to which he was about to be exposed, had called his son in law lieutenant Nisbet, who had the watch on deck, into the cabin, that he might assist in arranging and burning his mother's letters: when perceiving that the young man was armed, he had begged

<sup>e</sup> This last sentence is only found in the rough MS. of this Journal dictated by the Admiral, and drawn up by the secretary; and has a pen drawn across it, as if Nelson had resolved not to speak himself of the wound he had received.

of him earnestly to remain behind, adding, *Should we both fall, Josiah, what would become of your poor Mother? The care of the Theseus falls to you; stay, therefore, and take charge of her.* Sir, replied Nisbet, *the ship must take care of herself. I will go with you to night, if I never go again.*

Thus attended by his son in law, Nelson had proceeded from the Seahorse to the Mole of Santa Cruz; and had there received his severe wound through the right elbow, as he was in the act of drawing his sword and stepping out of the boat. This sword which he had so long and deservedly valued from respect to his uncle Maurice Suckling, was grasped when falling in his left hand, notwithstanding the agony he endured. Lieutenant Nisbet, who had remained close to him, saw his father in law wounded from the tremendous fire of the Spaniards, and heard him exclaim, *I am shot through the arm, I am a dead man!* Nisbet placed him at the bottom of the boat, and observing that the sight of the quantity of blood that had rushed from the shattered arm seemed to increase the faintness, he took off his hat to conceal it. He then with great presence of mind examined the state of the wound, and holding the shattered arm so as to stanch the blood, he took some silk handkerchiefs from his neck and bound them tightly above the

<sup>f</sup> According to the information of an Officer who was present, the same fire from the enemy which wounded Admiral Nelson, also wounded seven other men in their right arms.

lacerated vessels; but for this attention, Nelson as he afterwards declared, must have perished. Mr. Nisbet was assisted by a seaman of the name of Lovel, one of the Admiral's bargemen; who, having torn his shirt into shreds, constructed a sling for the wounded arm. They then collected five other seamen, and at length with their assistance got the boat afloat, which had grounded from the falling of the tide. Having thus far succeeded, Lieutenant Nisbet took one of the oars that remained, and ordered the man who steered to go close under the guns of the batteries, that they might be safe from their tremendous fire. The voice of his son in law enforcing this judicious order, roused Sir Horatio from his fainting state, and he immediately desired to be lifted up in the boat, that, to use his own words, "he might look a little about him:" he was accordingly raised by Nisbet. The destructive fire of the enemy amidst the darkness of the night was, sublimely dreadful: a painful uncertainty prevailed respecting the fate of his brave companions; when, on a sudden, a general shriek from the crew of the Fox Cutter, which had sunk from a shot she had received under water, made the noble Admiral forget his own weak and painful state. Many were rescued from a watery grave by Sir Horatio himself, whose humane exertions on this occasion added considerably to the agony and danger of his wound: Ninety seven men, including lieutenant Gibson, were lost, and eighty three were saved.

Some account of what passed after the Admiral had been wounded, is contained in a letter from Mr. Hoste, one of the midshipmen, to his father. "At two o'clock in the morning Admiral Nelson returned on board, being dreadfully wounded in his right arm with a grape shot. I leave you, Sir, to judge of my situation, when I beheld our boat approach with him who I may say has been a second father to me, his right arm dangling by his side, whilst with his left he jumped up the ship's side, and displayed a spirit that astonished every one. He underwent the amputation with the same firmness and courage that have always marked his character. At four o'clock several of the boats returned to the ship, not having been able to land on account of the heavy fire that was kept up by the enemy. At daylight the enemy began to cannonade the shipping, which we returned, and soon silenced them. We now began to entertain bad hopes of our men who had landed, and not without reason; for in less than half an hour afterwards, a boat, that had escaped from the shore, informed us that all our people were obliged to surrender, having stipulated that they should be sent on board their respective ships, which was granted by the governor. At nine, a flag of truce came off from Santa Cruz with a Spanish officer, and the Captain of the Emerald, who besides other bad news informed us, that lieutenant Weatherhead



was mortally wounded. On Sunday the 30th, his body was committed to the deep, and three volleys of musquetry were fired in honour to his memory.”

Captain Fremantle was severely wounded in the right arm soon after the Admiral, and fortunately meeting with a boat on the beach, had been instantly conveyed to the Seahorse. For the proceedings of Captain Troubridge and of the officers who were with him, Sir Horatio referred Lord St. Vincent to the following letter; and added, “I cannot but express my admiration of the firmness with which Captain Troubridge and his brave associates supported the honour of the British flag; and I must not omit to acquaint you with the satisfaction I received from the conduct of lieutenant Baynes of the Royal artillery, not only from the ardour with which he undertook every service, but also from his professional skill.”

(1797.) *Captain Troubridge to Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. dated Culloden, July 25.*—“Sir, from the darkness of the night I did not immediately hit the Mole, the spot appointed to land at, but pushed on shore under the enemy’s battery close to the southward of the citadel; Captain Waller landed at the same time, and two or three other boats. The surf was so high many put back; the boats were full of water in an instant, and stove against the rocks, and most of the ammunition in the men’s pouches was wet. As soon as I had

collected a few men, I immediately advanced with Captain Waller to the square, the place of rendezvous, in hopes of there meeting you and the remainder of the people; and I waited about an hour, during which time I sent a serjeant, with two gentlemen of the town, to summon the citadel. I fear the serjeant was shot on his way, as I heard nothing of him afterwards. The ladders being all lost in the surf, or not to be found, no immediate attempt could be made on the citadel; I therefore marched to join Captains Hood and Miller, who I had intelligence had made good their landing, with a body of men, to the S. W. of the place I did. I then endeavoured to procure some account of you and the rest of the officers, but without success. By day-break we had collected about eighty marines, eighty pikemen, and one hundred and eighty small armed seamen; these I found were all who remained alive that had made good their landing: with this force, having procured some ammunition from the Spanish prisoners we had made, we were marching to try what could be done with the citadel without ladders; when we found the whole of the streets commanded by field pieces, and upwards of 8000 Spaniards and 100 French under arms, approaching by every avenue. As the boats were all stove, and I saw no possibility of getting more men on shore, the ammunition wet, and no provisions, I sent Captain Hood with a flag of truce to the Governor,

to declare, 'I was prepared to burn the town, which I should immediately put in force, if he approached one inch farther;' and at the same time I desired Captain Hood to say, 'It would be done with regret, as I had no wish to injure the inhabitants; that if he would come to my terms I was willing to treat;' which he agreed to. I had the honour to send you a copy of them by Captain Waller, which I hope will meet with your approbation, and appear highly honourable. The following parly was sent with the flag of truce: '*Santa Cruz, July 25th.* That the troops, &c. belonging to his Britannic Majesty shall embark with all their arms of every kind, and take their boats off, if saved, and be provided with such other as may be wanting: In consideration of which it is engaged on their part, that they shall not molest the town in any manner by the Ships of the British squadron now before it, nor any of the islands in the Canaries, and prisoners shall be given up on both sides. Given under my hand and Word of Honour, SAM. HOOD. Ratified by T. TROUBRIDGE, and J. ANTONIO GUTIERREZ."

Captain Troubridge thus concluded his letter. "From the small body of men, and the greater part being pike and small armed seamen, which can be only called irregulars, with very little ammunition in the pouches but what had got wet in the surf at landing, I could not expect to succeed in any attempt upon the enemy, whose su-

perior strength I have before mentioned. The Spanish Officers assure me they expected us, and were perfectly prepared with all the batteries and the number of men already mentioned under arms. This, with the great disadvantage of a rocky coast, high surf, and in the face of forty pieces of cannon, will shew, though we were not successful, what an Englishman is equal to; and I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that we marched through the town on our return with the British colours flying at our head. P. S. I beg also to say, that when the terms were signed and ratified, the Governor in the handsomest manner sent a large proportion of wine, bread, &c. to refresh the people, and shewed every mark of attention in his power."

Nothing could surpass the steady and decided valour which the whole of the selected band of heroes displayed on this memorable though unsuccessful enterprise. Their last attempt was certainly daring and hazardous in the extreme, and it was considered by them all as the forlorn hope.—Having paid their last melancholy duty to the remains of the gallant Bowen, whose fall was a loss to his Country, Sir Horatio Nelson immediately sent off his despatches to Lord St. Vincent on board the *Emerald*, Captain Waller, which sailed on the next day, July 28. Of these the following is a copy. "*Theseus, off Santa Cruz.* Sir, In obedience to your orders to make a vigorous attack on the town of Santa Cruz in the

island of Teneriffe, I directed, from the ships under my command, 1000 men, including marines, to be prepared for landing under the direction of Captain Troubridge of H. M. S. Culloden, and Captains Hood, Thompson, Fremantle, Bowen, Miller and Waller, who very handsomely volunteered their services; and although I am under the painful necessity of acquainting you, that we have not been able to succeed in our attack, yet it is my duty to state, that I believe more daring intrepidity was never shewn than by the Captains, Officers, and men, you did me the honour to place under my command; and the detail which I transmit you herewith, will I hope convince you that my abilities, humble as they are, have been exerted on the present occasion. Enclosed I also transmit you a list of killed and wounded;<sup>g</sup> and amongst the former it is with

*g List of the Killed, Wounded, and Drowned, at the Attack of Santa Cruz.*

Ship's Names.	Killed.		Wounded.		Drowned Seamen and Marines.	Total Killed.	Total Wounded and Drowned.
	Seamen.	Marines.	Seamen.	Marines.			
Theseus .....	8	4	25	0	34	12	59
Culloden .....	1	2	12	6	36	3	54
Zealous .....	3	2	19	2	0	5	21
Leander .....	1	5	1	4	0	6	5
Seahorse .....	2	0	13	1	0	2	14
Terpsichore .....	8	0	0	2	4	8	15
Emerald .....	5	3	11	0	10	8	21
Fox Cutter .....	0	0	0	0	17	0	17
Total	28	16	90	15	101	44	206

*Officers killed.* Richard Bowen, Captain of the Terpsichore. George Thorpe, first Lieutenant of ditto. John Wetherhead,

the deepest sorrow I have to place the name of Captain Richard Bowen of H. M. S. *Terpsichore*, than whom a more enterprising, able and gallant Officer does not grace his Majesty's naval service; and with much regret I have to mention the loss of lieutenant John Gibson, Commander of the *Fox* cutter, and a great number of gallant officers and men."

(1797.) By the same conveyance the dejected Nelson sent the following private communication to his Admiral, descriptive of the pain he endured both in mind and body; *dated Theseus, July 27.* "My dear Sir, I am become a burthen to my friends and useless to my Country, but by my letter wrote the 24th you will perceive my anxiety for the promotion of my son in law Josiah Nisbet: when I leave your command I become dead to the world, I go hence and am no more seen: if from poor Bowen's loss you think it proper to oblige me I rest confident you will do it; the boy is under obligations to me, but he repaid me by bringing me from the mole of *Santa Cruz*. I hope you will be able to give

Lieutenant of the *Theseus*. William Earnshaw, second Lieutenant of the *Leander*. Raby Robinson, Lieutenant of the Marines, *Leander*. Lieutenant Baisham, Marines, *Emerald*. Lieutenant Gibson of the *Fox* cutter drowned.

*Officers wounded.* Rear Admiral Nelson, right arm shot through. Captain Thompson, *Leander*, slightly. Captain Fremantle, *Seahorse*, in the right arm. Lieutenant J. Douglas, ditto, in the hand. Mr. Waits, midshipman, *Zealous*.

me a frigate to convey the remains of my carcase to England. God bless you, my dear Sir, and believe me your most obliged and faithful Horatio Nelson."

Before the squadron left the island of Teneriffe, mutual civilities had passed between Sir Horatio and D. Juan: the former had requested the Governor to accept of a cask of English beer and a cheese, and he in return had sent the Admiral a couple of large flasks of the best Canary wine.

(1797.) *Earl St. Vincent to Sir Horatio Nelson, August 16.*—My dear Admiral, Mortals cannot command success, you and your companions have certainly deserved it, by the greatest degree of Heroism, and Perseverance, that ever was exhibited. I grieve for the loss of your arm, and for the fate of poor Bowen and Gibson, with that of the other brave men who fell so gallantly. I hope you and Captain Fremantle are doing well; the Seahorse shall carry you to England the moment her wants are supplied. All the wishes you may favour me with shall be fulfilled, as far as is consistent with what I owe to some valuable officers in the Ville de Paris. Yours most truly and affectionately."

Sir Horatio went on board the Admiral the same day, but came back to his own ship at four in the afternoon. His official leave to return to England is dated August 20, by which time the Seahorse had got properly fitted for the passage.

Being arrived at Spithead, he received the Admiralty's permission on September 2d to strike his flag, and immediately proceeded without delay to his Father and Lady Nelson at Bath. His letter, as he imagined, had not long preceded his arrival. The difference of the hand-writing had at first perplexed the readers, and it was some time before Lady Nelson had discovered with inexpressible anguish that it was actually written by her wounded husband. They had heard of an expedition on which a part of Lord St. Vincent's fleet had been detached, and painful rumours had prevailed: neither of them had resolution to read it. The dreadful change in the well known hand-writing created an uncertainty, which magnified all that could have happened. At last Mrs. Bolton, who was on a visit to her Father, at his request disclosed the contents; she was sincerely attached to her brother, and for some minutes their affectionate sympathy rendered them insensible to the joy of his return. Whilst they were alternately expecting and despairing of his arrival, Lady Nelson one evening suddenly distinguished the sound of her husband's voice, directing his carriage where to stop. The affectionate mind and filial regard of a son so long absent, were rewarded by the blessings of an aged Father and by the tenderness of the faithful partner of his early and more humble fortunes.

(1797.) A Surgeon of the name of Nicholls



attended Sir Horatio during his continuance at Bath; when notwithstanding the pain which he experienced, he was not unmindful of those friends *whose adoption he had tried*. On the 8th of September when writing to Sir Andrew Hammond, Bart. at Weymouth, he thus delivered his opinion respecting the late expedition to Teneriffe. "My dear Sir Andrew, I have ever been fully sensible that you have spoken of my services in the most flattering manner; and for this last mark of your kindness, I cannot sufficiently thank you. Success covers a multitude of blunders, and the want of it hides the greatest gallantry and good conduct. You will see by my Journal, that the first attack on the 21st of July, under Troubridge, completely failed; and it was the 25th, before it could be again attacked, which gave four days for collecting a force to oppose us. . . . My pride suffered; and although I felt the second attack as a forlorn hope, yet the honour of our Country called for the attack, and that I should command it: I never expected to return, and am thankful."

On the 20th of September, 1798, he had the freedom of the ancient City of Bristol transmitted to him by Mr. S. Worrall; and on the 22d, a letter from the Heralds Office was sent to signify his Majesty's gracious intention of investing him with the Ensigns of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, and to request his attendance at St. James's for that purpose on the

27th. The honour of this Order, and the gracious manner of his King when investing him with the insignia of it, made a lasting impression on the mind of Nelson. It was owing to the high estimation in which he always held this badge of eminence, that he afterwards placed the other numerous marks of distinction he had acquired, round the star of the Bath; since he uniformly considered that as the centre of the whole galaxy, and therefore wore it the nearest to his heart. This, however, occasioning an appearance of preference to some foreign Orders, that were necessarily placed by this arrangement above that of the Bath, it became altered.

(1797.) *Sir Horatio Nelson to Earl St. Vincent, dated London, Sept. 18.*—“My dear Lord, I shall be brief at first. I had a very miserable passage home, and this day am not the least better than when I left good Dr. Weir; and Cruikshanks has me now in hand. I found my domestic happiness perfect, and I hope time will bring me about again; but I have suffered great misery. My general reception has been just what I wished, for I assure you they never forget your name in their honest praises. I have now a favour to beg of you. After George Cockburn’s gallant action with the Sabina, I directed a gold hilted sword to be made for him, which I had hoped to present to him myself in the most public and handsome manner; but as Providence has decreed otherwise, I must beg of you to present it

for me. My good friend Grey will, I hope, inquire and get it out of the Argo. I feel confident of your goodness. Good Captain Locker has just been with me, and made the most kind inquiries after you. I am not to go to the levee until the end of next week. Lady Nelson sends her love. God bless you."

During the month of October, whilst he continued in this state of suffering, at the lodgings of a Mr. Jones in Bond street, Nelson had one night retired to his bed-room after a day of constant pain, hoping with the assistance of laudanum to enjoy a little rest; when the exhilarating news of Admiral Duncan's Victory threw the whole metropolis into an uproar. The first idea that presented itself to the family, was an alarm of some dreadful fire. The mob knocked repeatedly and violently at the door, as the house had not been illuminated. It was at length opened by a servant, who informed them, that Sir Horatio Nelson who had been so badly wounded lodged there, and could not be disturbed. A general interest for the valuable life of their honoured Admiral, for an instant repressed the joy which Duncan's victory had occasioned; "You will hear no more from us to night," exclaimed the foremost of the party; and that universal sympathy for the health of Nelson which pervaded even the minds of the lowest of his countrymen was clearly shewn, no subsequent visit being paid by the mob, notwithstanding the tumult that prevailed.

(1797.) As soon as his health was in some degree established, Nelson, with that devout sense which was so strongly impressed on his mind, went to the clerk of St. George's church, and left with him the following<sup>h</sup> paper: *An Officer desires to return thanks to Almighty God for his perfect recovery from a severe wound, and also for the many mercies bestowed upon him. Dec. 8. for the next Sunday.* It was the 13th before he was pronounced fit for service. He afterwards attended in the procession to St. Paul's on the 19th of the same month, when our religious Monarch rendered public honour to the Supreme Being for the naval victories that had been gained.

Towards the close of 1797, Admiral Nelson received information from Lord St. Vincent that he had written to Lord Spencer, and had desired that the *Foudroyant* might be fitted for Sir Horatio's flag as soon as she was launched; his Lordship also added that John Sykes was gunner of the *Andromache*. The *Foudroyant* not getting so forward as had been expected, the *Vanguard*, Dec. the 19th, was commissioned for his flag; and on the 10th of January, 1798, Nelson in writing to Lord St. Vincent from Bath, informed him, that the *Vanguard* was rigged, had her ground tier on board, and nearly 400 men. "I hope," added he, "to be with you early

<sup>h</sup> The original is in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Greville, of St. George's.

in March, for to you I trust I am going, unless you are destined for the Channel. I have been much flattered by the kind notice of Lord Lansdown, who speaks of you in the manner you always ought to be spoken of."

III. (1798.) The Vanguard sailed from Blackstakes to the Nore early in March, and was well officered. In addition to those mentioned by the Rear Admiral in his letter, Mr. W. S. Parkinson was third lieutenant, Henry Compton fourth, J. Adye fifth, Bladen Capel sixth; Captain of marines W. Faddy, Lieutenants of marines Noble, Young, and Hare; Master Mr. W. Clod, Chaplain Rev. Mr. Comyn, Purser Mr. Sheppard, Surgeon Mr. Jefferson, and Admiral's secretary Mr. J. Campbell. Captain Berry passed the Downs in the ship on the 12th of March, and proceeded to Portsmouth.

In taking leave of that domestic happiness which had proved such a solace to his mind, a gloomy foreboding hung on the spirits of his affectionate wife, which Sir Horatio exerted himself to disperse: "My ambition," he exclaimed "is satisfied, I now go to raise you to that rank in which I have long wished to see you."

On the 16th of March, the Rear Admiral received his orders to hoist his flag on board the Vanguard, and he immediately made every preparation to join his ship. On the 28th he left London for Portsmouth, and on the 9th of April, after an ineffectual attempt to get to

sea on the first, as he has mentioned in his Memoir, he sailed with a fair wind from St. Helens. When the Vanguard had joined Earl St. Vincent's fleet off Cadiz, Sir Horatio sent the following letter to Lady Nelson.—“I joined the fleet yesterday, and found Lord St. Vincent every thing I wished him; and his friends in England have done me justice for my zeal and affection towards him. I have my fears that he will not be much longer in this command, for I believe he has written to be superseded, which I am sincerely sorry for. It will considerably take from my pleasure in serving here; but I will hope for the best. The Dons have, I find, long expected my return with bomb vessels, gun boats, and every proper implement for the destruction of Cadiz and their fleet. They have prepared three floating batteries to lie outside their walls to prevent their fancied attack; and lo, the mountain has brought forth a mouse; I am arrived with a single ship, and without the means of annoying them.—The Admiral probably is going to detach me with a small Squadron, not on any fighting expedition; therefore do not be surprised if it should be some little time before you hear from me again. I direct this to our Cottage, where I hope you will fix yourself in comfort, and I pray that it may very soon please God to give us peace. England will not be invaded this summer. Buonaparte is gone back

to Italy, where 80,000 men are embarking for some Expedition. With every kind wish that a fond heart can frame, believe me, as ever, your most affectionate husband."

*Earl Spencer to Admiral Earl St. Vincent, dated  
March 30, 1798.*

"My Lord, I am very happy to send you Sir Horatio Nelson again, not only because I believe I cannot send you a more zealous, active, and approved Officer, but because I have reason to believe that his being under your command will be agreeable to your wishes. If your Lordship is as desirous to have him with you, as he is to be with you, I am sure the arrangement must be perfectly satisfactory."—The noble Admiral replied on May 1, "I do assure your Lordship, that the arrival of Admiral Nelson has given me new life, you could not have gratified me more than in sending him; his presence in the Mediterranean is so very essential, that I mean to put the Orion and Alexander under his command, with the addition of three or four frigates, and to send him away the moment the Vanguard has delivered her water to the inshore squadron, to endeavour to ascertain the real object of the preparations making by the French."

In consequence of the information which Earl St. Vincent had received from Naples, he on the 2d of May ordered Sir Horatio Nelson to Gibraltar, as soon as the trade bound thither, which had come to Lisbon under his orders, appeared

in sight; and, placing a small Squadron<sup>1</sup> under his command, instructed him on completing his water and provisions in Rosier Bay, to put to sea with the line of battle ships and such of the frigates as happened to be there, and when all communication with the garrison had closed, to open his sealed orders: The Rear Admiral was therein ordered to proceed up the Mediterranean, and endeavour to ascertain by every means in his power, either upon the coast of Provence or Genoa, the object of the projected expedition by the French.

(1798.) After his Squadron had been thus detached, and had considerably proceeded on the service on which it had been ordered, Earl St. Vincent, on the 19th of May, received the following most secret instructions from the Admiralty, dated May 2. In the first place the noble Admiral was informed, That in order to prevent the fleet and armament fitting out at Toulon from accomplishing their object, Rear Admiral Sir R. Curtis had been ordered to proceed with a reinforcement, and join his Lordship; which having taken place, the Admiral was to lose no time in

<sup>1</sup> *Squadron to which Admiral Nelson was appointed May 2, 1798, by Earl St. Vincent.*

Vanguard, Orion, Alexander, Caroline, Flora, Emerald, Terpsichore, Bonne Citoyenne.—Admiral Nelson had requested to have the Leander, Captain Thompson; but Lord St. Vincent sent word, that it would not be advisable to detach that ship from the rock.



sending a squadron consisting of twelve sail of the line, and a competent number of frigates, under the command of *Some discreet Flag Officer*, into the Mediterranean, with instructions to him to proceed in quest of the said Armament. The board also added, that they had received on that day, May 2d, a letter from Lord Grenville, signifying the King's pleasure, *That any Ports in the Mediterranean should be considered as hostile, those of the Islands of Sardinia alone excepted, of which the governors or chief magistrates should refuse to permit the Commanders of any of his Majesty's ships, arriving therein, to procure supplies of provisions, or of any articles which they might require.*

(1798.) With the secret Instructions which the Commander in Chief had thus received from home, Lord Spencer had also sent a private and confidential letter from the Admiralty, dated April 29, respecting the appointment of Sir H. Nelson to command a detached squadron. This communication, which was received also on the 19th of May, displays the great abilities of the First Lord as a Statesman. It dwells at considerable length on the late proceedings of the cabinet, the state of the continent, and the probable intentions of the French armament at Toulon. The appearance of a British squadron in the Mediterranean, was declared to be a condition on which the fate of Europe at that moment depended. Every nerve was to be strained, and considerable hazard incurred in effecting it. Yet

Government entirely left it to Lord St. Vincent's determination, either to make a detachment from his fleet, or to take his whole force into the Mediterranean; and the defeat of the purpose of the Toulon armament, whatever it might be, was to have a preference to the great advantages which had hitherto been obtained, from the constant check which the noble Admiral had kept on the Spanish fleet in Cadiz. This check however was if possible to be continued; and it was hoped that it might be found practicable, to send a detachment from the fleet into the Mediterranean sufficiently strong to attain the end proposed. "If you determine," adds Lord Spencer, "to send a detachment into the Mediterranean, I think it almost unnecessary to suggest to you the propriety of putting it under the command of Sir H. Nelson, whose acquaintance with that part of the world, as well as his activity, and disposition, seem to qualify him in a peculiar manner for that service. We shall take care to send you out ships, which are the best suited for foreign service of any that we have to dispose of, in order to make your fleet as effective as possible.

The noble Admiral lost no time in sending the purport of these Instructions to Sir Horatio; and directed him, After ranging the coast of Provence and the Western Riviera of Genoa, to leave one of the best of his frigates, and the *Bonne Citoyenne*, to watch the motions of the

enemy; whilst he himself with the rest of the squadron, having taken in water and provisions for six months at Gibraltar, should proceed with the utmost despatch to the station before Cadiz.

(1798.) Owing to the severe weather which Sir Horatio and his little squadron experienced, on the 22d of May, it was a considerable time before these additional Instructions reached the Vanguard. On the 17th, when off Cape Sicie, Admiral Nelson sent Lord St. Vincent the following official intelligence, which had been that morning obtained by the capture of la Pierre, French corvette of six guns, and 65 men, that had sailed from Toulon on the preceding night: “The French General, Buonaparte, arrived at Toulon ten days ago, to command the secret Expedition preparing to sail from that port. Vessels with troops frequently arrive from Marseilles, who are daily embarking in the numerous transports. According to some, Buonaparte was expected to go in the Sans Culotte, which is said to have 3000 men on board, including her complement. It was not, however, generally believed that Buonaparte would embark; but no one knows to what place the Armament is destined. Nineteen sail of the line are in the harbour, and fifteen apparently fitted for sea: yet it is said, that only six are to sail with the transports now ready, and that about 12,000 men are embarked. Admiral Brueys has his flag in L’Orient, 120 guns. You will see by Sir James Saumarez’s

account, that they have cavalry on board." In a private note he also added, *Be assured I will fight the French fleet the moment I can find them; until then adieu.*

Such had been the high spirit and exultation of the gallant Admiral, when during the night of the 20th of May, being in the Gulf of Lyons, his whole Squadron, and in particular the Vanguard, was exposed to the fury of one of those sudden tempests in the Mediterranean which Virgil has so correctly described. The piety of Nelson was only equalled by the fortitude and resources which he displayed. "I ought not," he said when writing to Lady Nelson on the 24th of that month, "to call what has happened to the Vanguard by the cold name of accident: I believe firmly, that it was the Almighty's goodness to check my consummate Vanity. I hope it has made me a better Officer, as I feel confident it has made me a better man. I kiss with all humility the rod. Figure to yourself a vain man, on Sunday evening at sunset, walking in his cabin with a Squadron about him who looked up to their Chief to lead them to Glory; and in whom this Chief placed the firmest reliance, that the proudest ships, in equal numbers, belonging to France, would have bowed their flags, and with a very rich prize lying by him; figure to yourself this proud conceited man, when the sun rose on Monday morning: his ship dismasted, his fleet dispersed, and himself in such distress

that the meanest frigate out of France would have been a very unwelcome guest. But it has pleased Almighty God to bring us into a safe port (St. Peter's, Sardinia,) where although we are refused the rights of humanity, yet the Vanguard will in two days get to sea again, as an English man of war. The exertions of Sir James Saumarez, in the Orion, and Captain A. Ball, in the Alexander, have been wonderful; if the ship had been in England, months would have been taken to send her to sea: here, my operations will not be delayed four days, and I shall join the rest of my fleet on the rendezvous."

A more particular account of the distress of the squadron in the Gulf of Lyons, was given by Sir Horatio in a letter to Lord St. Vincent, who in his answer informed the Admiral, that he considered what had passed as a most providential event. It enabled Nelson not only to complete a supply of water, and to secure his junction with the reinforcement under Captain Troubridge, which took place soon afterwards; but it also, in a most extraordinary manner, preserved his squadron from the powerful fleet which sailed with Buonaparte from Toulon, on the very day of the tempest, and, in the thick weather that came on, must have passed the British ships at not many leagues distance.

In a former letter, Sir Horatio had mentioned the arrival of Buonaparte, and his supposed intentions at Toulon; and it may be of service to

the reader to be reminded of what had been the proceedings of the Corsican.—After the subjugation of Venice, May 12, and the Treaty of Campo Formio, Oct. 17, 1797; Buonaparte, satiated for a time with plunder and the disorganization of unhappy Italy, had returned to Paris and directed his thoughts to other objects, on which his own restless ambition and the sharpened rapacity of his soldiers might be employed. Egypt, even during the French monarchy, had been regarded with military attention; and the invasion of it as an out-post to India, had occupied the minds both of the Empress of Russia, and the Emperor Joseph. In the <sup>k</sup>letters from the French army that were afterwards taken by Admiral Nelson's squadron, and which are invaluable for giving an exact account of the real opinions and projects of our enemies; Kleber, in writing to the Directory, delivered the real sentiments of his nation respecting Egypt. "I know all the importance of the possession of Egypt: I used to say in Europe, that this Country was for France the point of strength, [*le point d'appui,*] by means of which, she might move at will the Commercial System of every quarter of the Globe; but to do this effectually a powerful lever is required, and that lever is a Navy. Ours has existed."

<sup>k</sup> In three parts; the first published in 1798, the second in 1799, and the third part in 1800,

The following letters continue his correspondence to the 15th of June.—“*May 31.* My dear Lord, My pride was too great for man; but I trust my friends will think that I bore my chastisement like a man. It has pleased God to assist us with his favour, and here I am again off Toulon.—*June 11.* The Mutine, Captain Hardy, joined me on the 5th at daylight, with the flattering account of the honour you intended me of commanding such a fleet.”

IV. This reinforcement which had been selected from the very best ships of Earl St. Vincent's Fleet, consisted of the Culloden, 74, Captain T. Troubridge; Goliath, 74, Captain T. Foley; Minotaur, 74, Captain T. Louis; Defence, 74, Captain John Peyton; Bellerophon, 74, Captain H. D. E. Darby; Majestic, 74, Captain G. B. Westcott; Zealous, 74, Captain S. Hood; Swifture, 74, Captain B. Hallowell; Theseus, 74, Captain R. W. Miller; Audacious, 74, Captain Davidge Gould, which ship joined Captain Troubridge on his entering the Mediterranean; and to this force was afterwards added, the Leander 50 guns, Captain T. B. Thompson.

(1798.) On the joyful intelligence of a Squadron having been detached from Lord St. Vincent's fleet into the Mediterranean, Sir William Hamilton, who had not then heard that Nelson had been appointed to the command, had sent the following letter from Naples on the 9th of June, on board the Queen Esther privateer, ad-

dressed to the commanding officer of the King's fleet in the Mediterranean. "Sir, Lord St. Vincent will, I hope, have been informed by my letter of the 15th of April last, of the distressed situation of this Country. I have just received a letter from Sir Morton Eden at Vienna dated May 24th, informing me, that a Treaty of Defensive Alliance between the Courts of Vienna, and Naples had actually been signed; and that the succours respectively stipulated, are 60,000 men on the part of Vienna, and 40,000 on the part of Naples. Sir Morton Eden sends me also by order of Lord Grenville, a copy of a despatch from his Lordship, dated April 28th; in which I am ordered, as well as Sir Morton Eden, to enforce the absolute necessity of obtaining from this Government, *the free and unlimited admission for his Majesty's Ships into the Ports of his Sicilian Majesty; and also every species of provisions and supplies usually afforded to an Ally;* and which his Majesty may so justly expect to receive from Italy, when cooperating to deliver that Country from a scene of Oppression and misery which it has hardly ever experienced, even in the worst periods of its history. I am at this moment labouring with the Sicilian Government, but have not, as yet, got a decisive answer with respect to the opening of their ports, without reserve, to the King's ships; but I have already had the strongest assurances, that no species of Provisions, or Stores, which this Country affords, will be denied



them. . . . All Italy, Sir, looks upon the King's Fleet you have the honour of commanding, as its guardian angel from the ruin with which it has been so long menaced; and without that protection, sooner or later it must fall. Judge then how happy we shall be to see a squadron of the King's fleet in the bay of Naples."

(1798.) On the 16th of June, the Neapolitan Government received the news, That the English squadron had been discovered from the top of the Island of Ischia, coming from the westward. On which Sir William Hamilton immediately sent off the first good sailing boat he could procure, with all the intelligence he had acquired respecting the enemy: "That the first division of the Toulon Armament had arrived off Trapani in Sicily on the 5th of June, and had been there joined, on the 7th, by the second division, making sixteen sail of the line, Venetian and French: That Buonaparte was on board the *Sans Culotte*; that ten frigates, twenty gun-boats, some brigs and cutters had also been seen, with about 280 transports, said to contain at least 40,000 troops. That they had detached a frigate near the Island of Farignana, Sicily, on which an officer had landed and acquainted the Commandant, that Buonaparte had desired him to say, *The approach of the French fleet need not give any uneasiness to his Sicilian Majesty, with whom the Republic was in perfect Peace, and that the Armament he commanded, had another object, not Sicily.* The

French, both in Sicily and in Pantelleria, made every inquiry after a British squadron being in the Mediterranean, which report they did not believe. Accounts had also been received, that Buonaparte was off Malta with twenty four ships of the line, and 80,000 men. The French had taken a Maltese brig, just off the Island; the Maltese were all under arms, and preparing for a vigorous defence."

On the return of Captain Troubridge who had been sent into Naples, the squadron stood for the Faro di Messina, and passed through that celebrated Strait on the 20th of June with a fair wind.—On the same day, Sir Horatio sent an express, through the Vice Consul of Messina, to Sir William Hamilton, who returned the following answer on the 26th.—“I flatter myself that you must have been informed, before you passed the Faro, that Malta had been treacherously given up to the French Republic on the 12th instant; but perhaps you may not have had a copy of the infamous Convention between the Order of Malta, and the Republic, *under the mediation of his Catholic Majesty*, and therefore I send you the enclosed copy of it. . . All our present dependence is on you, my dear Nelson; and I am convinced that what is in the power of mortal man to do, you will do. That God may protect you, and the brave band you have the honour of commanding, in so just a Cause, is the constant prayer of your truly attached William Hamilton.”

On the 27th of May, Captain Hope with the frigates, which had been separated from the squadron in the tempest of the 22d, arrived in the bay of Naples; having in vain endeavoured to obtain any intelligence of Sir H. Nelson. Captain Hope, having received every assistance from the Neapolitan Government in getting in his bread and water, sailed with the frigates from Naples, June 30th, in quest of the Admiral, and still without success. He was also afterwards followed by some of the best of the Portuguese ships under the Marquis de Niza, who was equally unfortunate.

In the meanwhile, Sir Horatio being baffled by the departure of the enemy from Malta on the 16th, from executing a plan which he had formed for attacking them whilst at anchor at Goza, immediately on receiving such intelligence from the Mutine brig on the 22d, had made the signal to bear up, and steer to the S. E. with all possible sail. "At this time," adds the Narrative of the proceedings of his squadron which is referred to by him in his Memoir, "we had no certain means of ascertaining that the enemy were not bound up the Adriatic. From the day we bore up, until the 29th of June, only three vessels were spoken with; two of which came from Alexandria, and had not seen any thing of the enemy's fleet; the other came from the Archipelago, and had likewise seen nothing of them. This day we saw the Pharos of Alex-

andria, and continued nearing the land with a press of sail, until we had a distinct view of both Harbours; and to our general surprise and disappointment, we saw not a French ship in either."

That no time, however, might be lost, he immediately shaped his course to the northward, for the coast of Caramania; and on the 29th whilst at sea, amidst the agitation and disappointment which he experienced at not meeting with the Enemy, sent an account of his proceedings and of the <sup>1</sup> motives which had actuated his conduct, to Earl St. Vincent.

(1798.) From the Coast of Caramania which the Squadron made on the 4th of July, they steered along the southern side of Candia, carrying a press of sail both night and day with a contrary wind. The Admiral endeavoured, as he informed Lord St. Vincent, to keep in the opening of the Archipelago, in latitude between 36 and 37 N. steering with all sail to the westward. On the 18th being in sight of Sicily, and short of water, he determined to enter the port of Syracuse; and although no person was acquainted with the harbour, yet by the skill and judgment of the officers every ship arrived safely, and immediately proceeded to get in water, wine, lemons, and bullocks with all possible expedition. "This," adds the Journal of their proceedings, "was the first opportunity that the Vanguard had

<sup>1</sup> See Quarto Edit. Vol. II. Page 66.

enjoyed of receiving water on board, from the 6th of May; so that not only the stock of that ship, but of several others of the squadron, was very nearly exhausted." Lest any impediments might have arisen to the Admiral, in obtaining this supply, Mr. Tough, his Britannic Majesty's Consul General in Sicily, had on the 22d of June sent Sir Horatio word, "That any kind of refreshments, or provisions which the fleet might stand in need of, he could readily procure at Palermo, and that he only waited for the honour of his commands." The port of Syracuse, however, at this time offered a more convenient and ready supply; and every precaution had been taken, which the exertions of our Ambassador at Naples and the influence of Lady Hamilton could devise, that no possibility of delay, through the secret machinations or threats of the French, might unexpectedly arise. In writing to Lady Nelson, from Syracuse, July 20th, he said, "I have not been able to find the French fleet to my great mortification, or the event I can scarcely doubt. We have been off Malta, to Alexandria in Egypt, Syria, into Asia, and are returned here without success: however no person will say that it has been for want of activity. I yet live in hopes of meeting these fellows; but it would have been my delight to have tried Buonaparte on a wind, for he commands the Fleet, as well as the Army. Glory is my object, and that alone. God Almighty bless you."

(1798.) On the 25th of July, he sailed from Syracuse: Irritated beyond measure that the French should so long have baffled his vigilance, it was with difficulty he could endure the tediousness and uncertainty of the night; and the officer of the watch had frequently scarcely left the cabin, when he was again summoned to declare the hour, and to surmount the persuasion of the Admiral that it must certainly be day-break.

It had occurred to him, on leaving Syracuse, that some authentic intelligence might possibly be obtained in the Morea. The squadron, therefore, at first steered for that coast, and made the Gulf of Coron on the 28th of July. Captain Troubridge was immediately despatched in the Culloden to obtain intelligence from the Turkish Governor; and without detaining the squadron returned in a few hours with a French brig prize in tow and with information, That the enemy had been seen steering to the S. E. from Candia, about four weeks before: the inhabitants of Coron entertained the most serious apprehensions from the French Armament, and the most perfect detestation against that "people. During the same day also a strange sail passing through the fleet, was examined by the Alexander, and further intelligence communicated by her to the Admiral. Sir Horatio immediately determined to return to Alexandria, and the English squadron

accordingly, with every sail set, stood again for the coast of Egypt.

The confidence which prevailed amongst the French was consistent with their character, and with the preparations which had been made to give their fleet all the strength and ability that the Republic and its Allies could supply. General O'Hara, Governor of Gibraltar, in writing thence to Admiral Nelson, June 15, said, "the French are very sanguine as to the issue of this mighty Armament, which they say has been so well planned that all Europe is to be astonished at the greatness of the Enterprise; but I trust my dear Sir Horatio, you will be able to defeat all their mighty purposes."—The force opposed to this armament was only a detachment from one of the numerous squadrons, by which Great Britain supported its own liberties, and endeavoured to prevent the subjugation of other powers. This detachment had been a considerable time at sea in pursuit of the enemy, and many of the ships, especially the Vanguard, had received only a temporary refit after the tempest in the Gulf of Lyons. The boasted French Armada was fresh from the dockyards of Toulon and Venice, and had experienced no disaster. The French vanity was also cherished and augmented by their General, who was destined to receive a lesson in Egypt, that ill suited his overweening and destructive ambition. The Narrative of their proceedings, from July the 1st when they

were off the old Port of Alexandria, is thus given by Admiral Brueys, in a letter to Bruix the French Minister of the Marine, dated on board L'Orient, July 12, 1798—"Citizen Minister: Previously to our arrival off the old Port of Alexandria, I had dispatched the Juno to bring the Consul on board. Citizen Magallon arrived on the first of July, and informed us, that an English Squadron had appeared in line of battle off the Port of Alexandria on the 28th of June, that they had detached a brig to the town, and that, on its return, they had made sail to the N. E.: the squadron was supposed to consist of fourteen ships of the line. . . . The Commander in Chief, Buonaparte, desired to be put on shore immediately: I therefore came to anchor on the Coast, and, during the night, succeeded in landing 6000 men in a creek to the west of the old Port, near a Castle called Marabou, about two leagues from the City. Not the slightest opposition was made to our descent. I disembarked all the troops, and the baggage belonging to them; and on the 7th of July, having satisfied myself that our ships of war could not get into the Port for want of a sufficient depth of water at the entrance, I ordered the Venetian ships, (le Dubois and le Causse of 64 guns each, and

<sup>n</sup> Intercepted letters of the French Army in Egypt, by the Fleet under the command of Sir Horatio Nelson. Part I. page 40.



two or three frigates,) and the transports to come to an anchor there; and stood off with the thirteen sail of the line and the three frigates, with an intent of mooring in the road of Bequieres, or Aboukir.

“I arrived there in the afternoon, and formed a line of battle at two-thirds of a cable’s length; the headmost vessel being as close as possible to a Shoal to the N. W. of us, and the rest of the fleet forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned, by any means in the S. W. This position is the strongest we could possibly take in an open road; where we cannot approach sufficiently near the land to be protected by batteries, and where the enemy has it in his power to choose his own distance. . . It is vexatious that there is not a Port where a Fleet can enter; but the old Port, of which we have heard so much, is shut up by a reef of rocks, some under, and some above water; form-

° According to a letter from Jaubert to Bruix, dated on board L’Orient, July 4th, the Transports from Toulon, Marseilles, Genoa, Ajaccio, and Civita Vecchia, amounted to 293 sail: Another letter from a person of the name of Boyer (page 148,) makes them 400 sail, under convoy of fifteen sail of the line, two of which were armed *en flûte*, fourteen frigates, and several smaller ships of war.

¶ La Fortune corvette, 18 guns, commanded by Citoyenne Marchand, Enseigne de Vaisseau, was afterwards detached from the fleet, on the 29th of July, to cruise off Damietta; and was captured on the 10th of August by the Swiftsure.

ing a number of narrow channels, where the depth is only from 23 to 25, and 30 feet. The sea, too, is commonly very high: Thus you see, that one of our seventy-fours would be in no small danger there, especially as she would inevitably go to pieces in a few minutes after touching the ground.

“To gratify the wishes of the Commander in Chief, Buonaparte, I have offered a reward of 10,000 livres, to any Pilot of the Country who would undertake to carry the squadron in; but none of them will venture to take charge of a single vessel, that draws more than twenty feet. I hope, however, that we shall succeed in finding a channel by which our seventy-fours may enter; but this can only be the result of many laborious and painful experiments. I have already engaged two intelligent officers in this business; Captain Barré, commanding at present l’Alceste, and Citizen Vidal first lieutenant. If they find a channel, they will buoy it for us; and we may then enter without much danger. The depth within the reefs increases to fifteen fathoms, but the getting out of the harbour will, in all cases, be very difficult and very tedious, so that a squadron would engage to a vast disadvantage.

“I have heard nothing further of the English. They are gone, perhaps, to look for us on the coast of Syria; or rather, and this is my private opinion, they have not so many as fourteen sail of the line, *et que ne se trouvant pas en nombre su-*

*périeur, ils n'auront pas jugé à-propos de se mesurer avec nous."*

Such was the situation and state of mind of the French, on having eluded the vigilance of the British Admiral, and made good their landing in Egypt. In the meantime, the resolute Nelson, and his select band, pursued their second course to Alexandria. "The fatal intelligence," said Admiral Ganteaume in writing to Bruix, "received from time to time by neutral vessels, announced the return of the enemy's squadron. It had been seen off Candia steering to the westward, which unhappily confirmed us in the opinion, that it had no orders to attack us. On the 21st of July, however, two of the enemy's frigates reconnoitred us." "On the 1st of August," according to the Vanguard's Journal, "at one P. M. moderate breezes, and clear: the wind north. We saw Alexandria bearing S. E. seven or eight leagues. At a quarter past two recalled the Alexander and Swiftsure, who had been detached the preceding evening by signal on the look-out towards Alexandria. At half past two hauled our wind, unbent the best bower, took it out of the

‡ Intercepted letters, Part I. page 219.

‡ These were some of the frigates that were in search of Sir Horatio Nelson; and whose appearance unfortunately, just at that time, alarmed the enemy, and induced them to adopt measures of precaution and security, which considerably augmented the difficulties that our Admiral had to surmount. Had these frigates been able to join, not a ship of the enemy would have escaped.

stern port and bent it again. At four, Pharaoh's Tower S. S. W. distant four or five leagues, the Zealous, Captain S. Hood, made the signal for the French fleet. At five bore up for the enemy, sounding in 15, 14, 13, 11, and 10 fathom."

The only plan that had been previously arranged in case they found the Enemy at anchor, was for our ships to form as most convenient for their mutual support, and to anchor by the stern. This was worthy of the great officers who commanded in the Squadron, and shewed the confidence which Nelson placed in their abilities. Captain T. Foley, who was one of the first of this select band of Officers, happened to lead the fleet in the Goliath. He had always kept close to the Admiral on his lee bow, and rejoiced to find himself the van ship on such a day; but this post of honour, was for a few minutes disputed with him by the Zealous, Captain S. Hood, whose abilities equally merited the proud distinction: Captain Foley set his top-gallant studding sails for a short time, and thus preserved his situation as the van ship.—It had long been a favourite idea with this officer, which he had mentioned on the preceding evening to Captains Troubridge, and Hood, That a considerable advantage would arise, if the enemy's fleet were found moored in line of battle in with the land, to lead between them and the shore, as the French guns on that side were not likely to be manned, or to be ready for action.

On the Island of Bequieres, the French had established two batteries, whence, however, they were unable from their distance to do any injury. As our squadron advanced, they opened a steady fire from the starboard side of their whole line, full into the bows of our van ships. The silent progression of the English was observed by their enemies with astonishment: On board of each ship the crew was employed aloft in furling sails, and below in tending the braces, and in hauling a range of cable on deck preparatory to their anchoring by the stern. At twenty-eight minutes past six, P. M. the French hoisted their colours.

Captain Foley had intended to fix himself on the inner bow of le Guerrier: he kept the Goliath, therefore, as near the edge of the 'bank as the depth of water would admit; but his anchor hung a little, and, having opened a tremendous fire, he drifted to the second ship before his anchor was clear. Then bearing up he shortened sail, anchored by the stern inside of the second

\* A rough sketch of the Bay of Aboukir had been taken out of a French ship, in ballast from Alexandria to Rhodes, by Captain Hallowell, and given by him a few days previous to the Action, to Sir H. Nelson, who was afterwards wounded in looking over it. It was stained with his blood; and he afterwards told one of his Captains that he had sent it, as that officer thinks, to the British Museum. This was examined the evening before the action by Captain Foley, who was the only officer that possessed, in Bellin's Collection, any Chart of Aboukir. It was afterwards copied, and given to most of the squadron.

of the enemy's line, le Conquerant, and in ten minutes shot away her masts. The Zealous, Captain S. Hood, observing what had passed, took the station which the Goliath had intended to have, and anchored by her stern on the inside or larboard bow of le Guerrier, which she totally disabled in twelve minutes. The third ship that doubled the enemy's van was the Orion, Sir James Saumarez, which passed to windward of the Zealous, and opened her larboard guns, as long as they bore, on le Guerrier; then passing inside of the Goliath, and being annoyed by a frigate, the Orion yawed as much as enabled her to sink this opponent by a tremendous fire; when Sir James hauled round towards the French line, and anchoring inside between the fifth and sixth ship from le Guerrier, took his station, with that gallantry he had so often displayed, on the larboard bow of le Franklin and the quarter of le Peuple Souverain, receiving and returning the fire of both. The sun was verging to the horizon, when the Audacious, Captain Gould, having poured a heavy fire into le Guerrier, and le Conquerant as she passed between them, fixed herself on the larboard bow of the latter ship, and afterwards engaged le Peuple Souverain. The Theseus, Captain Miller, followed; and going

<sup>1</sup> In a note sent during the battle, on board the Vanguard by Captain Gould, dated August 1, he said, "I have the satisfaction to tell you le Conquerant has struck to the Audacious: the slaughter on board her is dreadful."

between the Zealous and le Guerrier, barely at sufficient distance to avoid being entangled with the shattered rigging, poured a dreadful broadside into her bow, and brought down le Guerrier's remaining main, and mizen mast; the Theseus then passed on the outside of the Goliath, and anchored ahead of her, inside of their third ship, le Spartiate, about the same time that the Orion had got well into her station. The fire from the French line commenced from their second ship le Conquerant; then followed le Guerrier, le Spartiate, l'Aquilon, le Peuple Souverain, and le Franklin: "All the Van," added the French Admiral, "were attacked on both sides by the Enemy, who ranged close along our line. They had each an anchor out astern, which facilitated their motions and enabled them to place their ships in the most advantageous position."

Anno  
Ætat. 40. Whilst the advanced officers in the British squadron were thus proving themselves worthy of that experience and decision which directed the whole, the Admiral himself had entered into action with the remainder of his force; and was the first ship that anchored on the outer side of the enemy, within half pistol shot of le Spartiate, the third in the French line of battle. The original plan of attack which he had intended to have adopted, if Captain Foley had not judged it expedient to lead within the French line, was to have kept entirely on its

outer side; and to have stationed his ships, as far as he was able, one on the outer bow and another on the outer quarter of each of the enemy. This would have certainly produced a most destructive fire, and would have caused our shot to have crossed clear of our own ships. Owing to a standing order, in case of coming to action, the squadron wore the white or St. George's ensign, which displayed the Cross; and lest through any random shot his colours should be carried away, Admiral Nelson had six ensigns, or flags, flying in different parts of his rigging.

The Vanguard having thus anchored in eight fathom water, without the third ship in the enemy's line, at half past six o'clock veered half a cable, and in a minute opened a most destructive fire so as to cover the approach of the other ships, the Minotaur, Bellerophon, Defence, and Majestic, which respectively passed on ahead of their Admiral. Captain Louis, in the Minotaur, nobly supported his friend and Commander, and anchoring next ahead of the Vanguard, took off the fire of l'Aquilon, the fourth in the French line. The Bellerophon, Captain Darby, passed on ahead, and dropped her stern anchor on the starboard bow of the enormous L'Orient, the seventh ship in the enemy's line; whose difference of force was above seven to three, and the weight of ball from her lower deck alone exceeded that from the whole broadside of the Bellerophon. The Defence, Captain Peyton, took



his station with great judgment ahead of the *Minotaur*, and engaged *le Franklin* of 80 guns, the sixth ship of the enemy on the starboard bow, by which the line remained unbroken; which sixth ship bore the flag of Admiral *Blanquet du Chelard*, second in command. The *Majestic*, Captain *Westcott*, after being entangled with the main rigging of one of the enemy's ships astern of the Admiral, from whom she severely suffered, swung clear; and closely engaging *l'Heureux*, on the starboard bow, received also the fire of *le Tonnant*, the enemy's eighth ship, which soon made dreadful havoc on board the *Majestic*.

The remainder of the Squadron, the *Culloden*, *Alexander*, *Swiftsure*, and *Leander*, in the next place claim our attention. Captain *Troubridge*, who had been detained by the towing of the prize which he had taken off *Coron*, had obtained leave by signal, when two leagues to the eastward of the Admiral, to cast off the vessel. Like the rest of the squadron he kept constantly sounding as he advanced; but he was so much astern of them, owing to the above-mentioned cause, that when our van ships were nearing the French, the lower deck ports of the *Culloden* were, owing to her distance, what seamen term, just out of the water. The day was now closing in, which added considerably to his difficulties; when suddenly, after having sounded and found eleven fathom water, before the lead could again

be hove, the Culloden was fast aground on the tail of the shoal running from the small island of Bequieres, on which were two batteries of the enemy; notwithstanding his own incessant exertions, with those of Captain Thompson in the *Leander*, and Captain Hardy in the *Mutine* brig, both of whom immediately came to his assistance, the Culloden could not be got off so as to enter into the action. The sufferings and agitation of Captain Troubridge, whose presence in the battle would have been severely felt by the enemy, corresponded with his determined character and zealous disposition: the Culloden did not get afloat until the next morning. It was however some satisfaction to the mortified spirit of her Captain, that his ship served as a beacon to the *Alexander*, Captain A. Ball, and the *Swiftsure*, Captain B. Hallowell; which from having been detached, as already mentioned, were late before they could get into action. The gallant manner in which they at last entered the bay of Aboukir and took their stations, notwithstanding the darkness that prevailed and their utter ignorance of the situation of the other ships of their squadron, is still spoken of with admiration by their brother officers. It formed a most brilliant event in the battle of the Nile. It was eight o'clock before they reached the scene of action; when the darkness, which was only interrupted by the flashing of the guns, rendered it extremely difficult to distinguish their own squadron. The pre-

caution of Nelson had indeed directed his ships to hoist four lights horizontally at the mizen peak of each, as soon as it became dark; but when the Swiftsure was bearing down she fell in with what appeared to be a strange sail. Orders were immediately given by Captain Hallowell not to fire, as her disabled state would prevent escape if an enemy; and from her sails being loose, and the way her head was, it seemed probable that she might be an English ship; she afterwards proved to be the overpowered Belle-rophon, whose lights had gone overboard with her mizen-mast. Captain Darby had been himself wounded, two of his lieutenants were killed, and nearly 200 men were killed or wounded; his remaining mast falling soon afterwards, and killing another of his lieutenants with several officers and men, he was unable to regain his station. This was now opportunely occupied by the Swiftsure, and at a most critical moment. At five minutes past eight, "Captain Hallowell began a steady and well directed fire on the quarter of le Franklin, and the bows of L'Orient; and at the same instant the Alexander passed under the stern of the French Admiral, and anchored within on his larboard quarter, raking him and keeping up a severe fire of musquetry on his decks. Admiral Blanquet in his account, said, "At eight o'clock at night, the ship which was

<sup>u</sup> From the Voyage up the Mediterranean by Mr. Willyams, Chaplain of the Swiftsure, page 51.

engaging L'Orient on the starboard quarter, notwithstanding her advantageous position, was dismasted, and so roughly treated that she cut her cables, and drove rather far from the line; but at this very moment, the two ships that had been perceived astern of the Fleet and were quite fresh, steered right for the centre: the Action in this part then became extremely warm."—The last ship which completed the fate of the enemy, was the Leander. Captain Thompson, finding that nothing could that night be done to get off the Culloden, advanced with the intention of anchoring athwart hawse of L'Orient; but le Franklin was so near her ahead, that there was not room for him to pass clear of both. He then took, with much judgment, his station athwart hawse of le Franklin; for as that ship did not lie exactly in a line with L'Orient, but rather on her starboard bow, he had the power of raking both, and was so close to them, that the fire from the Leander was very destructive.

At length l'Orient struck her Colours, and appeared in flames. The French Admiral had supported the honour of his flag with undiminished firmness: he had previously sustained three desperate wounds, one of which was upon his head, yet could not be persuaded to quit his station on the arm-chest. Admiral Blanquet in his account added, "Admiral de Brueys received a shot which almost cut him in two; he desired not to be carried below, but to be left to die

upon deck: he survived only a quarter of an hour. Those of the *Etat major* and of the ship's company of *L'Orient* who had escaped death, convinced of the impossibility of extinguishing the fire which had got down to the middle gun-deck, endeavoured to save themselves. Commodore *Casa Bianca* and his son only ten years old, who during the action gave proofs of bravery and intelligence far above his age, were not so fortunate: they were for a time seen in the water on the wreck of *L'Orient's* mast, not being able to swim, seeking each other until three quarters past ten, when the ship blew up and put an end to their hopes and fears. *Le Franklin's* decks were covered with red hot irons, pieces of timber and rope on fire. This ship was on fire the fourth time, but providentially got it under. Immediately after the explosion of *L'Orient* the Battle every where ceased, and was succeeded by a most profound silence. The sky was obscured by thick clouds of black smoke which seemed to threaten the destruction of the two fleets. It was a quarter of an hour before the crews recovered from the kind of stupor they were thrown into."—Nor did the renowned flag of Nelson triumph without its share of peril: Sir Horatio himself was dreadfully wounded, and as it was for a time thought mortally in the head. Seven of the bow guns of the *Vanguard* had been three times cleared, and one repeatedly, of the men stationed at them, who were either dead, or

desperately wounded. The brave Captain Faddy of the marines fell with many of his men: the decks of the Vanguard streamed with blood. Twenty-seven of her crew were killed, and sixty-eight wounded.

During the heat of the Battle, and when Nelson had received his severe wound in the head from a piece of langridge shot, some circumstances occurred which marked his character and disposition. On being wounded, he had been assisted in going below; where, desiring that he might wait until his turn came, it was some time before he was discovered by the surgeon. The pain was intense, and Nelson felt convinced that his wound was mortal. A large piece of the skin of his forehead which had been cut to the bone, hung down over his eye, and not having any sight from the other he was left perfectly blind. Mr. Jefferson assured him, on probing the wound, that there was no immediate danger. He would not, however, indulge any hope; and having desired Mr. Comyn his chaplain to convey his dying remembrance to Lady Nelson, he ordered the Minotaur to be hailed, that he might thank her brave and gallant Captain, Louis, for coming up so nobly to the support of the Vanguard: The interview affected all who beheld it. After the dreadful explosion of L'Orient he was persuaded, though with some difficulty, to go to bed; but still continuing restless, he got up and signed Captain T. M. Hardy's commission for the Van-

guard, as Captain Berry was to go home with the despatches, and Captain Capel's for the Mutine.

Such is the general outline of the memorable events which took place on the first and second of August 1798; which, to use Admiral Blanquet's words, "will ever be remembered with the deepest sorrow by those Frenchmen who possess good hearts."—*Victory*, said Nelson in one of his letters, *is certainly not a name strong enough for such a Scene as I have passed*: he therefore justly styled it a conquest; in which, according to the comparative force of the English, and French, drawn up by his order, the latter had a superiority of 184 guns, and of 3,162 men. Of these, after the Action, 5,225, were killed, drowned, burnt, or missing. It should also be remembered, that their squadron was anchored in a strong and compact line of battle, describing an obtuse angle, defended by every means which the ingenuity of the first engineers in Europe could devise; flanked with gun boats, mortar vessels, and four large frigates, with a battery of guns and mortars at the entrance of the bay; and the whole manned by soldiers and seamen who had undergone no previous fatigue, and had remained nearly a month at anchor. Yet notwithstanding this vast superiority and these advantages, their boasted Armada was nearly destroyed or captured; and had not Sir Horatio been so severely wounded, it was generally

thought by his Captains, that every ship of the Enemy would have been taken. On board the English squadron, 16 officers, 156 seamen, and 46 marines were killed; and 37 officers, 562 seamen, and 78 marines were \*wounded. The brave Captain Westcott fell amongst those who on this occasion gave their lives for their Country. In addition to the ships that were destroyed during the Action, there remained afterwards in our possession, two ships of eighty guns, le Franklin and le Tonnant, seven Seventy-fours, and la Fortune of eighteen guns.—The following thanks addressed to the Captains, were issued by Sir Horatio Nelson, August 2d, off the mouth of the Nile. “The Admiral most heartily congratulates the Captains, Officers, Seamen, and Marines of the Squadron he has the honour to command, on the event of the late Action; and he desires they will accept his most sincere and cordial Thanks for their very gallant behaviour in this glorious Battle. It must strike forcibly every British Seaman, how superior their conduct is when in discipline and good order, to the riotous behaviour of lawless Frenchmen. The Squadron may be assured the Admiral will not fail, with his despatches, to represent their truly meritorious conduct, in the strongest terms to the Commander in Chief.”

(1798.) On Friday morning, August 3d, the

\* See the returns subjoined to the Gazette letter, Appendix N<sup>o</sup> 2.



French flag was still observed to be flying on the stump of le Tonnant's main mast. The Admiral immediately made the Theseus' and Leander's signal to attack her. At their approach a flag of truce was hoisted, and on an officer's being sent from the Theseus, the colours were struck. The well known letter that Sir Horatio sent to Earl St. Vincent, which had been begun under the immediate impression of approaching death, amidst the dreadful scene of devastation which the surrounding ocean continued for days to display, was worthy of his devout sense of God's over-ruling providence, which has so constantly appeared in his great and extraordinary character.

“Almighty God has blessed his Majesty's arms in the late battle, by a great victory over the fleet of the Enemy, whom I attacked at sunset on the first of August, off the mouth of the Nile.

‡ See Quarto Edit. Vol. II. page 84. In this, as well as in many other respects, a resemblance may be traced between the Admirals Blake and Nelson. Dr. Johnson, in describing the victory of the former over the Dutch, May 18, 1652, when the Vanguard also greatly distinguished herself, adds, “Blake, in his letter acknowledged the particular blessing and preservation of God, and ascribed his success to the justice of the cause.”—Admiral Rodney's official letter respecting the victory of the 12th of April began with the same devout spirit, which appears in that from Sir Horatio Nelson. *Formidable at sea, April 14, 1782.* “It has pleased God, out of his divine providence, to grant to his Majesty's arms a most complete victory over the fleet of the Enemy.”

The Enemy were moored in a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of this Bay (of shoals), flanked by numerous gun boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van; but nothing could withstand the squadron your Lordship did me the honour to place under my command. Their high state of discipline is well known to you, and with the judgment of the Captains, together with their valour, and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible. Could any thing from my pen add to the character of the Captains I would write it with pleasure, but that is impossible. I have to regret the loss of Captain Westcott of the *Majestic* who was killed early in the action, but the ship was continued to be so well fought by her first lieutenant Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her till your Lordship's pleasure is known. The ships of the Enemy, all but their two rear ships, are nearly dismasted; and those two, with two frigates, I am sorry to say made their escape, nor was it I assure you in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood most handsomely endeavoured to do it, but I had no ship in a condition to support the *Zealous*, and I was obliged to call her in. The support and assistance I have received from Captain Berry, cannot be sufficiently expressed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck, but the service suffered no loss by the

event: Captain Berry was fully equal to the important service then going on, and to him I must beg leave to refer for every information relative to the victory; he will present you with the flag of the second in command, that of the Commander in Chief being burnt in L'Orient: herewith I transmit you lists of the killed and wounded, and the "line of battle of ourselves and the French."

On the same day, August 3, the following most honourable testimony of professional gratitude and esteem, was drawn up on board the Orion, and signed by all the Captains. "The Captains of the Squadron under the orders of Rear Admiral Nelson, K. B. desirous of testifying the high sense they entertain of his prompt decision and intrepid conduct in the attack of the French fleet, in Bequieres Road, off the Nile, August the 1st, 1798, request his acceptance of a Sword; and as a further proof of their esteem and regard, hope that he will permit his portrait to be taken, and hung up in the room belonging to the Egyptian Club, now established in commemoration of that glorious day."—In the first interview which Nelson had with his early shipmate and friend, Captain Troubridge, after the Action, he thus endeavoured to cheer the mortified spirit of that great and intrepid officer: "Let us, my dear Troubridge, rather rejoice

that the Ship which got on shore was commanded by an officer, whose character is so thoroughly established in the service as your own."

On the 5th of August, as soon as a ship could be made sufficiently sea-worthy for the voyage, Sir Horatio Nelson despatched Captain Berry in the *Leander*, with letters to Lord St. Vincent; and Captain Hardy of the *Mutine* brig succeeded to the command of the *Vanguard*. On the 13th of August Sir James Saumarez left the squadron with the prizes, and on the same day the *Mutine*, Hon. Captain T. B. Capel, sailed to Naples with a duplicate of the Admiral's despatches, and with letters to Lord Spencer, the Hon. H. Dundas, President of the Board of Control for India, and to the Lord Mayor. From Naples Captain Capel proceeded overland to England.

*Admiral Sir H. Nelson, K. B. to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor.*

"My Lord: Having the honour of being a Freeman of the City of London, I take the liberty of sending to your Lordship the Sword of the commanding French Admiral, Monsieur Blanquet, who survived after the Battle of the first off the Nile; and I request that the City of London will honour me by the acceptance of it, as a remembrance, *That Britannia still rules the Waves*: which she may ever do, is the fervent prayer of your Lordship's obedient servant."

(1798.) In a letter to his Excellency the Hon. W. Wyndham at Florence, dated August 21, Sir

Horatio had said, That on account of his indifferent health and wound, he thought of going down the Mediterranean as soon as he arrived at Naples, unless he should find any thing very extraordinary to detain him; and this determination had been strongly impressed on his mind by some of his friends, who dreaded the effect which his going into winter quarters at Naples, might have on a mind by no means adapted to cope with the flattery of the Sicilian Court.

(1798.) The first congratulatory communication which Sir Horatio Nelson received, was from the Grand Seignior, dated August 24; the following translation of which was certified by Mr. J. S. Smith, who had succeeded Mr. Jackson at the Ottoman Porte. “Certain intelligence being arrived, (August 23d,) from Rhodes, of the English squadron in the Mediterranean having directed its course to the Egyptian coast, and of its having attacked the French fleet which was riding at anchor before *Eboukhor*, on the farther side of Alexandria, where it burnt the Admiral’s ship *L’Orient*, sunk several others, and was occupied in destroying the rest; this joyful advice has not failed giving the Sublime Porte the highest satisfaction. In expressing thus her complete approbation and pleasure at the English Commander’s brave and gallant behaviour on this occasion, the Sublime Porte entertains hopes that the English squadron once united with the Ottoman fleet, many desirable advantages might

be reaped from their junction; and that such future measures would be adopted and pursued, as should doubly lead to increase the ancient good intelligence and amity, subsisting between the Sublime Porte, and the Court of Great Britain. The esteemed English Minister, our friend, is therefore requested in the name of the Sublime Porte to signify the same, both to his Court, and to the English Commander before named."

On receiving an official confirmation of this decisive victory, August 29, the following communication from the Grand Seignior was made to Mr. Smith, Sept. the 8th. "It is but lately, that by a written communication it has been made known, how much the Sublime Porte rejoiced at the first advice received of the English squadron in the White Sea having defeated the French off Alexandria in Egypt. By recent accounts comprehending a specific detail of the Action, it appears now more positive, that his Britannic Majesty's fleet has actually destroyed by that Action the best ships the French had in their possession. This joyful event, therefore, laying this Empire under an obligation, and the service rendered by our much esteemed friend Admiral Nelson on this occasion, being of a nature to call for public acknowledgment, his Imperial Majesty, the Powerful, Formidable, and Most Magnificent Grand Seignior has destined as a present in his Imperial Name to the said Admiral, a Diamond *Aigrette*, (*Chelengk*), and a Sable Fur

with broad sleeves; besides 2000 zequins, to be distributed amongst the wounded of his crew. And as the English Minister is constantly zealous to contribute by his endeavours, to the increase of friendship between the two Courts, it is hoped he will not fail to make known this circumstance to his Court, and to solicit the permission of the Powerful and Most August King of England, for the said Admiral to put on and wear the said Aigrette and Pelice."—It was on this occasion, that Mr. Smith suggested to the Minister of the Grand Seignior the propriety of establishing an Order, to be styled The Order of the Crescent; and of making Sir Horatio Nelson the first Knight Companion of it; and also to have medals of the Order struck, to be given and worn by subordinate officers: both of which were done by the Ottoman Porte.

On the 26th of August, Captain Hood informed Sir Horatio, that Captain Hallowell had seized a polacre ship, under Greek colours with a French pass, going from the old to the new port of Alexandria, which he had burnt; and that Captain Hope, of the *Alcmene*, had captured the *Leger* express-boat with despatches from General Buonaparte, which were saved as they were sinking, owing to the alertness of two seamen at the hazard of their lives. When a French officer came off from Alexandria requesting that all private letters might be sent on shore, Captain Hood had given them, instead, a copy of the

Decree of the Executive Directory, ordering all letters found on board Enemy's ships to be forwarded to them.

Captain Capel on his arrival in the Mutine at Naples immediately wrote to the Admiral. "I am totally unable, Sir, to express the joy that appeared in every countenance, and the bursts of applause and acclamations we received. The Queen and Lady Hamilton fainted: in short, Sir, they all hail you as the saviour of Europe. A courier sets off to-morrow for Vienna, and I shall accompany him.—On the 28th of August, in latitude  $37^{\circ} 45'$  longitude  $16^{\circ} 50'$ , I fell in with two line of battle ships, one under three jury top masts, the second had a jury mizen top mast, having the other ship in tow. I passed so close, as to make their hulls out distinctly. I also shewed them French colours, which they answered by the same; and I have not the smallest doubt from those circumstances, and the perfect recollection I have of *le Guillaume Tell*, and *le Genereux*, that it was those ships; they were steering to the N. E. apparently for Corfu. The two frigates had parted, the wind was then against them. Captain Hoste will be ready to sail again in a few days."

(1798.) Sir Horatio, in a letter to Lady Nelson, dated at sea, Sept. 16, described the exultation of the Queen of Naples. "The kingdom of the two Sicilies is mad with joy; from the Throne to the peasant all are alike. According



to Lady Hamilton's letter, the situation of the Queen was truly pitiable: I only hope I shall not have to be witness to a renewal of it. I give you Lady Hamilton's own words. "How shall I describe the transports of the Queen? 'tis not possible: she cried, kissed her husband, her children, walked frantic about the room, cried, kissed and embraced every person near her; exclaiming, *O brave Nelson! O God bless and protect our brave deliverer! O Nelson, Nelson, what do we not owe you! O Victor, Saviour of Italy! O that my swollen heart could now tell him personally what we owe to him!*" You may judge, Fanny, of the rest: but my head will not allow me to tell you half; so much for that. My fag, without success, would have had no effect, but blessed be God for his goodness to me."

A second account of Nelson's victory was soon afterwards brought to Naples by the Terpsichore, Captain Gage, who had been sent with the intelligence from off Candia by Captain Dixon of the Lion. Sir William Hamilton, in sending the Admiral word of this, added, That on the 9th of September two Maltese speronara boats had arrived at Naples, with information that the inhabitants of that Island, on hearing of the overthrow of the French fleet in Egypt, had risen, and massacred many of the French; that the main body of them had retired into Valette, whilst the Insurgents had taken possession of two forts, and had hoisted the Neapolitan flag with that of St.

John; but being in want of arms and ammunition, they had sent to request them at Syracuse, the Governor of which had despatched their speronaras to Naples. They also added, that le Guillaume Tell, and the two French frigates had got into Malta.

(1798.) Notwithstanding all these congratulations and professions, the mind of this great officer, yet untainted by the intrigues of an Italian Court, secretly dreaded to refit his ships at Naples. Naturally averse from the character of Foreigners, and possessing some idea of the danger of the torrent of adulation and distinction, which was ready to burst upon him, Nelson remembered that as a man, his mind possessed the weakness common to all: he therefore earnestly wished, yet without possessing resolution to execute it, to avoid any intercourse with Naples; and this will be sufficiently evident from his letters. In writing to Lord St. Vincent on the 20th of September, he said, "I detest this voyage to Naples; nothing but absolute necessity could force me to the measure. Syracuse in future, whilst my operations lie on the eastern side of Sicily, is my port, where every refreshment may be had for a fleet."

V. The long expected arrival of the Vanguard at Naples, and the extraordinary manner in which the hero of Aboukir was received, are thus described by himself in a letter to Lady Nelson. "The poor wretched Vanguard arrived

here on the 22d of September. I must endeavour to convey to you something of what passed; but if it were so affecting to those only who were united to me by bonds of friendship, what must it be to my dearest wife, my friend, my every thing which is most dear to me in this world?—Sir William and Lady Hamilton came out to sea, attended by numerous boats, with emblems, &c. They, my most respectable friends, had really been laid up and seriously ill: first from anxiety, and then from joy. It was imprudently told Lady Hamilton in a moment, and the effect was like a shot; she fell apparently dead, and is not yet perfectly recovered from severe bruises. Alongside came my honoured friends, the scene in the boat was terribly affecting; up flew her Ladyship, and exclaiming, “O God is it possible!” she fell into my arm more dead than alive. Tears, however, soon set matters to rights; when alongside came the King. The scene was in its way as interesting; he took me by the hand, calling me his deliverer and preserver, with every other expression of kindness. In short all Naples calls me *Nostro Liberatore*; my greeting from the lower classes was truly affecting. I hope some day to have the pleasure of introducing you to Lady Hamilton, she is one of the very best women in this world; she is an honour to her sex. Her kindness with Sir William’s to me is more than I can express: I am in their house, and I may now tell you, it required all the

kindness of my friends to set me up. Lady Hamilton intends writing to you. May God Almighty bless you, and give us, in due time, a happy meeting."

(1798.) *To Lady Nelson, dated Sept. 28.*—"The preparations of Lady Hamilton for celebrating my birth-day to-morrow are enough to fill me with vanity; every ribbon, every button, has Nelson, &c. The whole service is marked H. N. Glorious 1st of August!—Songs, and sonnets are numerous beyond what I ever could deserve. I send the additional verse to God Save the King, as I know you will sing it with pleasure. I cannot move on foot, or in a carriage, for the kindness of the populace; but good Lady H. preserves all the papers as the highest treat for you. The Queen yesterday, being still ill, sent her favourite son to visit and bring me a letter from her of gratitude and thanks.—Miserable accounts of le Guillaume Tell. I trust God Almighty will yet put her into the hands of our King. His all powerful hand has gone with us to the battle, protected us, and still continues destroying the Unbelievers: All glory be to God. The more I think, the more I hear, the greater is my astonishment at the extent and good consequences of our Victory."

*Her Majesty the Queen of Naples to Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson.*—"This letter will be delivered to you by a Child, who is very dear to me. I envy him the pleasure which he will have of

seeing you, and am much distressed that my indisposition prevents me from expressing all my esteem and gratitude. This Child must serve in the Navy; I hope he will follow your steps, and that he will be able one day to acquire, at least, a part of your glory. My dear Leopold has declared his regret, and like a child of his tender age with tears, that he had never before known so brave a man. In order to gratify his ardent desire I have sent him to you, when he will declare how anxious I am to be sufficiently recovered to assure you of my gratitude, deeply engraven on my heart, and which I shall always preserve for a man so illustrious. *Croyez que ma reconnoissante estime pour vous, mon valereux et glorieux General, m'accompagnera au tombeau.* Signée CHARLOTTE."

The praise of a Queen, thus communicated by her son who was intended to emulate the career of Nelson in the Royal Navy, could not fail of making a lasting impression on this loyal and gallant warrior; but his mind still revolted at the general character and politics of the Neapolitans, which it required some potent spells to overcome. In writing on the 30th of September to Lord St. Vincent, he thus gave vent to his then unsubdued feelings: "I trust, my Lord, in a week we shall all be at sea. I am very unwell, and the miserable conduct of this Court is not likely to cool my irritable temper. It is a Country of fiddlers and poets, whores and scoundrels."

(1798.) Owing to the capture of the *Leander* by le *Genereux*, on the 18th of August, near the Island of Candia, after a gallant and almost unprecedented defence by Capt. T. B. <sup>a</sup> Thompson, it was a considerable time before any official account of the Battle of the Nile reached Lord St. Vincent. The following is the letter of congratulation which he then returned. “My dear Admiral: God be praised, and you and your gallant band rewarded by a grateful Country, for the greatest achievement the history of the world can produce. I most sincerely lament the loss of Captain Westcott, and the number of brave officers and men who have fallen on this signal occasion. Notwithstanding all that has been said against me for appointing you to command the detached squadron, the event has proved that my judgment was correct.”

*Captain Cuthbert Collingwood, from off Cadiz, to Admiral Nelson.*—“I cannot, my dear Friend, express how great my joy is for the complete and glorious victory you have obtained over the French; the most decisive, and in its consequences, perhaps, the most important to Europe that was ever won; and my heart overflows with thankfulness to the Divine Providence for his protection of you through the great dangers

<sup>a</sup> Since made Comptroller of the Navy, on the resignation of Sir Andrew Hamond, Bart. Capt. Thompson's letter to Sir H. Nelson respecting this action; is dated Trieste, Oct. 13, 1798.

which are ever attendant on services of such eminence. So total an overthrow of their Fleet, and the consequent deplorable situation of the Army they have in Africa, I hope will teach those tyrants in the Directory a lesson of humility, and dispose them to peace and to Justice; that they may restore to those States they have ruined all that can be saved out of the wreck of a subverted government and plundered people. I lament most sincerely the death of Captain Westcott, a good officer and a worthy man: but if it were a part of our condition to chuse a day to die on, where could we have found one so memorable, so eminently distinguished amongst great days?

“ Say to Lady Nelson when you write to her, how much I congratulate her on the safety, the honours, and the services of her husband. Good God, what must be her feelings, how great her gratitude to Heaven for such mercies. Pray give my hearty congratulations to all my friends in your Fleet.

“ I am glad to understand my worthy Ball and Darby are recovering. May success ever attend you, my dear Friend, is the constant prayer of your faithful and affectionate Cuthbert Collingwood.”

VI. That anxiety respecting the proceedings of the detached squadron under Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, which had so long prevailed throughout England during the summer and au-

tumn of 1798, had been painfully increased by the unfortunate capture of the *Leander*. Lord Spencer unable to bear the dreadful state of uncertainty and the variety of rumour which depressed and irritated the nation, had retired into the country with the hope of weakening apprehensions he could not subdue. In a letter which his Lordship sent on Sept. 30, to Sir Horatio Nelson, the indefatigable and upright Minister thus described the state of his own and the public mind. "You may easily, my dear Sir, conceive the anxiety we have been under about you, and your operations; and the distance at which you are placed from us, increased as it is by the present inconvenient situation of Europe for communication, makes it impossible almost to know how and what to write. After the receipt of your two letters of the 26th of May, and 15th of June, the only ones I have received from you since you parted from Lord St. Vincent off Cadiz, I waited for a considerable time in the greatest anxiety, expecting every day to hear some glorious account from you; and until the 16th of this month, when I received a letter from Sir W. Hamilton, enclosing your's to him of the 20th and 22d of July, I did not quite give up all hopes of your having had some very considerable success; notwithstanding the positive assertions of the French papers, that Buonaparte and his whole force were landed in Egypt. Since the receipt of these letters, we have again been put on the



tip-toe of expectation, both by the French papers and by accounts from Constantinople; and in spite of our former disappointment every one in London is fully convinced that you have gained an important victory . . . God bless you, dear Sir Horatio, and grant that we may very soon have some good tidings from you."

(1798.) Such was the state of affairs at home, when on the morning of the 2d of October, the Honourable Captain Capel arrived at the Admiralty with a copy of Sir Horatio Nelson's despatches to Lord St. Vincent, containing an account of the destruction of the French fleet; and a subsequent letter, dated August the 7th, referring their Lordships to Captain Capel as a most excellent officer and fully able to give every information. The joy that prevailed throughout Great Britain, declared how ill the nation would have supported an unsuccessful officer. Public spirit revived; the stocks, that fluctuating level which marks the national confidence in Government, rose in an extraordinary manner; and the Minister who sat at the helm of the State was enabled to meet the opening of Parliament with another signal Victory which he had not expected.

Admiral Nelson was immediately advanced by his Majesty to the Peerage. On the 4th of October, Lord Spencer sent for Mr. Maurice Nelson the elder brother of the family, and requested to know if he had ever heard of any

title which Sir Horatio would prefer. This worthy relative of the noble Admiral, who was universally beloved and respected, wished that the Name might be retained. Accordingly, on the 6th of October, Sir Horatio Nelson was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe in the county of Norfolk. On the 20th of the ensuing month, the King delivered the following most honourable commendation of the Battle of the Nile, on the meeting of Parliament: “The unexampled series of our Naval Triumphs has received fresh splendour from the memorable and decisive Action, in which a detachment of my Fleet under the command of Rear Admiral Lord Nelson attacked, and almost totally destroyed a superior force of the enemy strengthened by every advantage of situation. By this great and brilliant Victory, an enterprise of which the Injustice, Perfidy, and Extravagance had fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British Empire, has, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors; and the blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening which, if improved by suitable exertions on the part of other powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe. . . .”

On the 22d of November a message was brought down to the House expressive of the

Sovereign's wish to reward the noble Admiral: "His Majesty having taken into his consideration the signal and meritorious services performed by Rear Admiral Lord Nelson, in the memorable and decisive victory obtained over a superior French fleet off the mouth of the Nile, not only highly honourable to himself, but eminently beneficial to these kingdoms; and his Majesty being desirous to confer upon him some considerable and lasting mark of his Royal favour, in testimony of his approbation of his great services, recommends it to his faithful Commons, to consider of the means of enabling his Majesty to extend and secure an Annuity of 2,000*l.* per annum to Rear Admiral Lord Nelson, and the two next heirs male on whom the title of Baron Nelson of the <sup>b</sup> Nile and Burnham Thorpe in the county of Norfolk shall descend, in such manner as shall be most advantageous to their interests." This was followed by a grant of Arms expressive of the great achievements of the noble Admiral, and of the honours which he had received from the Sublime Porte: The appropriate motto to which is said to have been selected by his own Sovereign, *Palmas qui meruit ferat.*

The thanks of both houses of the British <sup>c</sup> Par-

<sup>b</sup> It is a singular circumstance, that the letters in the name of HORATIO NELSON, should make the following anagram, HONOR EST A NILE.

<sup>c</sup> See in Quarto Edit. vol. ii. p. 107, the speech of Lord Minto, illustrative of the professional character of Lord Nelson.

liament and of the Parliament of Ireland were unanimously voted. Gold medals, similar to those which had been given by the King for the other great naval Actions in the war, were by his Majesty ordered to be presented by Lord Spencer to Admiral Nelson and to the Captains who served under his orders: the first Lieutenants of the ships engaged were distinguished by promotion, and the Senior Marine Officer in the Squadron was recommended to H. R. H. the Commander in Chief, that he might have a step in brevet rank conferred upon him; which was granted.

Admiral Lord Howe, on the 3d of October, deservedly took the lead amongst those who sent congratulations to the Admiral. "Though conscious, Sir," wrote that veteran Seaman, "how many letters of congratulation you are likely to receive by the same conveyance, on the subject of your despatches by Captain Capel, I trust you will forgive the additional trouble of my compliments on this singular occasion: Not less memorable for the Skill, than cool Judgment testified under considerable disadvantages in the superior force and situation of the Enemy."—"With what pleasure," said Admiral Goodall, "do I congratulate you, my dear Nelson, on your glorious victory. I know not where to place the preference in my praises; whether in the boldness of the attempt, or in the skill with which it was conducted, unrivalled in our An-

nals. I had often been obliged to stand in the breach against the senseless criticisms of the noble and ignoble of this Country; you know them to be governed by the tide of swoln and immediate success. How often have I been questioned, *What is your favourite Hero about? the French fleet has passed under his nose, &c. &c.* To all which I uniformly answered, ‘I know him well; if Fortune has not crowned his labour and anxiety in the event, yet something capital will be done. I know him and most of his gallant Companions who are to support him in the day of battle. You will not hear from him until he has thundered in the Storm and directed the whirlwind that will overwhelm the enemy.’ My opinion has been entirely confirmed: Your gallantry, my dear Friend, has silenced both jealousy and censure, and raised a name which will exist in futurity as long as history, or monumental tablets are preserved.”

The disinterested conduct of his elder brother Maurice, claims remembrance as displaying a greatness of mind which must ever honour his memory. In writing to Lady Nelson, whilst the entail of his brother’s honours was under the consideration of Government, Maurice declared that his brother William should have the preference: *It will be my wish and request to the Admiral, added this generous and noble relative, not to put my name in the Patent. I move in too humble a sphere to think of such a thing.*—The

Lord Mayor, Anderson, on the 19th of October, transmitted to the Admiral the congratulations and vote of thanks of the Common Council for the sword of the French Admiral Blanquet, which had been deposited in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London; as also the thanks of that honourable Court to the Captains, officers, and seamen of the squadron, who, under the command of Admiral Nelson, had manifested to the world an additional instance of the superior discipline and irresistible bravery of British seamen. A Sword of the value of two hundred guineas, was also voted to Lord Nelson, and the freedom of the city to Sir Edward Berry. The East India Company unanimously ordered a grant of 10,000*l.* The Turkey Company, a present of Plate of great value. The city of Liverpool voted the freedom of that borough, and town, as the only mark of respect which amidst the honours so deservedly bestowed by the King, and the applauses and acclamations of the whole body of the People, and the surrounding world, it was in their power with propriety to present; and the Mayor of Liverpool, Leyland, was also instructed to request, 'That the noble Admiral would please to make known to the several Captains and other officers, and seamen of his squadron, the very grateful sense which the Corporate Body of Liverpool, as representing the second Seaport in the Kingdom, entertains of the heroic Valour, the exemplary Discipline,

and the great and enterprising spirit of the British Seamen which shone forth upon the late wonderful and unrivalled Victory.'

(1798.) Nor was the praise that was due to Lord St. Vincent for his selection of Sir Horatio and his squadron, forgotten amidst the general exultation at the victory. Earl Spencer in writing to that Commander in Chief, Oct. 9, said, "After having had a week to reflect on the event of the Engagement on the coast of Egypt, and all the various most important consequences which will ensue if proper use is made of it; I cannot help once more congratulating your Lordship on the subject, and repeating how strongly impressed I feel with the great share which your very judicious selection of the Ships and Captains who composed that Squadron, has had in insuring to us so brilliant and decisive a result." Mr. Nepean in a letter to Lord St. Vincent, on the same day, added, "The enclosed is a notification of Nelson's Peerage. I would give a great deal were it possible for me to be present at your first meeting. You will hardly be questioned now upon the propriety of your choice."

VII. Such being the state of exultation at home, and the liberal spirit which his Country displayed on this memorable occasion; our attention is now again directed to the noble Admiral himself and his brave followers in the Mediterranean. The reception which he had met with from all ranks at Naples, had weakened, if not entirely subdued

the strong aversion which he felt from remaining long in that enchanting city. Overcome with fatigue, and harassed by the importance and variety of duty that was intrusted to him, he too much felt the value of his friend the English Minister; and being constantly at his house enjoyed a delightful, but dangerous relaxation in the extraordinary talents and captivating flatteries of Emma, Lady Hamilton. On the 4th of October, in writing to Earl<sup>d</sup> St. Vincent, he described the state of Naples towards the close of 1798, and evidently shewed a growing partiality for the Queen's opinions; which possessed a violent and vindictive spirit that had not been duly appreciated by his unsuspecting and loyal integrity: who saw only an insulted woman, and the daughter of the great Theresa.

In another letter, to Lady Nelson from Naples, dated Oct. 1—6, the noble Admiral thus described the feelings of his affectionate and too grateful heart: "Our time here is actively employed; and between business and what is called pleasure I am not my own master for five minutes. The continued kind attention of Sir William and Lady Hamilton must ever make you and I love them, and they are deserving the love and admiration of all the world. The Grand Seignior has ordered me a valuable diamond; if it were worth a million, my pleasure would be

<sup>d</sup> See Quarto Edit. vol. ii. page 111.



to see it in your possession. My pride is being your husband, the Son of my dear Father, and in having Sir William and Lady Hamilton for my friends. While these approve of my conduct, I shall not feel or regard the envy of thousands. Could I, my dearest Fanny, tell you half the honours which are shewn me here, not a ream of paper would hold it. On my birthday, eighty people dined at Sir William Hamilton's; one thousand seven hundred and forty came to a ball, where eight hundred supped. A rostral column is erected under a magnificent canopy, never, Lady H. says, to come down while they remain at Naples. A little circumstance has also happened which does honour to the King of Naples, and is not unpleasant to me. I went to view the magnificent manufactory of china. After admiring all the fine things sufficient to seduce the money from my pocket, I came to some busts in China of all the Royal Family: these I immediately ordered, and, when I wanted to pay for them, I was informed that the King had directed whatever I chose should be delivered free of all costs: it was handsome in the King."

(1798.) The following note from the Russian Emperor Paul to the noble Admiral, written in French, is dated Petersburg, October 8, ' Vice Admiral Nelson: Considering the cause of my Allies as my own, I am unable to express the pleasure which your success has afforded me.

The complete victory which you have gained over the Common Enemy, and the destruction of the French Fleet, are assuredly sufficient titles to draw on you the suffrages of that part of Europe which still retains its reason. In order to give you a marked acknowledgment of the justice rendered by me to your military talents, I have sent you a box, with my portrait, enriched with diamonds; and I beg that you would feel assured of my high regard, and I pray God that he may keep you under his holy and gracious protection. PAUL."

(1798.) The manner of opening the war which the Neapolitan Court had at length decided on, is given in the following letter from the Sicilian Minister Acton, written in English, to Sir William Hamilton, dated Caserta, October 13. "I acquaint you, my dear Sir, by the King's orders, with the resolutions taken last night and this morning, about the operations of his Majesty's army, and must beg of you to present this intelligence to Admiral Nelson. It has been determined that 30,000 men should march as soon as possible towards the best positions in the Appenines, in order to cover the kingdom from its threatened invasion; and that 15,000 men should be ready on our frontiers, to support the first army for the garrison of Rome and other places, and to keep the communication open and free with this kingdom, if the Romans should happen to forsake their offers of joining with us

in the expulsion of the French from their territories. The intention of sending 8,000 men at the same time to Leghorn has not as yet appeared prudent, until we hear from the Emperor. I beg of you, my dear Sir, to present to Admiral Nelson these ideas. His Sicilian Majesty leaves to the brave Admiral to combine with these operations what he may think fit and proper at the moment; and feels with warm gratitude his most kind declarations to support the King, his Royal Family, and his two kingdoms. His Majesty thinks also that the Admiral's name and cooperation with the Sicilian arms would prove of the most essential weight, and raise the spirit of the, until now, dejected Italians. The recovery of Malta, and the drawing the French from Corfu, would be an essential service; and according to what Admiral Nelson was so kind as to tell me for his Majesty's intelligence, he has already provided for these important objects."

A sufficient squadron being at length ready to accompany the Admiral to Malta, consisting of the Vanguard, Minotaur, Audacious, Goliath, and Mutine, he prepared to sail from Naples; and in a letter to Earl St. Vincent gave the following account of his taking leave of the King: "On Monday the 15th, at eight o'clock, the King and Prince Leopold came on board and did me the honour of breakfasting. At ten the squadron weighed anchor; at eleven his Majesty left the ship, expressing himself in the most flat-

tering manner towards me. The King had all the respect paid him by the squadron that our situation would admit of, and which it was not only our duty but so much our inclination to shew him. The King having desired my return to Naples in the first week in November, I shall come back after having arranged the blockade of Malta, and endeavour to be useful to the movements of their army. In thus acquiescing with the desire of the King of Naples, I give up my plan, which was to have gone to Egypt and attended to the destruction of the French shipping in that quarter; but I hope that before Captain Hood quits his station, both the Turkish and Russian squadrons will be on that coast, when all will be right I hope, although I own myself not willing to trust any of our allies to do that which we could perform ourselves. I have reason for thinking that the strong wish for our squadron being on the coast of Naples is, that in case of any mishap, their Majesties think their persons would be much safer under the protection of the British flag than any other.

“*October 19th.* My letter on the subject of our dear friend Troubridge, which was lost with many others in the *Leander*, was to authorise you to add a paragraph to my public letter, if you thought it more to the advantage of Troubridge; for I thought it better to make no mention of his disaster. *I consider Captain Troubridge's conduct as fully entitled to praise as any*

*one officer in the squadron, and as highly deserving reward. He commanded a division equally with Sir James Saumarez, by my order dated in June; and I should feel distressed if any honour which is granted to one, be not granted to the other. This part of my letter I wish you, my dear Lord, to make use of to Lord Spencer, should any difference be made. The eminent services of our friend deserve the very highest rewards. I have experienced the ability and activity of his mind and body: It was Troubridge who equipped the squadron so soon at Syracuse: It was Troubridge who exerted himself for me after the action: It was Troubridge who saved the Culoden, when none that I know in the service would have attempted it: It is Troubridge whom I have left as myself at Naples, he is as a Friend and as an Officer a Nonpareil."*

(1798) The blockade of the Island of Malta had been entrusted to the vigilance and skill of Captain Ball; and is dated by Lord Nelson, in his Memoir, as taking place from the 12th of October. The state of the islands of Malta and Gozo on that day, with an account of the revolution that had taken place, is given in an interesting report which was sent to his Lordship. The French force in Malta then consisted of about 3000 soldiers and sailors, and of 100 Maltese; the only part of the inhabitants who would take up arms for the French. About 10,000 of the Maltese were in arms; they had twenty three

guns on the island, of which twelve were mounted; they had also two galleys and four gunboats. On Saturday, the day previous to the insurrection of the Maltese, the French, in addition to their usual professions in the gazette, had issued a manifesto declaring that they should consider the plate and riches of the churches as sacred, promising neither to take nor request any thing: the very next morning, when the churches were opened for public worship, they began their plunder. The Maltese, injured and irritated beyond bearing, immediately flew to revenge themselves. Amongst the French whom they put to death, was a general officer who had been very active; with his wife they found a plan for entering all the towns in the island, murdering the strongest and richest of the inhabitants, and taking possession of the best houses. They also found a paper in which the various classes of the people were assigned different employments; sixty Maltese had been destined to bury the dead. About eight days previous to this event there had been an action between the French and Maltese, in which the former had lost 800 men, the latter had only five killed and five wounded: it lasted between three and four hours. In the sortie above fifty of the French threw down their arms, and begged to join the Maltese; but they were fired on indiscriminately with the others. The Maltese beheaded all the bodies of the French which they could find, on the spot, and carried

their heads about the island with parsnips in their teeth, as the French had given out that they had no provisions at Malta but parsnips.

(1798.) On the 15th of October, after receiving the King and Prince Leopold at breakfast on board the Vanguard, Lord Nelson had sailed from Naples to reinforce the blockade of Malta; and on the 24th had joined Captain Ball and the Marquis de Niza. On the 28th the Commandant of the French troops in the castle of Gozo signed the capitulation which Nelson had approved. Captain Ball immediately directed Captain Creswell of the marines to take possession, when H. B. M. colours were hoisted. The next day the place was delivered up in form to the deputies of the island, his Sicilian Majesty's colours were hoisted and he acknowledged the lawful Sovereign. The island of Gozo contained 16,000 inhabitants; in the castle were found 3,200 sacks of corn, one eighteen-pounder, two twelve-pounders, four six-pounders, fifty barrels of powder, and a quantity of other ammunition. Lord Nelson, in consequence of his promise to the King to return to Naples during the first week in November, sailed from Malta on the 30th of October at night, leaving its blockade to Captain Ball with the Alexander, Goliath, Audacious, Terpsichore, and Incendiary fireship.

On the arrival of the Vanguard and Minotaur in Naples bay, they found the Royal Family were at Caserta; upon which Lord Nelson

repaired thither, and on Nov. 6, being a gala day, he was received by the King's desire at court; when he presented a memorial from the inhabitants of Malta, as their deputy, and also the colours taken at Gozo. Earl St. Vincent in sending to him the fresh instructions which had been received from the Admiralty Board, dated Oct. 3, added, "What relates, my dear Admiral, to cooperation with the armies of the Allied Powers, cannot be in better hands than yours. You are as great in the Cabinet as on the Ocean, and your whole conduct fills me with admiration and confidence. The thorough knowledge you possess of local circumstances and of the disposition of the contracting parties, qualifies you most eminently for the uncontrouled direction of the naval part; and you have some very able men under your command, in whom you well know every degree of confidence is to be placed when you have occasion to make detachments. The possession of Minorca would greatly aid the blockade of Toulon when the season will admit of that operation; and in case of success you are authorised to take Commodore Duckworth under your command, and employ him and the squadron under his orders on that service. The bombs and their tenders may be useful at Corfu and Zante. At a convenient time you will certainly not forget what is due to your friends at Genoa. Captain Murray informs me that Captain Foley is in a very bad state:



should you be of that opinion, I desire he may come away ; and perhaps Sir William and Lady Hamilton would take their passage with him hither, and go to England. I heartily congratulate you, my dear Lord, on the title the King has been pleased to bestow on you, which, as you may see, has come to my knowledge since the commencement of this letter.”—It may be necessary here to remark, that this letter, written by Earl St. Vincent, came from a Naval Officer who in general never suffered any one to act, but from written orders, by which he was expected implicitly to abide. The principal objects that had been recommended in the Instructions from the Admiralty were, 1. The protection of the coasts of Sicily, Naples, and the Adriatic; and, in the event of war being renewed in Italy, an active cooperation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies. 2. The cutting off all communication between France and Egypt, that neither supplies nor reinforcements could be sent to the army at Alexandria. 3. The blocking up of Malta. 4. The cooperating with the Turkish and Russian squadrons, which were to be sent into the Archipelago. After explaining the engagements that were likely to be entered into between Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte in the ninth article of a proposed Treaty, and the number of ships which Russia had promised to furnish against the common enemy in consequence of a Treaty which she had recently con-

cluded with the Porte ; Mr. Secretary Nepean added, That the protection of the coasts of Naples and Sicily and an active cooperation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies, were the objects to which a principal part of the squadron should be particularly directed.

(1798.) During Lord Nelson's residence with the Neapolitan Court at Caserta, his friendship for Sir William and Lady Hamilton, added to his ill state of health, led him to indulge a confidence which was fatally adapted to mislead his affectionate disposition and to warp his judgment. In writing to Earl St. Vincent, Nov. 9, when on the eve of leaving Caserta, he thus introduced his new secretary: "I believe Lady Hamilton has written so fully, and I will answer so ably, on all subjects, that but little remains for me to say. Your commands respecting the Queen were executed with so much propriety, that if I had never before had cause for admiration it must then have commenced: Her Ladyship's and Sir William's inexpressible goodness to me is not to be told by words, and it ought to stimulate me to the noblest actions, and I feel it will. My mind I know is right, but, alas, my body is weak. Captain Thompson's Action reflected great credit on the *Leander*."

*Lord Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.*  
—"I know my letter to your Royal Highness, by the *Leander*, was lost by the unfortunate capture of that ship, and I trust you will forgive my

not writing so much as my inclination in truth prompts me to do; but I find my left hand is fully employed in not only the business of the squadron, but also in working in the good cause in this country. The army marched Nov. 23d into the Roman state 32,000 men. Five thousand men embarked yesterday on board my squadron, destined to possess Leghorn if the Grand Duke wishes to preserve his dominions from plunder and anarchy. By possessing that port any number of troops and stores may be pushed in a few days into Tuscany, and if the French leave Leghorn on their left they may be cut off. . . . The wind moderates, and I am going off to try and sail. My heart is true to the Good Cause, and I wish to approve myself a faithful servant to the best of masters. May God bless your Royal Highness, is the sincere prayer of your attached and affectionate Nelson."

On Lord Nelson's arrival at Naples Dec. 5th from Leghorn, a number of persons overwhelmed him with odes and congratulatory poems on the battle of the Nile. Amongst the rest the English composition of a mendicant Irish priest, M'Cormick, of the order of St. Francis, was presented; which, though possessing little merit, was remarkable for a passage that predicted the taking of Rome by the Admiral's ships. This passage struck his Lordship; but he represented to the Friar the impossibility of getting ships up the Tiber to act against Rome. The mendi-

cant replied, *I nevertheless see that it will come to pass.* Lord Nelson ordered his secretary, Mr. Tyson, to give the poor man some dollars for his labour and good wishes, and for a time the Friar and his prediction were equally forgotten.

(1798.) On the 9th of October, Lord Spencer, in writing to Lord St. Vincent had said, "The exception of the first Lieutenant of the Culloden was necessary, on account of that ship not having got into action from the circumstance of being aground: I am however so fully convinced of the merit both of Captain Troubridge and his officers on all occasions, that I beg you will be so good as to give the first vacancy of Commander that arises, to the first Lieutenant of the Culloden."—The distinction thus made respecting the Culloden's First Lieutenant, was, as Lord St. Vincent himself observed, in promising to pay it the earliest attention, a just one; for had Lord Spencer promoted him with the others, some future Commander in Chief might have quoted it as a precedent for a bad purpose. Yet notwithstanding this, and all the previous conduct of Earl St. Vincent, Lord Nelson had already imbibed, whilst at Naples, the seeds of distrust and suspicion respecting his hitherto beloved Commander in Chief: In writing to Lady Nelson from that place Dec. 11, he said, "I have not received a line from England since the first of October. Lord St. Vincent is in no hurry to oblige me now: in short I am the en-

vied man, but better that than to be the pitied one. Never mind; it is my present intention to leave this country in May. The poor Queen has again made me promise not to quit her or her family, until brighter prospects appear than do at present. The King is with the army and she is sole Regent; she is in fact a great King. Lady Hamilton's goodness forces me out at noon for an hour. What can I say of her's and Sir William's attention to me? They are in fact, with the exception of you and my good Father, the dearest friends I have in this world. I live as Sir William's son in the house, and my glory is as dear to them as their own; in short I am under such obligations as I can never repay but with my eternal gratitude. The improvement made in Josiah (Captain Nisbet) by Lady Hamilton is wonderful; your obligations and mine are infinite on that score; not but Josiah's heart is as good and as humane as ever was covered by a human breast. God bless him, I love him dearly with all his roughness."

(1798.) The affairs of Naples were at this time in so desperate a state, that nothing more was wanting to increase the perplexity and irritability of Lord Nelson. The King had indeed placed himself at the head of his army, but his troops were led on by General Mack. It is also a fact which was well known to many of the English Captains in Lord Nelson's squadron, that these troops by whom the King of Naples

alone hoped to preserve his dominions, had, owing to a strange fatality, been raised by a French artillery officer, Le Combe St. Michel, who had acted his allotted part as ambassador from the republic. Having received money from the King of Naples, he selected such of his subjects as he knew were favourably inclined towards the French ; the event therefore corresponded with this deep laid treachery : When the King's army approached the enemy, the flight of the Neapolitans became general ; their cannon, tents, baggage and even military chest, were all left behind them. Dejected and overcome by what had happened, the King of Naples retraced his steps, and on the 14th of December, returned home.

(1798.) It demanded the utmost caution and much address in Lord Nelson to elude the vigilance of French spies, and to avoid the suspicion of the Neapolitan nobles, so as to secure the safe retreat of the Royal Family. In this however he received very essential service from the English Ambassador and Lady Hamilton. At a considerable risk, this extraordinary and daring woman had explored a subterranean passage leading from the palace to the sea side. One of the sentries was alarmed by a bell that had accidentally been touched, and but for the presence of mind which Lady Hamilton displayed, the whole design would have been frustrated. Every thing being at length ready for the retreat of the Royal Family from Naples to a more se-

cure part of their kingdom, General Pignatelli was appointed Vice Regent; and the following orders respecting the Neapolitan ships were on the 22d of December, transmitted by Lord Nelson to the Portuguese Rear Admiral, the Marquis de Niza: “Notwithstanding my former orders of yesterday’s date, you are in the present circumstances, by the very particular desire of their Sicilian Majesties, to obey the following Instructions: To instantly remove her most faithful Majesty’s squadron to as great a distance from the town as you can, and to remove all the Neapolitan ships of war without your ships, and in case *of either the entry of the French troops into Naples, or an insurrection of the people against its legitimate government*, in that event you are to destroy the ships: but you are not to consider, under the present circumstances, a refusal to admit *your boats on shore, as an insurrection against the government*; since it may arise from fear of the French, in case they unfortunately should get to Naples. Given on board the Vanguard at Naples.”

(1798.) A narrative of the subsequent proceedings of Lord Nelson, with some account of what had happened immediately previous to the removal of the Royal Family, is thus given by himself in an official Letter to Earl St. Vincent, dated Palermo, Dec. 28. “My Lord: For many days

\* The passages in italics were underlined by Lord Nelson.

previous to the embarkation, it was not difficult to foresee that such a thing might happen; I therefore sent for the Goliath from off Malta, and for Captain Troubridge in the Culloden and his squadron from the north and west coast of Italy, the Vanguard being the only ship in Naples Bay. On the 14th of December, the Marquis de Niza with three of the Portuguese squadron arrived from Leghorn, as did Captain Hope in the Alceme from Egypt; from that time the danger for the personal safety of their Sicilian Majesties was daily increasing, and new treasons were found out, even to the Minister of war. The whole correspondence relative to this important business, was carried on with the greatest address by Lady Hamilton and the Queen, who having been in constant habits of correspondence, no one could suspect them. Lady Hamilton, from that time to the 21st, every night received the jewels of the Royal Family, &c. &c. and such clothes as might be necessary for the very large party about to embark, to the amount I am confident of full two millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling. On the 18th, General Mack wrote that he had no prospect of stopping the progress of the French, and entreated their Majesties to think of retiring from Naples, with their august family, as expeditiously as possible. From that day various plans were formed for the removal of the Royal Family from the palace to the water side. On the 19th, I received a



note from General Acton, saying that the King approved of my plan for their embarkation; during that day, the 20th, and 21st of December, very large assemblies of people were in commotion, and several people were killed and one was dragged by the legs to the palace. On the 21st, at half past eight P. M. three barges with myself and Captain Hope landed at a corner of the arsenal. I went into the Palace and brought out the whole Royal Family, put them in the boats, and at half past nine they were all safely on board the Vanguard. I did not forget, in these important movements, that it was my duty not to leave the chance of any ships of war falling into the hands of the French, and therefore every preparation had been made for burning them before I sailed; but the reasons given me by their Sicilian Majesties, had induced me not to destroy them until the last moment. I therefore issued my directions to the Marquis de Niza... and instructed him to join me at Palermo, leaving one or two ships to cruise between Capri and Ischia, in order to prevent the entrance of any English ships into the bay of Naples. On the 23d, at seven P. M. the Vanguard, Samnite, and Archimedes, with about twenty sail of vessels, left the bay of Naples. The next day it blew much harder than I ever experienced since I have been at sea: your Lordship will believe my anxiety was not lessened by the great charge that was with me; but not a word of uneasiness

escaped the lips of any of the Royal Family. On the 25th, at nine A. M. Prince Albert, their Majesties' youngest child, having ate a hearty breakfast, was taken ill, and at seven P. M. died in the arms of Lady Hamilton: and here it is my duty to tell your Lordship of the obligations which the whole Royal Family, as well as myself, were under on this trying occasion to her Ladyship. They necessarily came on board without a bed, nor could the least preparation be made for their reception. Lady Hamilton provided her own bed and linen, &c. and became their slave; for, except one man, no person belonging to the court assisted the Royal Family. I must not omit to state the kindness of Captain Hardy and of every officer in the Vanguard, all of whom readily gave up their beds for the numerous persons attending the Royal Family. At three P. M. being in sight of Palermo, H. S. M. Royal standard was hoisted at the maintop-gallant mast head of the Vanguard. The Vanguard anchored at two A. M. December 26, and at five I attended her Majesty and all the Princesses on shore; the Queen being so much affected by the death of Prince Albert, that she could not bear to go on shore in a public manner. At nine A. M. his Majesty went on shore, and was received with the loudest acclamations and apparent joy."

The cordiality which had prevailed between the first Lord of the Admiralty and Lord Nelson, was at the close of 1798, interrupted by the

appointment of Captain Sir Sidney Smith to cooperate with his brother in the Mediterranean; and as the irritation which this produced in the mind of Lord Nelson has been already laid before the public, it becomes necessary to state the fact with impartiality and correctness. Ministers at that time were anxious to make the most of the emotion and sensation which the battle of Aboukir had excited in Turkey, and in consequence of Sir Sidney Smith's former residence at Constantinople, and his near connexion with the British Minister at the Ottoman Court, they had judged it expedient to send out this naval officer. Lord Spencer, however, in obeying the determination of the Cabinet, had added, with his usual prudence and attention to the service, the following clause in his instructions<sup>f</sup> to the Commander in Chief: "Should the arrangement of the force to remain for the present in the Levant to cooperate with the Turks, lead to there being only one or two ships of two decks on that service; it may be most advisable that, from the local and personal acquaintance Sir Sidney is possessed of with the Turkish officers, he should be the senior officer; but I have given him to understand, that if a large force should be thought necessary, his standing on the list will not admit of it; there being so many Captains of distinguished merit who are his seniors." Earl Spen-

<sup>f</sup> From the Nelson Papers.

cer afterwards explained his conduct on this subject to Lord Nelson, in the most open and explicit manner by a private letter, dated March 12, 1799 from which it appears, that a very great misunderstanding had arisen respecting the nature of Sir Sidney Smith's appointment, who had been sent to serve in the Mediterranean entirely under Lord Nelson's orders.

From the time of the King of Sicily's retreat from his metropolis of Naples, Lord Nelson's ship became, eventually, his Majesty's seat of government, whence the royal mandates were issued. On the 6th of January, 1799, an order was given out by the King, dated from the Vanguard, that all Frenchmen of whatever description should leave the island of Sicily: and that an English transport of 600 tons would be ready, on the next day, to receive the French emigrants. On the 7th of January, Captain Troubridge, who had arrived on the 5th, sailed with the Culloden, The-seus, Bull Dog and some victuallers, to Syracuse, to collect the bombs that were destined to attack the French ships in the harbour of Alexandria, and on the 9th he passed through the Faro of Messina, and soon afterwards Captain Louis in the Minotaur was detached to protect Leghorn.

Nothing could be more clear and honourable than the conduct which both his Sicilian Majesty and Lord Nelson pursued respecting the preservation of the Neapolitan fleet; which, on the

Marquis de Niza's being obliged to leave the bay of Naples, was afterwards intrusted, with a repetition of Lord Nelson's orders by the Marquis, to the care of the Portuguese Commodore, Donald Campbell, who afterwards felt himself compelled, in consequence of the indecision and suspicious conduct of the Neapolitan General Pignatelli, to <sup>2</sup> destroy their ships.

(1799.) The French, having previously corrupted and poisoned the good sense of the higher ranks in Naples, entered that city on the 23d of January, when much resistance was made by the mob. This undisciplined multitude, consisting chiefly of loyal Lazzeroni, amounted to 50,000 men, and displayed considerable resolution, even when the French army and its artillery had obtained possession of the principal streets. Concealed treachery, however, rendered every exertion of patriotism ineffectual; and the subjugation of the Neapolitans was, for a time, completed by the abject mummery and daring blasphemy of the wretched ministers of their religion: a day being actually appointed for a solemn *Te Deum*, when every one was invited to *return thanks to the Most High for the glorious entry of the French troops*. On the 27th, General Championet publicly announced that the Neapolitan Monarchy was destroyed, and a republic established in its stead, styled the Parthenopean;

in which Dominico Cerillo, late physician to the King, and Flavio Pirelli, formerly president of the royal chamber, took their allotted parts. The Prince of Moliterni, who was appointed commander in chief, had addressed the loyal Lazzeroni, and had begged that they would shoot him if he ever betrayed their confidence; <sup>h</sup> yet was this at the very time when he was intriguing with the French to give up the castles on their approach to Naples: He afterwards accompanied the French General to the same Lazzeroni, and desired, as their King had abandoned and robbed them, that they would now thank the Great Nation for giving them liberty, and liberating them from slavery.—The Princes della Torella and Rocca Romana, whose property was very great, also accepted of commissions in the national guard.

During these proceedings, the King of Sardinia and his family, justly apprehensive of the treachery of French friendship, had arrived at Florence, and were lodged in one of the Grand Duke's palaces, about a mile without the city. His Majesty intended to seek an asylum in Sardinia: feeling that an over peaceable disposition on the part of the Emperor, or a sudden declaration of war, might either of them prove his ruin; and that when the French chose to pronounce it, thirty-six hours, would at any time be sufficient

<sup>h</sup> From the Nelson papers.

to accomplish his destruction. His Majesty afterwards embarked on board a Danish frigate that had arrived at Leghorn, whose Captain had offered to convey him safely to Cagliari; and which was preferred on account of the neutrality of Denmark.

On the 3d of March, the King of Sardinia being arrived off that island, published a Protest against the conduct of the French, dated from Cagliari roads; in which he declared, "Upon the faith and word of a King, that he not only had never infringed, even in the slightest degree, the Treaties that had been made with the French republic; but on the contrary had observed them with such scrupulous exactness, and with such demonstrations of amity and condescension, as far exceeded the obligations he had contracted."

(1799.) On the arrival of the expected convoy at Leghorn, March 14th, under the care of the *Bellerophon*, the government of Tuscany became greatly agitated and alarmed. Upwards of 1000 French had arrived at Pistoia, and the same number were to follow; another body of horse and foot, with artillery, had marched from Bologna to Florence, and two French frigates were cruising off Genoa in order to cooperate in an attack on Leghorn. The whole of the French army under Gauthier amounted to upwards of 6000 men. Mr. Wyndham immediately left Florence, and wrote to Lord Nelson, March 16; begging to be informed, Whether amidst the variety of calls for

support, any prospect of assistance could be promised to the Grand Duke and the British merchants? In the mean time Captain Darby had been directed by his Excellency, at the urgent request of the English factory, to proceed with the merchant ships to Sicily, leaving only a few that were laden with perishable commodities. The Grand Duke firmly resolved to abide his fate; but had requested that an English man of war might remain at Leghorn to save him and the Royal Family, should the French resolve to send off H. R. H. by sea. "My duty," added Mr. Wyndham, March 22, "is to remain at my station, as long as the Grand Duke is here, and you may be sure I shall not swerve from the post of honour. It is impossible to know the intentions of the French, we can only guess at them by measuring the utmost degree of villainy and barbarity." A short time after this, March 25, Leghorn was occupied by General Miollis, and Florence possessed by General Scherer.

VIII. The Naval War on the coast of Egypt, and the ineffectual cooperation of the Turks, claimed also the attention of Lord Nelson. Captain Troubridge, whilst at Syracuse, in writing to him, Jan. 23, said, "Ten French vagabonds, who belonged to a bombard, came here yesterday from Agosta, with one hundred and forty of their countrymen from Alexandria. Whilst in quarantine, like true Frenchmen, they insulted the inhabitants; and they in return massacred the whole except ten, who escaped here.



I think the people seem inclined to despatch these the same way: I tell them, it is the only cure for a Frenchman. I took two, and threatened to return them, which produced the following information: That Buonaparte is reduced to 15,000 men, and is totally surrounded by the Turks. These Frenchmen described the latter as being like the hair of their heads, always growing."

Another object on which the anxious mind of Lord Nelson was continually intent throughout the whole of the year 1799, was the reduction of the island of Malta, by the vigilance of his distinguished associate Captain Ball. "My chagrin and disappointment," wrote that officer, January 29, "at not getting into la Valette are not to be described. It occasioned me a slight fever, of which I am now recovered. I shall hope soon to find out the traitor in the Russian party; nine tenths of the people wish to be under the English government. The Russians have never sent any ships here; and I am certain the Maltese would not listen to any nation, while they have a prospect of being protected by the English.—Your Lordship will hear from many quarters of the strong attachment which the Maltese evince for the English, whom they esteem from principle. I can answer that Malta would pay fourfold the expense of maintaining it, by becoming a great depôt for the British manufactures, which may be sent from thence to Tripoli, Tunis, Sicily, and the coast to the eastward. The Maltese export

a great deal of cotton to Spain. Malta would also be a great check to the Barbary states, who will now stand more in dread of us, and at the same time feel the benefit of our trade; and should even Sicily turn against us, we could get our supplies of corn elsewhere, and be such a check upon them as would be of the most essential service to the cause of his Sicilian Majesty. *March 31.* Commodore Campbell has behaved, whilst under my command, in a manner that does him great credit, and I have very great satisfaction in speaking of his officer-like conduct upon all occasions. I had also real pleasure in having it in my power to do justice to Captain Nisbet's conduct and judgment when at Girgenti. I am very glad your Lordship has awakened the Bashaw of Tripoli to a sense of his danger, should he allow the army of Buonaparte to march into his dominions that they may pass to Europe. The world is not sufficiently acquainted with your Lordship's masterly stroke of policy, in landing all the French seamen and prisoners at Alexandria. I hope they will never be permitted to return to Europe until a general peace takes place."

(1799.) Amongst the Neapolitans who had followed their Sovereign into Sicily, were two subjects of high rank, who will occupy a considerable share of attention in the events that took place on the subversion of the republic of Naples. These were the Cardinal Ruffo, Vicar General of the Neapolitan royalists; and Commodore

Francesco Caraccioli, a cadet of one of the most illustrious families in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This unfortunate nobleman had been regularly brought up to their marine, and been educated in naval tactics, even before the advancement of Sir John Acton to the head of that department at the end of 1778. Caraccioli had afterwards been one of the first pupils in their marine college which Sir John Acton established in 1779; and in that capacity had served amongst the twelve foreign officers, who during the latter part of the American war had been sent as volunteers into the British and French squadrons to obtain experience in their profession. On his return to Naples, this nobleman had gradually risen from the command of a frigate to that of the Neapolitan ships.

About the same time Cardinal Ruffo, Vicar General of the royalists, who had been mentioned by Lord Nelson, in his letter to Earl St. Vincent, as collecting an army in Calabria, had left Palermo for that purpose. With a character equally questionable both as a subject and a soldier, he followed Pignatelli in all his weak and suspicious conduct, until he perplexed and disgraced the cause he had been sent to support. On leaving Sicily he had landed on the opposite coast with his secretary, a priest named Spasiana, and other attendants, and had immediately joined some Calabrese who were assembled under Reggio Rinaldi. These royalists consisted chiefly of pea-

santry, and being soon increased by a motley crew of galley slaves, criminals from the different gaols, and Italian banditti, were divided under three chiefs, whose characters would have disgraced any cause. Their troops were however styled the Christian Army, and overcame the detachments that were sent against them.

(1799.) In consequence of Lord Nelson's energy and direction, an immediate attention was paid by the Sicilian government to the defence of the island. In addition to their militia amounting to 26,000, the King by means of four regiments of foot and one of horse, with some artillery men, endeavoured to collect an additional number of troops. Preparations were also made under the auspices of Lord Nelson, to fit out gun boats, and to mount the batteries with the 65 twenty-four pounders, that had lately arrived from Naples. Nine gun boats were to be launched during the month of February, and others early in March at Palermo; and orders were issued to build more, without delay, at Trapani and Messina.—Thus could the spirit of one man rouse the dejected and enervated Sicilians to a proper sense of resistance. And that nothing might be wanting on his part, Nelson nobly offered the King of Sicily, should other resources not arrive, *To defend Messina with the ship's company of an English man of war.* At the beginning of March, the freedom of the city of Palermo, which constituted him an Honorary Grandee of Spain, was presented to the

Admiral in a gold box, brought upon a silver salver. He also about the same time received the Emperor of Russia's picture, magnificently set with diamonds, with a complimentary note, which has been already inserted under the preceding year.<sup>i</sup>

(1799.) On the 24th of February, the Russian Admiral Fedar Ouchakof informed Lord Nelson, that the fortress of Corfu had surrendered to the combined Russian and Turkish squadrons, in consequence of the most resolute exertions; and that as soon as their ships had received provisions, which were daily expected, they should sail for Brindisi and Otranto; and coming along the coast of Calabria, to succour and encourage the inhabitants, should proceed to Messina..

On the 5th of March, Captain Troubridge, pursuant to orders from Lord Nelson, gave up the blockade of Alexandria to Sir Sidney Smith; leaving with him the Theseus, Lion, and Torride gun boat, and he was further instructed on the return of the Swiftsure and Alliance, Captain Wilmot, from Cyprus, to despatch them to join Lord Nelson. In writing to his Lordship after-

<sup>i</sup> On the 14th of February, 1799, Lord Nelson was advanced Rear Admiral of the Red. On the 20th of March ensuing, the thanks of the East India Company were voted to him for the Victory of Aboukir, and a valuable acknowledgment of the important benefits which the Company had thus derived, was recommended by the general court to the Directors; which being referred to the Board of Control, terminated in a vote of 10,000*l*.

wards, Captain Troubridge gave an account of the manner in which he had discovered and taken a person, who had been sent by Buonaparte to mislead the Turks.—‘ On the 14th of February, 1799, I detained the caravella that had at last been permitted by the French to leave Alexandria: and having received information from a spy on board her, sent for the captain and shewed him a firman from the Grand Seignior, taking care not to let him read it. I told him it was a Hattesherriff for the head of a Traitor: on this he appeared alarmed, and acknowledged he had a Mons. Beauchamp on board habited like a Turk, and a French pilot. I immediately sent and seized the Ambassador, as they called him, and his Greek servant, and by sharpening an axe and playing him off with the Hattesherriff, I so alarmed the Greek domestic, that he shewed us where they had concealed their instructions from Buonaparte, on board the caravella. It appeared to me that the Grand Seignior would do this fellow more justice than we could; I therefore sent him in the Swiftsure to Rhodes, recommending him strongly for <sup>k</sup>decapitation.’

(1799.) On the 20th of March, the Swiftsure joined the Vanguard in the bay of Palermo, and soon afterwards arrived the Culloden, Zealous, Minotaur, and Seahorse. Lord Nelson imme-

<sup>k</sup> See Quarto Edit. Vol. II. page 154.

diately proceeded to lay before their Captains the plan he had formed for the blockade of Naples and their taking possession of the islands in that bay. This plan had received the sanction of the King and his Ministers on the 18th, and had been received with much gratitude by them; who could not but contrast the generous solicitude of the English Admiral, with the cold and selfish apprehensions of the Court of Vienna. The King and Queen had, at that time, received both public and private assurance from the Emperor and Empress, that when Ferdinand should think it right to take a decided part, he should be supported. Mack himself had brought the same assurance, which Thugut alone would not openly support. Sir John Acton was therefore directed by the King to request the continuance of Lord Nelson's presence at Palermo; and Sir John also recommended, in the name of their Majesties, that the blockade of Naples should be intrusted to the command and care of the excellent Captain Troubridge, in whom they placed the highest confidence. Accordingly on the 31st of March, the Culloden, Zealous, Minotaur, Swiftsure, St. Sebastian, Seahorse, Perseus, and El Corso, proceeded to execute their Admiral's instructions. On the 2d of April, having received the Governor of Procida on board, they stood into the bay of Naples, and anchored off that island. The tree of liberty was immediately

cut down, the French flag was destroyed, and H. S. M. colours were hoisted on Procida, amidst the acclamations of a loyal populace.

A very interesting and more detailed retrospect of the proceedings of his Lordship's squadron in the bay of Naples, occurs in the letters of Captain Troubridge, whence the following extracts have been taken.—“*April 3d.* All the Ponza islands have the Neapolitan flag flying. Your Lordship never beheld such loyalty; the people are perfectly mad with joy, and are asking for their beloved Monarch. I wish we had a few thousand good English troops, I would have the King of Naples on his throne in forty-eight hours. I have a villain, by name Francesco, on board, who commanded the castle at Ischia, formerly a Neapolitan officer and of property in that island. The moment we took possession of the castle, the mob tore this vagabond's coat with the tricoloured cape and cap of liberty button to pieces, and he had then the impudence to put on His Sicilian Majesty's regimentals again; upon which I tore his epaulet off, took his cockade out, and obliged him to throw them overboard: I then honoured him with double irons. The mob entirely destroyed the tree of liberty, and tore the tricoloured flag into ten thousand pieces, so that I have not been able to procure even a small remnant to lay at the King's feet. I however send two pieces of the tree of liberty for his Majesty's fire, with the names of the people who



brought the pieces to me painted upon them. *April 9th.* Naples is in the devil of a ferment, and General M'Donald is much alarmed, as your Lordship will see by the enclosed order. I have two deserters from their gun and mortar boats; who assure me, that if the French were to force them within gun shot, the crews would rise and murder all the French on board, and bring the boats over to us. I enclose you one of Caraccioli's letters as head of the republican marine; it was intercepted at Capri. I hope he has been forced into this measure, and should be glad to find him innocent. I have another from Gaeta to Ponza, sent by that route, as he says he could not forward it by the bay of Naples. Caraccioli sent for Salvator Guidice, the head man of the fishermen at St. Lucia, and told him he must procure seamen for the gun boats. Salvator assured him he would not get one to serve: Upon this Caraccioli spoke harshly to him, and the fishermen since have declared, That if they find him to be a Jacobin, though always a favourite and beloved by them, he shall be the first to fall when they begin; for every one has his marked Jacobin to stiletto. The Judge is arranging his papers; to morrow, the 14th, he begins. I have given him good advice; he appears to me to be the poorest creature I ever saw, and to be frightened out of his senses. He declares that seventy families are concerned, and talks of its being necessary to have a bishop to degrade the priests;

before he can execute them. I told him to hang them first, and if he did not think that degradation sufficient, to send them afterwards to me. I recommended him to punish the principal Traitors, the moment he had passed sentence. I am assured by all the sailors, that Caraccioli is not a Jacobin, but has been forced to act as he does. They sign his name to printed papers, without his authority; as in my opinion they have the Archbishop's. *April 18.* The Judge made an offer two days since, if I wished it, to pass sentence; but hinted that it would not be regular on some. I declined having any thing to do with it. By his conversation I found his instructions were to go through it in a summary manner, *and under me.* I told him the latter must be a mistake, as they were not British subjects. The odium I find is intended to be thrown on us. I will outmanœuvre him there, and push him hard too. *May 1.* Caraccioli, I am now satisfied, is a Jacobin. I enclose you one of his letters. He came in the gun boats to Castellamare himself, and spirited up the Jacobins."

"*May 7.* I have just had a long conversation with the Judge. He tells me he shall finish his business next week; and that the custom with his profession is to return home the moment they have condemned. He says, he must be embarked immediately, and hinted at *a man of war.* I found also from his conversation, that the priests must be sent to Palermo to be disgraced by the

King's order, and then returned for execution to this place. *An English man of war to perform all this*: at the same time making application to me for a hangman, which I positively refused. If none could be found here, I desired he would send for one from Palermo. I see their drift; they want to make us the principals, and to throw all the odium upon us. The distress for bread in Ischia is so great, that it would move even a Frenchman to pity. Cannot a subscription be opened? I beg to put my name down for twenty ducats; I cannot afford more, or I would give it. I feed all I can from a large private stock I had, but that will not last long. No fault shall attach to us. Palermo is full of grain, as is the neighbourhood: the French, I fear, have more interest there than the King. I have put the palace in this island into a good state of defence, and got six guns up, with plenty of grape and canister. If the enemy attempt it, we shall certainly break some of their shins. To strengthen the whole I have landed fifty marines and twelve gunners, dug a ditch on the road to the gate, and levelled all the ground about, and broke part of the steps, and fixed a ladder to be drawn up at sun set. I hope your Lordship, when you come this road, will approve of our Engineering. The expense is nothing worth mentioning. The Enemy have ordered 100 gun boats to be built to drive us away; before they are finished, I hope we shall be in Naples. The

examples of villains and cowards which the Archduke has made, has driven away my melancholy fever: I send the General from Longone and Orbitello, for the King of Naples to follow such an example. As he is in the service of another Sovereign, I submit to your Lordship, if we had not better leave them to themselves. If this Colonel, who at present commands here, is president, the General will be shot: should that be his sentence, shall I confirm it? My hand would not shake at signing my name. *May 11.* It is with deep concern I inform your Lordship, that a spirit of Sedition has begun to shew itself amongst the Swiss. I have great reason to think it arose from the price of meat being much higher here than at Palermo, and the King's not allowing more pay a day . . . Your Lordship will see by the Sentence of Death which was passed, that we do not mean to suffer the smallest relaxation of Discipline; but, in consequence of their good conduct before, and nothing more than murmurs being proved, I took upon myself to remit the Sentence of Death, and send them to Palermo as subjects for the galleys. The men were all drawn up in a square formed by the troops and marines, with their eyes bound, and all the ceremony was gone through, except firing; when I directed the pardon to be read: One of them was almost gone before it was finished. I trust it will have a good effect. *May 14.* You will see, my Lord, by the enclosed translation of Prince Trabia's letter,

that his Majesty has ordered a Court Martial to try Marshal Yauch; but as there are only four Officers here of the rank qualified to sit, according to the Neapolitan laws, I think he cannot legally be tried, until his Majesty sends over three more Officers. In the mean time I have directed the General to be put under arrest, and the depositions to be taken, that the trial may be short when it begins: this mode is perfectly regular in their service. All that is to be done, when a witness is called after this, is to ask, whether the written paper read be his evidence? and a few other questions that may arise. I trust your Lordship will explain to his Majesty, that we have every inclination to comply with his orders: In this instance I think it impossible.”

(1799.) During these arduous Operations of the Squadron under Captain Troubridge, H.B.M. sloop l'Espoir had arrived on the 12th of May, at Palermo, with the important information, that the French fleet had been seen off Oporto. On the 13th of the same month, at nine o'clock in the evening, the lieutenant of the Peterell had also arrived at Palermo, by land, the sloop not having been able to get up; with the additional intelligence which had been received from Captain Styles, that thirty-five sail of the enemy had passed the Straits during the evening of the 5th, and had gone up the Mediterranean. Lord Nelson, on hearing this, immediately sent a letter to Captain Troubridge, desiring him to join with

all the ships of the line under his command, and, if possible, with a frigate.

(1799.) The objects of the Enemy, who had thus escaped the vigilance of Lord Bridport owing to a strong gale and a thick fog, were to unite with the whole Spanish naval force; to proceed to Toulon in order to embark troops there; and, with them, to act successively upon Minorca, Naples, and Sicily. The account which Lord Nelson had received from Carthagená was, that the French fleet which had entered the Mediterranean, consisted of twenty-four sail of the line, six frigates, and three sloops. His anxious situation on first hearing of the sailing of this powerful force from Brest, is described by himself in writing to Earl St. Vincent, May 13. "What a state, my dear Lord, am I in. If I go, I risk and more than risk Sicily, and what is now safe on the continent; for we know, from experience, that more depends on *opinion* than on acts themselves. As I stay, my heart is breaking, and to mend the matter I am seriously unwell."—The spirit, however, of this great Warrior always rose in proportion to the approach of the danger with which he had to contend. On hearing, afterwards, that the French fleet had actually entered the Mediterranean, he at first prepared with the *Vanguard*, the only ship then lying in the bay of Palermo, to give them a warm reception and to defend his post to the last. When he had at length collected some of his ships, he

was detained by a gale of wind; which continued blowing from the E. S. E. until the 20th, on which day he left Palermo, and sailed with the Vanguard, Culloden, Zealous, Minotaur, Haerlem, St. Sebastian, and a Portuguese corvette, the Swallow. "I have only," wrote he to Earl St. Vincent, May 23, "to remain on the northern side of Maretimo to keep covering Palermo, which shall be defended to the last. Your Lordship may depend that the squadron under my command shall never fall into the hands of the enemy; and before we are destroyed, I have little doubt but they will have their wings so completely clipped, that they may be easily overtaken."

Whilst Lord Nelson and the Officers of his squadron were anxiously awaiting the uncertain result of a contest with an enemy so greatly superior, resolving with their illustrious Chief that the glory of their perilous night at Aboukir, should not be sullied off Maretimo; Captain Hallowell had sent a present to Lord Nelson of a Coffin, every part of which had been actually made of the wood and iron from a piece of the main mast of l'Orient, that had been taken up by the Swiftsure before she left her station off Alexandria. The Coffin was accompanied with the following note: "*Swiftsure, May 23.* My Lord: Herewith I send you a Coffin made of part of l'Orient's main mast; that when you are tired of this life you may be buried in one of your own

trophies; but may that period be far distant, is the sincere wish of your obedient and much obliged servant, *Ben. Hallowell.*”—The astonishment that prevailed amongst the ship’s company, when they were actually convinced it was a Coffin which had been thus conveyed on board, will be long remembered by their Officers: *We shall have hot work of it indeed,* said one of the old Agamemnons, *you see the Admiral intends to fight till he is killed, and there he is to be buried.* Lord Nelson afterwards placed it upright with the lid on against the after division, or bulkhead of his cabin, behind the chair where he sat at dinner, and viewed it with the undaunted mind of a great warrior.—There had been, however, an extraordinary gloom and depression of mind for some time visible in his Lordship, which too much corresponded with the present he had received. Notwithstanding all his honours and all his glory, Nelson was becoming dissatisfied with himself, and the irritability and misery which this gradually occasioned, appear in many of his subsequent letters.

(1799.) In writing May 28, when off Trapano, to Earl St. Vincent, he said, “Pray God send you success against the Dons; for I hope the French are got into Toulon, and are not near enough to prevent your conquest. Your Lordship is acquainted with my intention of raising the blockade of Malta, and of uniting my whole force off Maretimo. I have not yet heard from



Captain Ball, what he has done in consequence; therefore we are completely on our guard. On your leaving me to act as I thought best, from the situation of affairs, I have determined to carry my squadron back to Palermo to complete their provisions to six months, and be in momentary readiness to proceed as you may order; leaving in the bay of Naples, Seahorse, Perseus, Bull Dog, Mutine, and San Leon to protect the islands, which would fall the moment our ships were withdrawn.

“Palermo, *May* 30. The Vanguard anchored here yesterday; but it has been so calm, that, except the Emerald, none have yet got in. After two days I hope they will all be as ready for service as our means allow of. I have our dear Troubridge for my assistant, in every thing we are brothers. Hood and Hallowell are as active and good as ever: not that I mean to say any are otherwise; but you know these are men of resources. Hardy was bred in the old school, and, I can assure you, that I never have been better satisfied with the real good discipline of a ship than the Vanguard's. *June* 6. It is not yet decided, but it is probable, that in forty-eight hours we may sail for the bay of Naples, in order to replacè H. S. Majesty on the throne.”

The health of Earl St. Vincent continuing in a very dangerous state, rendered his return indispensable. He remained, however, in consequence of the circumstances that had taken place in the

Mediterranean, until the apprehensions which had arisen from the appearance of the Enemy's squadrons had in some measure subsided. On the 31st of May, in consequence of the damages which the Spanish fleet had sustained, he had been enabled to detach Admiral Duckworth to Lord Nelson, with the Leviathan, Northumberland, Foudroyant, and Majestic. On the arrival of this reinforcement his Lordship quitted the Vanguard, and shifted his flag on board the Foudroyant. On the 7th of June he was advanced Rear Admiral of the Red. On the 21st of June, two days before Earl St. Vincent sailed from Mahon for England in the Argo, he took this farewell of Nelson. "A thousand thanks, my dear Lord, for a number of kind letters, that of the 6th inst. startles me; being very apprehensive the Court of Sicily is deceived as to the disposition of the Neapolitans, who have proved themselves unworthy of trust and confidence; and the island of Sicily will be exposed to great hazard by your removal. I can give you no positive instructions in the present uncertainty, touching the operations of the French: therefore the next best thing is to leave you to your own excellent judgment. God bless you, my dear Lord, and send us peace, that we may meet again before I depart this world; in which, I trust, there is great store of happiness for Lady Nelson and yourself. That every blessing may be long continued to you, is the devout wish of

your Lordship's truly affectionate, St. Vincent." —His Lordship had previously, on the 16th of June, given up the command to Lord Keith.

Anno  
Ærat. 41.

IX. The Transactions in the Bay of Naples during the summer of 1799, have been much discussed both at home and abroad; and, owing to the perversion of facts, not generally with that candour, or even accuracy, which the very peculiar difficulty of the service appears to have demanded. The leading actor in these extraordinary Transactions, and the cause of the principal odium that ensued, was Cardinal F. Ruffo, his Sicilian Majesty's Vicar General. Notwithstanding the Cause he had espoused, and the general loyalty of the lower classes of the people, Ruffo was never at any time seen in the front of his troops. Naturally a coward, he acted with all the selfishness and indecision of such a character. Although the orders he had received from his Royal Master peremptorily commanded him not to treat with Rebels, and more especially with Traitors of high rank whose ingratitude demanded exemplary punishment; the Cardinal gradually became inclined, like Pignatelli, to modify and alter his instructions. This particularly appeared in a letter dated April 29, which he sent from his then head quarters at Policoro to the Governor of Procida.—“I could not,” said his Excellency, “advance on the side of Salerno, because the capture of Brindisi, and, I might also say, the loss of the provinces of Lecce,

Bari, and Matera, obliged me to march towards the Adriatic, with a view of restoring those provinces to our Sovereign. Previous to my advancing towards Naples, it will, I think, be requisite for me to reconquer in great measure every part of the kingdom; which would necessarily deprive all those of their resources and provisions, who may continue in rebellion: I do not, however," added the Cardinal, "intend to make great exertions in the Upper Provinces on the side of Rome, *As, according to my ideas, we must not drive the principal Jacobins at Naples to despair, but must rather leave them the means of escape.*" The conclusion of the Cardinal's letter completely illustrates the spirit and cause of his operations when he reached Naples. It is obvious, that with an idea of recovering that Metropolis without much personal risk, or indeed odium from the Republicans of high rank and connexions, he had determined to act towards them with what Captain Troubridge denominated the true Neapolitan Shuffle: a conduct highly disgraceful to his sacred character, and involving the professional integrity of those English Naval Officers who had the misfortune to be associated with him. With these ideas in his mind, Ruffo continued to advance with his army towards Naples. Having, with the assistance of the English ships, taken possession of Caprea and Castellamare, he approached the metropolis, and took the forts on the side by Mount Vesuvius,

of which Ponte de Maddelena was the most considerable. He then endeavoured to get possession of the Castles Uovo and Nuovo, which command the anchorage in the bay of Naples, where all the principal Traitors in the whole kingdom of the Two Sicilies had retired for shelter.

The Cardinal, in all these proceedings, had been very powerfully supported by the detached Squadron which Lord Nelson had sent into the bay of Naples: At first under the command of Captain Troubridge, and afterwards of Captain Hood; and, when both those officers had left the station to reinforce their Admiral against the French fleet, the command had devolved, with a very inferior force, on Captain Edward James Foote of the Seahorse, whose professional character had been long established for ability and integrity. From the Memoir<sup>1</sup> which that Officer afterwards drew up of his subsequent conduct, for the information of Lord Nelson, and the various letters he has since been obliged to publish in consequence of a shameful attack on his professional conduct in the bay of Naples, considerable light has been thrown on this subject.

(1799.) "I shall not," says Captain Foote, "notice the various letters I received from the Cardi-

<sup>1</sup> See a pamphlet, since become scarce, published by Captain Foote in 1807, entitled, *A Vindication of his Conduct in the bay of Naples, in the summer of 1799.*

nal; they will prove, if investigated, how very little he knew about the force that was under my orders, or what was possible to be done by a few small ships of war; and that he kept advancing without any fixed plan or project, trusting entirely to the chapter of accidents. On the evening of June 13th, the Cardinal, or rather the Russians, took the fort of Villema and the bridge of Madalena. On the 14th the weather was bad, and it was not until the 15th, the day the galleys joined me, that I could venture so deep into the Bay<sup>m</sup> as the Castles of Revigliano and Castellamare, which capitulated. . . . On the 17th I informed the Cardinal, that I should immediately join the gun boats and mortar boats at Piedi Grotta, with those given up at Castellamare, with a view of attacking Castle Uovo. On the 18th I sent Captain Oswald of the Perseus with a letter to the Commandant of Castle Uovo, in the hope of its opening the way to a negociation. The very insolent verbal answer which I received was, *Nous voulons la Republique une et indivisible, nous mourons pour elle: Voila notre réponse, éloignez vous Citoyen, vite! vite!*— I made the Cardinal acquainted with this, and that it was my intention to attack the Castle by every means in my power; to which his Excellency replied, That it was no longer time to hearken to

<sup>m</sup> With the Seahorse, Perseus, Captain Oswald; Neapolitan frigate Sirena, Don Diego Naselli; the galleys Felico, Altiva, Alerta; and two gun boats.

Capitulations, and that it became necessary to think seriously of attacking Fort St. Elmo.

“ The next day, June 19th, [to my great surprise, I received a letter from the Cardinal requesting me to cease hostilities, and not to recommence them whilst the flag of truce was flying, as a Negotiation had taken place. The same night I sent an Officer to the Cardinal with the following letter.”—‘ I consider it my duty to inform your Eminency, that so long an Armistice may prove very prejudicial to the interest of his Sicilian Majesty. As my Sovereign is a principal Ally of the King of the Two Sicilies, I claim a right to be made acquainted with the subject of the present Treaty; as I am extremely anxious to learn, before night, how I am to conduct myself: since, if the Rebels are not treating for a Capitulation, I see no reason why the firing on them should not recommence at sun-set.’—The Cardinal sent word back . . . ‘ Your Excellency seems to think that the delay may be dangerous: I rather believe that in the present situation of affairs it cannot be otherwise than favourable to us. We are rather afraid, that the Treaty may be interrupted by the Castle being stormed by the people, as the Castle is all open, and the Calabrese have already penetrated it. It does not appear to me, therefore, that they can entertain any reasonable hopes of rendering

our position less favourable by delay. As, however, the Treaty is principally carried on in the name of the Russians, I send your letter to Micheroux, that he may reply, as he thinks proper, to your Excellency.—Not receiving a line from the Chevalier de Micheroux, I informed the Cardinal that I thought nothing could be more prejudicial to the interest of his Sicilian Majesty, than the having such a multiplicity of Chiefs; and that I knew of no other than his Eminency, who was specially charged with the interests of the King of Naples, and that I could act with no other person. The Cardinal told the Officer whom I sent, that he knew nothing of what was going on; that he stood in great need of the aid of the Russians, that he would not give them the least ground for complaint, and that it was the Russians who conducted the Treaty. On the 19th I received a project of a Capitulation *already signed* by the Cardinal and the Chief of the Russians, with a request that I would put my name to it. In answer I informed the Cardinal, that I had done so, because *I considered him as the confidential agent of his Sicilian Majesty*; and that some advantage would result from the Capitulation, otherwise he would not have signed it: but I could not say *I approved of such a manner of treating, and that I could not be answerable for its consequences*. At length on the 22d I received a letter from the Chevalier de Micheroux, with the Capitulation in form, al-



ready signed by the Cardinal and the Chief of the Russians. I signed this Capitulation, lest on a reverse of fortune, or the arrival of the enemy's fleet, it might have been asserted, that my refusal was the cause of such misfortunes as might occur, and *because I considered that the Cardinal was acquainted with the will and intention of his Sovereign.*"

(1799.) The utter perversion of the will of their Sovereign, which the Cardinal and the Neapolitan Officers who acted with him had thus in part accomplished, in order to save some Traitors of rank and fortune in the Castles of Uovo and Nuovo, was rendered still more infamous by their afterwards endeavouring to involve the character of Captain Foote, and eventually that of Lord Nelson and his Country, in all the odium that had resulted from these intrigues of the Cardinal. When he least expected it, to the confusion of himself and of his adherents, who had thus hoped to secure the accomplishment of their fraudulent intentions, Lord Nelson on the 24th of June, with seventeen sail of the line, with the Prince Royal on board the Foudroyant, and with 1700 troops in the squadron, entered the bay of Naples, about thirty-six hours after Captain Foote had acceded to the Capitulation. On his Lordship's arrival a flag of truce was flying on the Castles of Uoyo and Nuovo, and on board the Seahorse, Captain Foote, as there had not been sufficient time to execute the conditions

of the Capitulation. His Lordship feeling that Captain Foote had, by the treacherous misrepresentations of the Cardinal, been led to sign a Treaty of Capitulation which militated against the intentions of the King of Naples, immediately threw out the annulling signal, and, acting under the authority of the King, declared the Treaty to be invalid. *The Rebels* ° then surrendered, to use his own words, *to the mercy of their Sovereign, without any capitulation, and marched out as prisoners*; and the Castles were taken possession of, fourteen days before the King's arrival.

Lord Nelson, it appears, could not in his own opinion have acted otherwise than he did, without compromising the Honour of that Sovereign whose authority and orders his Lordship had received such implicit directions, from his government, to consider as a principal object during his services in the Mediterranean. Every thing, however, that the disappointed spirit of republicanism and French sophistry could invent, was sedulously employed to throw the whole odium of what had passed on the British Admiral. Whatever difference of opinion may remain in the minds of many persons respecting this decisive measure, it is certain that the Admiral himself was entirely satisfied with the necessity and justice of his conduct.—It is assuredly a subject of great delicacy and difficulty. It may, however,

° From one of Lord Nelson's private notes on this subject.

be observed, that Nelson possessed some old fashioned ideas, which it would be well for society if they more generally prevailed. He had an utter horror for Republicans, and more particularly for those whom the hotbed of French Corruption had raised. The principle on which he invariably acted, throughout the subsequent punishment of these Traitors, both during his continuance at Naples, and on his return to Palermo, was a determination not to interfere with the regular established course of the Neapolitan laws; and this principle of conduct was certainly worthy of Lord Nelson's public character as a British Admiral, purposely sent to support the government and laws of the Kingdom of Naples, which a variety of causes had disorganised.

(1799.) Amidst the Neapolitan Rebels who had been compelled to take shelter in these Castles of Uovo and Nuovo which command the anchorage in the Bay of Naples, the deluded Caraccioli had for a time remained. Previous to Lord Nelson's arrival in the Bay, Caraccioli had fled from these Castles to Calvirrano, whence he had implored the countenance of the Duke of Calvirrano and his application to Cardinal Ruffo for protection: this letter was dated June 23d. He confessed in it that he was bound to account for his actions to those who should be legally authorised by his Sicilian Majesty, and he trusted that the few days during which he had been

forced to obey the French Republic, would not obliterate forty years of most faithful service ;<sup>p</sup> but that it would be duly weighed and valued in the scale of justice.—This letter clearly proves, that in the *Projet* of a Capitulation which the Cardinal had so fraudulently attempted to ratify, Caraccioli could not possibly be included. He afterwards escaped to the mountains, an action which by no means displayed the confidence of an honest mind. A price was immediately set upon his head ; and on the 29th of June, before the arrival of the King from Palermo, this Nobleman was brought in the disguise of a peasant, about nine o'clock in the morning, alongside of Lord Nelson's flag ship, the *Foudroyant*. The Admiral had now a most painful and severe duty to perform. Every one who had known Caraccioli had regarded him ; but justice was to have its course, and the only man who could secure it, had been and was the affectionate friend of the unhappy prisoner. Lord Nelson, who was much agitated, felt it all most keenly ; but he also knew that he must perform his duty not only to his own Sovereign, but to that Monarch whose cause Caraccioli had neglected, and who looked alone to a British Admiral for that redress which

<sup>p</sup> One of the Caraccioli Family, when Viceroy in Sicily, had, by his intercession and remonstrance with the King, abolished the Inquisition in that Island, March 27, 1762: probably the same Nobleman who came to England, as the Neapolitan Minister, and was much respected for his abilities.

the treacherous Neapolitan had shewn no disposition to secure. As it would have been extremely dangerous to have ordered a Court Martial to assemble on board a Neapolitan ship, from the love which the Sicilian seamen bore to Caraccioli, and as the Foudroyant was considered as the seat of Government of the King of Naples, his Lordship issued an order to Commodore Count Thurn, Commander of H. S. M. frigate la Minerva, to assemble a Court Martial of Neapolitan Officers on board his Britannic Majesty's ship. During the Trial, which commenced the same morning, and lasted from ten o'clock to twelve, the Wardroom of the Foudroyant was open, as is customary, to every one who chose to enter. Every thing appeared to be fairly and honourably conducted, to such of the English Officers as understood Italian. Caraccioli was repeatedly asked questions best calculated to enable him to clear those aspersions that had been attached to his character; and these he answered by endeavouring to prove, that he had been forced into the Republican service, had been compelled to perform the duty of a common soldier for a considerable time, when he was offered the command of the Republican Neapolitan Navy, which necessity alone had at length compelled him to accept. This necessity the prisoner repeatedly attempted to substantiate; but it certainly was not proved to the satisfaction of the Court, nor of our own Officers who

were present. On the contrary, it clearly was demonstrated that the prisoner had enjoyed opportunities of escaping; and on being frequently asked, why he had not embraced those opportunities? no satisfactory reply was made. The Court afterwards particularly directed its attention to the two following points. First, the prisoner's having been actively present on board the Republican vessel that had attacked H. S. M. frigate la Minerva, the gun boats and the English ships on that service, in which some of his Britannic Majesty's subjects had been killed, and others wounded. Secondly, his not endeavouring to escape previous to that attack, when it evidently appeared he had possessed opportunities to do so. Caraccioli in vain attempted to prove his innocence; his answers were vague and supported by no evidence whatever, the last efforts of a man striving to save his life. The Court was then cleared, and sentence of death passed on the prisoner. At five o'clock he was removed from the Foudroyant and hanged at the fore yard arm of the Neapolitan frigate la Minerva. His body was afterwards carried out to a considerable distance and sunk in the bay of Naples.

(1799.) On the day previous to the trial and execution of Caraccioli, Captain Foote had sailed in the Seahorse, by Lord Nelson's order, for the purpose of conveying the King and his family to Naples. Sir John Acton there informed Cap-

tain Foote of the intention of their Sicilian Majesties to proceed to Naples in their own frigate the *Sirena*, lest they might hurt the feelings of their naval officers, who had remained faithful; but that their Majesties wished him to convoy them and the transports with troops on board, and also to embark their treasure and staff in the *Seahorse*. On his return to Naples, July 8, his Sicilian Majesty again held his Court and resided on board Lord Nelson's ship, under the secure protection of the British flag; where he enjoyed the constant loyalty, more particularly of the lower classes, of his subjects, and renewed that courtesy and condescension to all ranks which had retained so powerful an ascendancy over the artifices and calumnies of the French.

During these great and leading events in the life of Nelson, the Defence of Acre had been conducted with that skill which reflected so much credit on the various persons who were concerned. Ghezzar Pasha was enabled to oppose an effectual resistance to Buonaparte by the active co-operation of Sir Sidney Smith, and the talents of his eminent associate Phellipeaux, a most skilful French engineer. Colonel Phellipeaux had studied at the Military College with Buonaparte; in all their public examinations had invariably borne off the palm, and been acknowledged his superior. At Acre their respective talents were again tried, and the same superiority dis-

played by this distinguished royalist; who having entirely baffled the force of Buonaparte, and arrested his career, died soon afterwards of a decline, from the fatigue he had experienced. Sir Sidney Smith had also to lament the death of another officer of well known and tried abilities, Captain R. W. Miller of the *Theseus*, who had been appointed to serve under Sir Sidney at his particular request.

(1799.) *Lord Nelson to Lady Nelson, dated Naples, July 14.*—“ My dear Fanny: I have to thank you sincerely for your letters. I rejoice that you gave Mr. Bolton the money, and I wish it made up 500*l.* I never regarded money, nor wanted it for my own use; therefore as the East India Company have made me so magnificent a present, I beg that 2000*l.* of it may be disposed of in the following manner. Five hundred pounds to my Father. Five hundred to be made up to Mr. Bolton, and let it be *a God send* without any restriction. Five hundred to Maurice, and five hundred to William. And if you think my sister Matcham would be gratified by it, do the same for her. If I were rich I would do more; but it will very soon be known how poor I am, except my yearly income. I am not surprised at my Brother's death:<sup>9</sup> three are now

<sup>9</sup> This Brother was the Rev. Suckling Nelson, in whose behalf the Admiral had written to the Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, October 12, 1797, requesting his Lordship to allow the Rev.



dead younger than myself, having grown to man's age. My situation here is not to be described; but suffice it to say, I am endeavouring to work for good. To my father say every thing which is kind: I love, honour and respect him as a father and as a man, and as the very best man I ever saw. May God Almighty bless you, my dear Father and all my Brothers and Sisters, is the fervent prayer of your affectionate Nelson."

(1799.) X. The attention of Lord Nelson during the month of July, was principally directed, together with the reestablishment of the royal authority in Naples, to the siege of St. Elmo, the subduing of Capua and Gaïeta, and to guard against those constant apprehensions which were entertained for the safety of the valuable island of Minorca. On the 9th of July, the Spanish fleet consisting of nineteen sail of the line, four frigates, two brigs, and a cutter, had passed through the Straits very early; and were

Edmund Nelson to resign his living of Bûrnham, with its appendages, to this his youngest son. This request was most graciously acceded to, with an offer from the Chancellor of rendering any further services to the Nelson Family. In consequence of which, Sir Horatio had asked for a Stall in the Cathedral of Norwich, for his brother William. On the death of the Rev. Suckling Nelson, to the honour of Lord Loughborough, he allowed the living of Bûrnham again to revert to the Rev. Edmund Nelson, as appears by a letter from him to Mr. Halket, Secretary to the Chancellor, dated April 25; 1799.

followed, in the evening, by the French fleet, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line, nine frigates, two brigs, two cutters, two luggers, and one schooner; in all sixty-five sail. Lord Keith immediately sent the following instructions, *July 9*, to Lord Nelson, and then sailed from Mahon, in pursuit of the enemy. "Dear Nelson: I came in here yesterday to get some water, and had not anchored an hour when I heard the Combined Fleets had left Carthagena, and had steered to the westward. If this Island is left without ships it must fall. You must therefore either come on, or send Duckworth to govern himself as circumstances offer, until I can determine to a certainty the intentions of the enemy."—And in a letter dated off Palma, *July 14*, he finished by saying, "I trust the defence of Minorca to your Lordship, and repeat my directions, that the ships be sent for its protection."—Lord Nelson had, on the contrary, determined not to leave the Bay of Naples exposed, and at first appears to have been extremely irritated and vexed: In acknowledging the receipt of Lord Keith's orders, *July 13*, he said, "As soon as the safety of his Sicilian Majesty's kingdoms is secured, I shall not lose one moment in making the detachment you are pleased to order." The day after the date of this letter, Lord Keith issued a fresh Order to the following purport, addressed to the Admiral: "Your Lordship is hereby required and directed to

repair to Minorca, with the whole or the greatest part of the force under your Lordship's command, for the protection of that Island, as I shall in all probability have left the Mediterranean before your Lordship will receive this. *Given on board the Queen Charlotte, off Formenterra, July 14.*"—This order was not altogether adapted to abate the increased agitation of Nelson's mind. He still persisted in remaining on his station; but on the 22d of July, detached Admiral Duckworth to Minorca, with the *Powerful*, *Majestic*, *Vanguard*, and *Swallow* Corvette, directing him, at his arrival, to take such of his Majesty's ships under his command as he might find at Port Mahon. The following letter to Earl St. Vincent, dated Foudroyant at sea, June 16, describes the Admiral's private feelings on this trying occasion: "I send your Lordship a copy of my letter to Lord Keith, and I have only to add my regret that his Lordship could not have sent me a proper force to face the enemy: but, as we are, I shall not get out of their way; although, *as I am*, I cannot think myself justified in exposing the World, I may almost say, to be plundered by those miscreants. I trust your Lordship will not think me wrong in the painful determination I conceived myself forced to make; for agonised indeed was the mind of your faithful and affectionate servant, Nelson."

The conduct of Captain Troubridge throughout the Sieges of St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaïeta,

afforded continued examples of the vigilance, enterprise, and inexhaustible resources of that great Officer. He had landed, agreeably to Lord Nelson's order, with the English and Portuguese marines of the fleet on the 27th of June; and after embarking the garrisons of the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, composed of French and rebels, had left a garrison in each under Captain Hood; and on the 29th of the same month, had taken post against Fort St. Elmo, which he summoned to surrender. This fort, garrisoned with 800 troops, was commanded by a French Republican, Mejan, the Commandant of the French Neapolitan army, whose rude manners and insolent behaviour were peculiarly obnoxious to the King. Captain Troubridge having resorted to Antignano, near St. Elmo, in eight days brought this proud Republican to his senses, and to a consciousness of his inferiority: notwithstanding bad powder and damp cartridges, Captain Troubridge opened a battery on him of three thirty-six pounders and four mortars on the 3d of July, within seven hundred yards of Fort St. Elmo. On the 5th he opened another of two thirty-six pounders, two hundred yards from the fort. The Russians under Captain Baillie also opened a battery of four thirty-six pounders and four mortars against the opposite angle, in order to assist in storming it in different places, as soon as two practicable breaches were made. Captain Troubridge, at the same time, was making every

preparation for opening a fourth battery, and afterwards a fifth within one hundred and eighty yards of the wall of the garrison. When writing to Lord Nelson, "I am really sorry," said he, "to see your Lordship so low spirited, all will go well; but the devilish Fort is so high and commanding, that our batteries are obliged to be mountains. When we get their works beat off, I hope we shall soon be able to mine the fort. *July 12.* The new battery brought the Vagabonds to their senses, after much trouble and palaver. I send your Lordship the Capitulation regularly signed; and the moment I have got the fort arranged, I shall pay you my respects and bring the colours and keys."—Thus did the French garrison of St. Elmo surrender themselves prisoners of war to his Neapolitan Majesty and his Allies, and marched out of the fort with their arms and with drums beating.

(1799.) The Sieges of Capua and Gaeta next ensued, and were crowned with equal success. The Swiss troops on this service were under Col. Tschudy, the cavalry left Naples under General Acton, and the different corps of infantry under General Bouchard and Colonel Gams. On the 19th of July, this whole force with the British and Portuguese began their march, and were followed by the Russians. During the night and the next day, all the troops arrived at Caserta,

and were employed in reconnoitring the ground and erecting batteries; their head quarters were at St. Angelo. On the 25th the trenches were opened, with one battery within 500 yards of the glacis. In a letter from the camp at St. Angelo, to Lord Nelson, Troubridge said, "Our Battery was finished by four o'clock yesterday afternoon, but I did not think it advisable to open until this morning, at half past three o'clock. After three rounds from the guns and mortars, I sent Hallowell to propose the Terms your Lordship directed. They answered they could not surrender, and hardly believed that St. Elmo was taken. Our batteries are again opening; but the powder is so bad that the shells hardly breach; many fall short though not above 300 toises, I really suspect some treachery. *July 26, eight A. M.* As there is no dependance to be placed on the metal of the Neapolitan mortars, I submit to your Lordship if we had not better get our ten inch sea mortars fitted in land beds, Bunce my carpenter would soon do it. Pray lend us all the spades and iron shovels from the ships, the tools these country people have, work too slow for us. *Nine P. M.* We gain ground daily. If we can complete the trench to night for two batteries of four guns each, I think, with the mortars, to bring the governor to his senses. *July 27, two P. M.* The French sent out this morning, in their usual way, demanding protection for the *Patriots*; I answered inadmissible,

and offered the terms of St. Elmo, and to include Gaieta in the capitulation. They desire until to morrow morning, to hold a council. *July 28.* I have the honour to enclose your Lordship a copy of the Capitulation, signed by all but the Turk; I shall get his signature to another in the course of the day. I had gone too far before your letter reached me, at midnight, to insist on Gaieta. The Governor offers, if his Majesty will let that garrison take their arms, he will give orders for its immediate evacuation."

(1799.) On the return of Captain Troubridge to Naples, Captain Louis of the *Minotaur* had informed the Commandant of Gaieta, Berger, that his Sicilian Majesty would allow the French in that fortress, as they had not been regularly besieged, though they had endured a long blockade, to march out with military honours; and his Majesty also promised, through Captain Louis, that the garrison should be sent to France without being considered as prisoners of war. On the morning of the 2d of August, Captain Louis waited on the Commandant by appointment, when articles for the surrender of Gaieta were signed. In Gaieta were taken 58 battering brass guns, 26 of which were twenty-four pounders, 12 battering iron guns, two field brass guns four pounders, four twelve inch brass mortars, 14 nine inch and one six inch mortar for ramparts. On the first of August, the Admiral sent an official notice to Lord Keith, of the complete

success which had been thus uniformly obtained against the French troops in the kingdom of Naples; and accompanied it with commendation of the Officers who had so much distinguished themselves.

XI. From the beginning of the Summer of 1799, to his return to England in the ensuing year, Lord Nelson kept up an extensive correspondence with some of the principal inhabitants in the Two Sicilies, and with many public characters in the Italian States. The Italian Correspondence with persons who resided at a distance from Naples, discloses facts which, although not immediately connected with the biography of Lord Nelson, might by other writers be considered as so many sources of information towards the eventful history of the times. There are, however, two circumstances so curious and interesting, as to deserve notice in this place. The first is a letter from the Count Chilembert, his Sardinian Majesty's Prime Minister, dated Cagliari, Aug 6. A short time after the date of which, the King wrote to the British Admiral, dated Cagliari, Aug. 11.—“ Dear Admiral Nelson: I have felt great pleasure from your letter of the first of this month, and I acknowledge myself much obliged to you for your polite attention in offering me a sufficient number of ships for the conveyance of the Royal Family to my continental dominions. I shall send one of my Ministers to consult with you, and I shall



be ready to embark as soon as the ships arrive. With an assurance of my esteem and gratitude, I am your true friend. CHARLES EMMANUEL.”

(1799.) There is also another interesting particular in the Italian Correspondence with Lord Nelson, which marked the high estimation in which his character was held even by the Church of Rome.\* This is contained in a letter that was addressed to his Lordship from Venice, August 20, by the Cardinal Albani, Dean of the Sacred College, and a near relation to the Emperor of Austria, a few days previous to the death of the unfortunate Pope Pius VI.

Thus did Lord Nelson from all quarters † receive the grateful acknowledgment of his superior talents, and that *Praise which is worth ambition*. His glory had now, indeed, attained that giddy height which required the exercise of the greatest powers of the human mind. It demanded that conquest of himself, that subjugation of every passion, by which the wiles of flattery and the craftiness of this world can be alone repelled. Yet one step alone was neces-

\* The attention of Lord Nelson to some of the Cardinals and persecuted members of the Church of Rome at the close of the year 1798, was mentioned with lively gratitude by the Archêveque di Nisibi, the Pope's Nuncio, to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales; during his Excellency's short continuance in England in 1808, when waiting for a ship to convey him to the Portuguese Court at the Brazils.

† Vide 4to Edit. p. 206, 207.

sary for this great man to take, in order to perform this; but that step was an imperious one—an immediate return to his own Country. His venerable Father in writing some time previous to this, had said, “Though your Reputation, my dear good Horatio, stands high, very high, yet we all know that the most beautiful Building may receive an injury by some accidental event, or by a secret enemy, before it is completely finished. I do most heartily wish your Work had received its final polish from those, in whose hands are solid, golden, and lasting ornaments. Looking forward to our happy interview, I now once more say, Adieu.”—The continual request of the Royal Family not to leave them, and the irresistible force of that attention which was exerted to detain him, rendered his situation particularly painful and dangerous.—“I observe,” said the Minister, Sir John Acton, to Lord Nelson after their return to Palermo, “your kind regard to their Sicilian Majesties, and your intention not to leave them until they are safe at Naples; this is like you, and certainly nothing can be done for the safety of the Royal Family until then. I learn from your letters what some persons have advanced in regard to this kind assistance. Merit and applause have always raised the insinuations of envy and jealousy.”—The Sicilian Minister reasoned right, but on a wrong foundation: These remonstrances had proceeded not from envy, but from the sincerest

friends whom his Lordship possessed. In a fatal hour he neglected these remonstrances, and returned to Palermo. On leaving Naples, his Lordship, as being at that time the senior officer in the Mediterranean, had ordered Captain Troubridge to hoist a broad pendant, as Commodore of the British squadron in the bay of Naples and on the coast of Italy, an account of which was transmitted to Lord Keith and Lord Spencer. Whilst on this service, Captain Troubridge was obliged to keep up a constant correspondence with Cardinal Ruffo, and the Neapolitan Junto of State; and he had the utmost difficulty to avoid being implicated by the Cardinal in the trial and execution of the rebels then going on under the especial jurisdiction of the Junto; with which neither Lord Nelson, nor his Officers had the least concern.

(1799.) The letter sent from the Board of Admiralty, dated August 20, conveyed its opinion of the late Transactions in which Lord Nelson had been concerned. Their Lordships' approbation was given respecting his having proceeded to the bay of Naples, for the purpose of endeavouring to bring the affairs of his Sicilian Majesty to a happy conclusion, and on his landing a large body of men for the Siege of St. Elmo; but a reprehension was subjoined in regard to his refusal to obey Lord Keith's orders, by not going to the support of Minorca; as also for his landing 1000 of the best men from his squadron,

under Captains Troubridge and Hallowell, to serve on shore with the Army at the siege of Capua. However unpleasant this might prove to the feelings of Lord Nelson, it shewed that the Discipline of the British Navy was perfect at its fountain head; and that the Board would reprehend, if deemed necessary by Government, one of the first and most popular Admirals in the British service.

The liberality of the King of the Two Sicilies to the English officers on his return to Palermo, did honour to the son of Charles the Third. On his first arrival from Naples at the close of the preceding year, his Majesty had been pleased to order a Royal Largess to be distributed to the officers and ship's company of the Vanguard, and to the respective crews of the barges who had assisted in securing the safe retreat of the Royal Family. To Captain Hope who had conveyed the King and Prince Royal on board, a diamond ring of great value was presented, and a similar one was given to Lord Nelson's secretary, Mr. Tyson. The second day after the King's return, Lady Hamilton, by desire of the Queen of Naples, informed Lord Nelson that it was the King's immediate intention to grant him the Dukedom and valuable feud of Bronte, which was officially signified<sup>a</sup> to him on the 13th of August; and on

<sup>a</sup> His Majesty is said to have previously announced his intention of conferring this Dukedom on Lord Nelson, whilst on board

the same day his Majesty sent a letter to him, full of the most grateful expressions, on presenting the Sword, valued at 4000 guineas, which the King had received from his Father on leaving Naples for Spain.

(1799.) On the 16th of August Lord Nelson detached the *Foudroyant*, as he had promised, to Cagliari for the assistance of his Sardinian Majesty, and for the time was obliged to hoist his flag on board the *Samuel* and *Jane* transport then lying off Palermo. He also directed that the *Mutine* brig should leave Naples on the same service, on which the Portuguese corvette the *Swallow* was likewise employed. In writing on the same day to the Sardinian Minister, Count Chialambert, his Lordship said, "I send the *Foudroyant*, as she is my own flag ship and the first two-decked ship afloat. I would send\* more but the service of the civilised world requires every exertion; therefore I have not the power to send another ship of war." And to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, his Lordship added,

his flag ship, and that the Admiral had begged leave to decline so noble a remuneration: Upon which the King replied, *Lord Nelson, do you wish that your name alone should pass with glory to posterity, and that I, Ferdinando Bourbon, should appear ungrateful?*

\* The *Bellerophon*, Captain Darby, arrived in the bay of Cagliari, August 11, as Convoy to the transports sent to receive bullocks from Sardinia for Mahon; and sailed the moment they were ready. Admiral Duckworth also on the 11th of August had detached Captain R. Campbell in the *Santa Teresa* to the Sardinian port of Toro, for the service of his Sardinian Majesty.

“ Thus our King, Sir, will have the comfort that his ships afford an asylum and protection to other Monarchs besides the King of Naples; and will have the satisfaction of knowing, that his Sardinian Majesty is likewise returned under the sanction of the British flag.”

On the 20th of August Lord Nelson directed Admiral Duckworth, by an order dated on board the *Samuel* and *Jane* transport at Palermo, to proceed himself, or to detach two ships of the line, of which the *Zealous* was to be one, to assist General O'Hara and the garrison at Gibraltar, by keeping the Barbary ports, and the Straits, open. On being joined by a reinforcement of three ships of the line, with frigates and sloops, Admiral Duckworth was ordered to proceed off Cadiz; and on the same day he received from Lord Nelson the following private letter: “ No one, be assured, estimates your worth both as an Officer and a man more than we have of this house; you must consider a line from me as a side of paper from any one else. Lord Keith is gone and all my superior Officers; therefore I must now watch from Cape St. Vincent to Constantinople.” In a subsequent letter his Lordship added, “ I am venturing certainly out of my line of duty, but as the Commander in Chief may not even be on the station, I must do the

✓ Lord Nelson considered himself as holding the situation of Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, from August 17 to November 30, 1799.

best which my judgment points out during his temporary absence. If Sir James would have allowed the troops from Lisbon to have proceeded to Malta, I would have forfeited my life if in three days it had not surrendered."

(1799.) During the short interval that Lord Nelson held this temporary rank of Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, his letters and orders have an additional interest. On the 12th of Sept. he sent the following additional Instructions to Admiral Duckworth. "My dear Admiral: I approve very much of your first plan of visiting Gibraltar, after looking into Carthage; but I wish you had fixed to send some of the best ships immediately back to Minorca, and as Goliath and Swiftsure go from hence direct to Gibraltar, you will send two ships of the line, and, if they are to be found, some small ships; for at present I know not the names of the frigates left by Lord Keith, nor how they are disposed of. If I am left in this command even for a few months, I shall send those French frigates which cannot be manned to England, and for that purpose fifty good men shall be left by those ships going home. My mind is fixed that I will not keep one ship in the Mediterranean which is not fit for *any* service. During the winter, those half fitted drain us of all the stores and render us all useless. You have acted on this principle in sending the Aurora and Dolphin, and it is my *particular* desire that you continue it. I am aware of the

argument which may be used against my plan, viz. Our Seamen get no good by going to England, to which I perfectly agree; but the ships left here with me are beyond all common refit, nor can they be furnished with stores, not having any foundation to be kept up; and what would be an ample supply to keep up a Squadron, is really nothing in our situation. Be the event what it may, Lord Keith will probably by this time have returned to Gibraltar; but I hope he will make allowances that I am acting in the same way as if I knew nothing of his being there."

(1799.) The great services of Captain Ball during the tedious Siege of Malta, were this year very honourably noticed by his Sicilian Majesty. During the month of September, Sir John Acton sent him word, That the King having been duly informed of the valour, uncommon vigilance, and praiseworthy conduct which Captain Ball had shewn during the blockade, in compliance with the wishes of the Maltese and with the consent of the most excellent and worthy Admiral the Lord Duke of Bronte, his Majesty had confided to Captain Ball the government of that Island.— Captain Ball's letters to Lord Nelson from the close of August to the end of October,<sup>2</sup> point out some of the causes which had prolonged the Siege. The Admiral in writing afterwards to Mr. Nepean, on the sub-

<sup>2</sup> Quarto Edit. p. 222.



ject, said, "It has been no fault of the Navy that Malta has not been attacked by land; but we have neither the means ourselves, nor influence with those who have the power."

(1799.) The Operations against the Roman Port, Civita Vecchia, by Captains Hallowell, Louis, and the other naval officers who had been detached on that service by Sir T. Troubridge, had been crowned with success on the 26th of September; and the articles of Capitulation which were signed on that and the following day, had been received by Lord Nelson, as he mentioned in a letter to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, on the 1st of October. His Lordship, so far back as the end of August, had endeavoured to expedite this event by requesting the cooperation of some British troops from Sir James Erskine; but the application having been refused, Lord Nelson and Commodore Troubridge continued to pursue that object with a small detachment from the Mediterranean fleet. The following extracts from some letters of the latter Officer, whilst in the Bay of Naples and off Civita Vecchia, not only relate many events relative to proceedings on that service connected with the preceding operations, at Naples; but also briefly retrace the manner in which he at length succeeded, and, as the Friar\* had declared, took Rome by the ships that belonged

\* Lord Nelson afterwards requested the King of Sicily to give this Friar preferment in the Church, which was granted.

to the squadron under the command of Lord Nelson.

(1799.) *Naples, Sept. 5.* “My Lord: I should still like to send Louis in the *Minotaur* to try them at *Civita Vecchia*, I think they would give in. As your Lordship directs me in your letter not to quit the Bay until a respectable Russian squadron arrives, I wait with impatience your further orders. *Sept. 7.* I continue my Marines on shore, at the particular request of the Cardinal, who complains loudly of the enormous expense of the Russians. I am anxious to hear by the *Perseus*, whether your Lordship thinks the three Russian frigates a sufficient force to leave at *Naples*; not a moment shall be lost, if you say Yes. I can embark my Marines whilst I am unmooring. *Sept. 10.* Your Lordship’s two letters are just arrived. I shall not lose a moment in sending Captain Louis with the Proposals to *Civita Vecchia*, and he will have *Mutine*, *Transfer*, and *Perseus*, when he arrives there.”

*Proposals sent from Commodore Troubridge by Captain Louis to the Commandant of the Republican Troops at Civita Vecchia.*

“Sir: I have sent Captain Louis, Commander of the *Minotaur*, one of H. B. M. ships under my command, to offer your garrison and Corneta the same terms as at *Gaieta*; assuring you, that the allied forces of Russians, &c. are advancing into the Roman State; and I think it necessary to apprise you, that all prisoners of war taken by

the Russians, (which will certainly be your fate, if you refuse the liberal offer I now make you) are invariably sent to Siberia, nor will the English ever interfere hereafter. If you agree to these terms, I have authorised the commanding officer of H. B. M. ships forming the blockade of the Roman Coast, to transport your garrison with that of Corneta, to Corsica or France as may be most convenient."

(1799.) *Commodore Troubridge, in continuation, to Admiral Lord Nelson, Sept. 12.* The news of Rome is very unfavourable. Bouchard has with him about 2000 Neapolitan regulars and 7000 vagabonds. The Romans, it is said, have all armed to resist him, declaring that the Neapolitans are such thieves, no reliance can be placed on their word; the Romans are determined, therefore, not to be under their yoke: I wish, my Lord, there was not so much truth in what they assert. *Sept. 17.* I have great hope Louis will succeed at Civita Vecchia; yesterday, as I reckon, he would have sent my letter in. I had occasion to go to the Cardinal this morning, and from him I learned the Russians did not intend to sail until the 18th, or the 20th. I shall look out sharp for them, and be off to Civita Vecchia and join Louis, if I do not receive contradictory orders from your Lordship. *Off Civita Vecchia, Sept. 22.* I sailed from Naples the 18th, and got here on the 20th at night. The next morning I was joined by Captain Louis, with Mino-

taur, Perseus, Mutine, and Transfer. I found Captain Louis had sent in my letter and been informed by the Commandant Hennique, that on account of its importance it had been forwarded to the French commanding officer, Gen. Garnier, at Rome. It appeared to me that the General wished to get off from the Roman State; and Civita Vecchia having no powers to treat separately, I took upon myself, without a moment's loss of time, to offer the Gaieta terms for all the Roman State, except Ancona, that I might if possible put his Sicilian Majesty in possession; giving the General twenty hours from its reaching Civita Vecchia. If it meets your Lordship's approbation, I shall be well satisfied in having cleared the country of villanous Frenchmen, who have plundered and been such a dreadful scourge on the Roman State. *Sept.* 23. The Council the French General talks of is, the damned Ambassador and Commissaire, who assume a power over Garnier. The stuff the French proposed made me sick, the Ambassador was the cause of it, the thief is afraid to go to France; he would sooner stay where he is not wanted. He called the Roman Territory the property of the French Republic by right of conquest; I settled that by saying, *It's mine by reconquest*, and he was silenced. *Sept* 27. I have sent Louis<sup>b</sup> up to Bouchard to secure the tran-

<sup>b</sup> Captain Louis was the first British seaman who rowed up

quillity of Rome. The public property is immense<sup>c</sup> by the French accounts. The Austrians offered any terms, but I outmanœuvred them, and brought General Garnier on board the *Cul-loden* and settled all as your Lordship will see. I pray suspend your opinion, if you think I have acted wrong, until I have the honour of seeing you. I am sure I can then give such *substantial reasons* for all I have done, as wholly to clear every thing. I have received the greatest assistance from Captain Louis and Lieutenant Schomberg. I really am unable to write more—quite asleep. I never exerted myself more for my own Sovereign, than I have for the King of Naples in this instance. *Sept. 29.* I have been up all night and part of the day with the aid de camp of the Austrian General Frölick, who had a few men at Toscanella, &c. twenty-four miles distant from Civita Vecchia, and forty from Rome, not in sufficient force to advance. Not having acted with him, I did not feel he had any right to sign the capitulation. At this minute General Frö-

the Tiber in his barge, hoisted English colours on the Capitol, and governed Rome.

<sup>c</sup> In a letter dated Oct. 30, Commodore Troubridge informed Lord Nelson, that the Riga spars alone at Civita Vecchia at a low valuation were worth 1500*l.* the ordnance immense, and provisions to at least 40,000 dollars. A large quantity of artillery belonging to the King of Naples was also found: with his valuable geographical and marine plates, those of Herculaneum and a variety of other articles of great value.

lick is not nearer than twenty miles to Rome. *September 30* I have really and truly a severe task I suspect I shall have to fight General Frölick; he has attacked the French in their evacuation of the forts. A letter is this moment arrived from Louis. Rome was taken possession of at two o'clock this morning. Pray recommend General Bouchard in the strongest manner to his Sovereign, for his ready cooperation and great exertion: my pen at present cannot do him justice, I am completely jaded. The gangway ladder of the Foudroyant when at Naples, and the noise when the King came to the gangway, are not equal to the buz at my elbow." Lord Nelson, with his usual liberality of mind towards his brother officers, would not himself transmit an official account of the surrender of Civita Vecchia, but ordered Troubridge to tell his own story in his own way. "I have desired Commodore Troubridge," said the Admiral, in writing to the Secretary of the Admiralty from Palermo, October 1, "to send for the information of their Lordships extracts of all his letters to me, with the terms entered into with the French for the evacuation of the city of Rome, and Civita Vecchia; on which event I sincerely congratulate their Lordships."

XII. (1799.) In consequence of Sir Edward Berry's having joined the Foudroyant in the Bull Dog, Capt. Hardy was superseded and appointed by Lord Nelson to the Princess Charlotte, until

the arrival of Captain Stephenson ; and, on Captain Hardy's going afterwards to England,<sup>d</sup> his Lordship wrote, as follows, to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, dated Nov. 9. " Sir : I beg leave to present to your Royal Highness, Captain Hardy, late of the Foudroyant, an Officer of the most distinguished merit, and therefore highly worthy of your notice. He will tell you of my arduous work in this country, and that all my anxiety is at present occasioned by the desire of possessing Malta. But I fear, notwithstanding my exertions, that I shall not get any British troops from Minorca. I am impatiently waiting the arrival of General Fox, and hope he will not consider the order for the removal of one or two regiments, of such great consequence as the reduction of Malta by keeping them for two months longer in the Mediterranean. On the one hand they must, in England, or on the Continent, be like a drop of water in the ocean. By staying here and being employed, they would liberate us from our enemy close to our door, gratify the Emperor of Russia, protect our Levant Trade, and relieve a squadron of our ships from this service ; besides giving us one 80 gun ship, two 40 gun frigates, a Maltese new ship of the line ready for sea, and two frigates. With these in the scale, I cannot comprehend how a

<sup>d</sup> Towards the end of October 1799, the *Zealous*, *Majestic*, *Goliath*, and *Seahorse*, returned home.

moment can be lost in deciding; but, Sir, I find few think as I do. To obey orders is all perfection: to serve my King and to destroy the French, I consider as the great order of all, from which little ones spring, and if one of these militate against it (for who can tell exactly at a distance) I go back and obey the great order and object, to down, down with the damned French villains. Excuse my warmth; but my blood boils at the name of a Frenchman. I hate them all, Royalists and Republicans."

Captain Blackwood of the *Penelope*, when informing the Admiral, Nov. 17, of six vessels which the boats of the *Penelope* and *El Vincejo* had cut out from under the batteries of Monaco, sent also the important information which had been gained from one of the Masters of those vessels, That Buonaparte had arrived in the Gulph of Frejus and immediately proceeded to Paris. Some account of the manner in which he had effected his escape was given by Sir Sidney Smith, in a letter to Lord Nelson: "The fugitive narrowly escaped the *Theseus* and Turkish squadron, that were stationed to the westward of Alexandria, on the probability of his departure, to intercept him and prevent supplies from France reaching Egypt. Unfortunately for the first object, the *Theseus* had been delayed a few days, whilst seeking provisions, owing to the perverseness of the Turkish Governor at Baffo in withholding the promised supply."



Amidst the various splendid marks of public respect which Lord Nelson at this time received, he was particularly gratified by a simple but classic testimony from the Grecian community of the little Island of Zante. It consisted in a golden headed Sword and a Truncheon or staff of dignity, set round with a single row of diamonds, which were all that could be procured in that Island. Lord Nelson, in writing to Mr. Spiridion Foresti, the English Consul at Corfu, expressed his sense of this high and flattering honour; which he estimated as being equal or superior, as an acknowledgment of his services, to what had been rendered by any country to any officer: "I beg," added his Lordship, "you will always say every thing for me to these good people: If possible, I will one day pay them a visit.—The serious attack of Malta will commence in a few days, our troops are collecting for that purpose." The troops herein mentioned by his Lordship as being intended for Malta, were collecting at Messina under Brigadier General Graham, who had at length obtained a degree of restricted leave from General Fox to go on that service; so much restricted, especially respecting expense, that his general instructions hardly seemed to admit of offensive operations. Sir T. Troubridge had also arrived at Messina, on the 26th of November, to give his powerful assistance; when finding that the intended reinforcement was delayed for want of money, he

immediately offered a considerable sum of his own to assist the General. "I promised him, my Lord," said the Commodore, "15000 of my cobs; every farthing and every atom of me shall be devoted to the Cause. General Graham seems the man for service, things will go well, I shall now sleep easy. The General appeared to think he should want wine, I promised him he should not; and as the army is not supplied with their dry and salt provisions from the victualling board, we can give them ours."—Whatever other difficulties occurred were immediately provided against by this zealous naval officer with equal spirit. They arrived off Malta on the 9th of December, when General Graham found that Colonel Lindenthal, a German officer in our service, but bred in the Austrian *etat major*, had been sent by General Fox to make a report; which proved highly honourable to the abilities and skill of Governor Ball.

The state of Lord Nelson's health at this time certainly required rest, but the rest which he most wanted could not be found at Palermo; every thing there conspired to poison his mind and so prevent its repose. In a letter which he received from Admiral Goodall in England, towards the close of 1799, was the following passage: "They say here, my good Lord, that you are Rinaldo, in the arms of Armida, and that it requires the firmness of an Ubaldo and his brother knight to draw you from the Enchantress."

Nor was the warm and open heart of Troubridge inattentive to the situation of his friend : “ Pardon me, my Lord, it is my sincere esteem for you that makes me mention it. I know you can have no pleasure sitting up all night at cards ; why then sacrifice your health, comfort, purse, ease, every thing, to the customs of a Country, where your stay cannot be long ? . . . Your Lordship is a stranger to half that happens, or the talk it occasions ; if you knew what your friends feel for you, I am sure you would cut all the nocturnal parties ; the gambling of the people at Palermo is publickly talked of every where. I beseech your Lordship leave off. I really feel for the Country. How can things go on ? . . . I see that the poor inhabitants of Malta are to be sacrificed : If the supplies are stopped, I cannot leave my soldiers to be starved, though I shall have the painful task of abandoning the inhabitants to their fate. I beseech your Lordship press for a yes, or no. If they say we shall not or cannot be supplied, I see nothing for it, but to retreat as fast as possible.” Lord Nelson, in replying to Sir Thomas Troubridge respecting the provisions, said, “ I cannot get the frigate out of the mole, therefore I must learn to be a hard hearted wretch, for I fancy the cries of hunger in my ears. I send you orders for the different governors. You will see they are for the supply of the army and navy ; therefore whatever Graham and you send for, will if pos-

sible be granted." In a letter afterwards to Lord Keith, who had signified his intention of coming to Sicily, Lord Nelson added, "Vessels are here loading with corn for Malta; but I can neither get the Neapolitan men of war nor merchant vessels to move. If I cannot get to Malta very soon, I shall, from your letter, remain here to give you a meeting and receive your orders. I have been trying, with Sir W. Hamilton, in which the Queen joins, to induce the King to return to Naples: but hitherto without effect." In writing about the same time to Colonel Graham, his Lordship mentioned his intention of soon paying them a visit. "I only wish," added he, "that I could always do all you ask me. It is certain that you cannot go on at Malta without money; therefore, I declare, sooner than you should want, I would sell Bronte. But, I trust, from General Fox's letter to me, that you will have his consent for ordering what money may be necessary."

(1800.) The difficulties which Sir Thomas Troubridge had experienced, through want of a supply of corn from Palermo, during the preceding summer, were at the beginning of the present year greatly increased throughout his services at Malta. His mind was also much agitated by the continuance of Lord Nelson at Palermo: Troubridge's affection for him was unbounded, and being fearful lest the remnant of the Nile squadron, which had taken refuge at Malta, might

in an attempt to escape be captured without the presence of the Admiral, the dejected Commodore thus expressed the warmth and disinterestedness of his friendship. “*Malta, Jan. 1.* My Lord: We are dying off fast for want. I learn, by letters from Messina, that Sir W. Hamilton says, Prince Luzzi refused corn some time ago, and Sir W. does not think it worth while making another application. If that be the case, I wish he commanded at this distressing scene instead of me. Puglia had an immense harvest, near thirty sail left Messina before I did to load corn; will they let us have any? If not, a short time will decide the business. The German interest prevails. I wish I was at your Lordship’s elbow for an hour, *all, all* will be thrown on you, rely on it. I will parry the blow as much as is in my power; I foresee much mischief brewing. God bless your Lordship—I am miserable, I cannot assist your operations more. Many happy returns of this day to you, I never spent so miserable an one. I am not very tenderhearted; but really the distress here would move even a Neapolitan. *Jan. 5.* I have this day saved 30,000 people from dying; but with this day my ability ceases. The Foudroyant shall go as complete to your Lordship as I can possibly let her. If you would contrive to come here and get the credit of the reduction of this very important place, it would much gratify all your friends, and none more than your ever faithful and obliged T. Troubridge.”

(1800.) On the 7th of Jan. Lord Nelson sent this friend word that he would shortly come to Malta. On the 16th he sailed from Palermo in the *Foudroyant*, and joined Lord Keith on the 20th at Leghorn. On the 26th he left Leghorn, and touching at Palermo in his way, proceeded on his voyage to Malta. On the 10th of February the Squadron under his command captured le *Gene-reux* of 74 guns, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Perée, Commander in chief of the French naval force in the Mediterranean, having a number of troops on board from Toulon, bound for the relief of Malta, together with a storeship, the *Ville de Marseilles*, and dispersed the remainder of Admiral Perée's squadron.

Whilst off Malta, Lord Nelson found his health so indifferent, that he requested permission of the Commander in Chief to return again to Palermo. He however remained off Malta until the 8th of March, and then finding himself daily growing worse, with an internal complaint to which he had been long subject, he again requested a short leave of absence, and on the 16th returned to Palermo. Lord Keith replied to Lord Nelson on the 20th of March from Leghorn: "I learn with sincere concern your Lordship's ill state of health, and your intention of returning to Palermo at so momentous a period; particularly, as I hear that Sir Thomas Troubridge is still confined by illness, and under the late misfortune of the loss of the *Queen Charlotte*,

I have no means of returning to carry on the service before Malta myself. I must, however, request that your Lordship will not delay a moment in ordering Sir Edward Berry off Malta; and, in the event of the Guillaume Tell's escape from la Valette, either that ship or the Northumberland may be directed to follow her off Toulon, and thereafter to join me in the gulf of Genoa."

(1800.) The escape of the Guillaume Tell from Malta had been carefully provided against by Governor Ball and Sir Thomas Troubridge; both of whom informed Lord Nelson that such an event might be daily expected. The day the Foudroyant arrived, the Guillaume Tell started about twelve that night: they immediately made the signal from the shore, and in half an hour our ships were firing at her. They saw the firing on the shore, it was a fine night, until four minutes past four, increasing its distance, steering to the N. E.—As Captain Manley Dixon, in his official letter to Sir Thos. Troubridge declared, the Guillaume Tell was of the largest dimensions, and carried thirty-six pounders on the lower gun deck, twenty-four pounders on the main deck, twelve pounders on the quarter deck, and thirty-two pound carronades on the poop: Her force altogether consisted of 86 guns and 1220 men, bearing the flag of Contre Admiral Decrès. If the Foudroyant had not arrived so opportunely, the Lion and Penelope would have been no match for her; and yet the latter ship was so well fought

by Captain Blackwood, as to render most essential service. "I have to inform you," said Captain Dixon, in writing to Commodore Troubridge, March 31, "that the signal rockets and cannonading from our batteries at Malta the midnight preceding, with the favourable strong southerly gale, together with the darkness which succeeded the setting of the moon, convinced me the enemy's ships of war were attempting to effect an escape; and which was immediately ascertained by that judicious and truly valuable officer, Captain Blackwood, of the *Penelope*, who had been stationed a few hours before between the *Lion* and *la Valette* for the purpose of observing closely the motions of the enemy. Nearly at midnight an enemy's ship was descried by him . . . I lost not one moment in making the signal for the Squadron to cut or slip, and directed Captain Miller of the *Minorca* to run down to the *Foudroyant* and *Alexander*<sup>e</sup> with the intelligence, and to repeat the signal . . . As the day broke I found myself in gun shot of the chase, and the *Penelope* within musket shot raking her, the effects of whose well directed fire, during the night, had shot away her main and mizen topmasts and main yard. The *Lion* was run close alongside, the yard arms of both ships being just clear, when a destructive broadside of three round shot in each gun was poured in, luffing up across the bow,

• Lieutenant Harrington acting.



when the enemy's jib boom passed between the main and mizen shrouds. After a short interval, I had the pleasure to see the boom carried away and the ships disentangled, maintaining a position across the bow, firing to great advantage. I found it absolutely necessary, if possible, to keep from the broadside of this ship. After being engaged about fifty minutes, the Foudroyant was seen under a press of canvas, and soon passed hailing the enemy to strike, which being declined, a very heavy fire from both ships, broadside to broadside, was most gallantly maintained; the Lion and Penelope frequently in situations to do great execution. In short, Sir, after the hottest action that probably was ever maintained by an enemy's ship opposed to those of his Majesty, and being totally dismasted, the French Admiral's flag and colours were struck.

“I have not language to express the high sense of obligation I feel myself under to Captain Blackwood, for his prompt and able conduct in leading the line of battle ships to the enemy; for the gallantry and spirit so highly conspicuous in him, and for his admirable management of the frigate. The termination of the battle must be attributed to the spirited fire of the Foudroyant, whose Captain, Sir Edward Berry, has justly added another laurel to the many he has gained during the war. Capt. Blackwood speaks in very high terms of the active and gallant conduct of Capt. Long, of the Vincejo, during the night; and

I beg to mention the services of Captains Broughton and Miller. I received the greatest possible assistance from Lieutenant Joseph Patey, senior officer of the *Lion*, and from Mr. Spence, the master, who together with the officers and ship's company shewed the most determined gallantry. Captains Sir Edward Berry, and Blackwood, have reported to me the same gallant and animated behaviour in the officers and crews of their respective ships. I am sorry to say the three ships have suffered much in killed and wounded, and that of the enemy prodigiously, it being upwards of 200."

(1800.) Lord Nelson on the 16th of April, sailed again for Malta, and was accompanied thither by Sir W. and Lady Hamilton, with whom, after remaining there some time, he returned again to Palermo, and immediately prepared to go to England; and to accompany the Queen of Naples on her intended visit to Vienna. On the 8th of June he sailed from Palermo,<sup>f</sup> with the *Foudroyant* and *Alexander*; on board of which were the Queen of Naples, the three Princesses and Prince Leopold, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, Prince Castelcicala, and their attendants. On the 14th of June, they arrived at Leghorn; and from thence proceeded to Florence. Passing

<sup>f</sup> Previous to Lord Nelson's leaving Sicily, the King invested him with the Order of St. Ferdinand, of which he was the first Knight after the Royal Family. This Order has the especial privilege of being covered in the King's presence.

through Ancona and Vienna, where he left the Queen and had been introduced by her Majesty to the Emperor and Empress; his Lordship visited, by express desire, the gallant Archduke Charles at Prague. From Prague he went to Dresden, Magdeburgh and Hamburg, and landed at Yarmouth, Nov. 6, 1800. His Lordship arrived in London, with Sir William and Lady Hamilton, on the 9th of November; and, with them, went immediately to his venerable Father and Lady Nelson. Their joy was, however, mingled with sorrow; and on first meeting after so long an absence, the presence of Sir W. and Lady Hamilton added to a disquietude, which if they had innocently been the cause of, they should have carefully endeavoured not to aggravate. The exultation that prevailed throughout the metropolis, on the arrival of the British Hero, formed an extraordinary contrast with the depression of his own mind; and afforded a memorable example of the inefficacy of all earthly rewards. At the civic feast of the city of London on Monday the 10th of November, his Lordship was nobly received by Sir W. Staines, the new Lord Mayor, and was presented with the valuable Sword which the metropolis had voted after the victory of Aboukir. The gratitude of his native Country was also shewn in every manner, that could most publicly display the general sense of his splendid achievements. Wherever he appeared, he was followed with mingled astonishment and even

veneration by the thronging multitude, as a being of a superior nature. To use the words of the biographer of Lorenzo de Medici, 'On all sides he touched the extremes of human character; and the powers of his mind were only bounded by that impenetrable circle which prescribes the limits of human nature.'‡

Anno  
Ætat. 43. XIII. THE gloom which had long impended over the private happiness and even public services of Lord Nelson, was not dispersed by his return to his native Country. His mind was affected by an extraordinary power, which almost merited the term Enchantment, and had resisted the entreaties and remonstrances of his numerous friends; many of whom lost his confidence, by a vain endeavour to restore the natural bias of his affectionate but too susceptible heart. In taking his final leave of Lady Nelson on the 13th of January, 1801, he acted, however wrong, with that greatness and liberality of mind which nothing could subdue: 'I call God to witness,' exclaimed he, 'there is nothing in you or your conduct I wish otherwise.' This formed a most striking epocha in his eventful life, and as such deserves to be noticed. The remaining portion of his biography is, therefore, exclusively devoted to his more splendid public character; to those astonishing and important services, which he rendered to his Country when she most

‡ Roscoe's Life, Vol. II. page 328, 8vo. ed.

required them . each of which claimed a distinct praise, as surpassing what had preceded it by some new proof of professional Enterprise and Ability.

(1801.) On the first day of the year, his Lordship was advanced Vice Admiral of the Blue: previous to which Captain Hardy had been appointed his Captain on board the *Namur* at Plymouth, until the *San Josef*, 112 guns, could be got ready for his flag, which was hoisted on board that ship at Plymouth,<sup>h</sup> January 17, 1801, and afterwards shifted to the *St. George*, preparatory to his going to the Baltic as second in command under Sir Hyde Parker. About the 20th of February he sailed from Torbay in the *St. George* for Portsmouth, and from thence proceeded to Yarmouth.

The subsequent Narrative of the Battle of Copenhagen is chiefly taken from a valuable Memoir which an Officer who was with Lord Nelson has furnished, and from the interesting Memoranda of another eye-witness, Mr. Ferguson, a military surgeon who attended on Colonel Stewart.

“ On the 12th of March,” (says the Memoir,)  
“ the fleet consisting of about fifty sail, sixteen of

<sup>h</sup> During the Admiral's continuance at Plymouth he was seized with a violent ophthalmia in his only remaining eye, with a most acute pain and total want of sight. He was attended by Dr. Trotter, and in a few days was enabled to resume his services.

which were of the line, put to sea. On the 15th we encountered a heavy gale of wind, which in some measure scattered the fleet and prevented our reaching the Naze until the 18th. On the 21st it blew hard : we anchored for twenty four hours, and did not arrive off the point of Elsinour until the 24th. On the 26th, the Elephant, Captain Foley, and another 74 had joined the Fleet, and on the 29th, Lord Nelson shifted his flag from the St. George to the Elephant, in order to carry on operations in a lighter ship. Both the 28th and 29th of March were unfortunately calm : orders had, however, been given for the Fleet to pass through the Sound as soon as the wind should permit. At daylight on the morning of the 30th it blew a topsail breeze from N. W : The signal was made, and the Fleet proceeded in the order of battle previously arranged; Lord Nelson's division in the van, the Commander in Chief's in the centre, and Admiral Graves's in the rear. The Danish Batteries opened a fire, as we understood, with nearly 100 pieces of cannon and mortars, as soon as our leading ship, the Monarch, came abreast of them ; and they continued in one uninterrupted blaze during the passage of the Fleet, to the no small amusement of our crews ; none of whom received injury, except from the bursting of one of our own guns. Some of our leading ships at first returned a few rounds, but perceiving the inutility, desisted. The whole came to anchor about midday, be-

tween the island of Huen, and Copenhagen ; the division under Captain Murray following, as soon as the main body had passed. The night of the 30th of March was employed by some of the intelligent masters and pilots, under the direction of Captain Brisbane, in ascertaining the channels round the great Shoal called the Middle Ground, and in laying down fresh buoys, the Danes having either removed or misplaced the former ones. On the next day, the Commander in Chief and Lord Nelson, proceeded in the Amazon frigate, Captain Riou, to the examination of the Northern Channel and of the flotilla from the eastward, and after some hours survey returned to the Fleet. A Council of War was held in the afternoon, and the mode which might be advisable for the attack was considered : that from the eastward appeared to be preferred. Lord Nelson offered his services, requiring ten line of battle ships and the whole of the smaller craft. The Commander in Chief, with sound discretion and in a handsome manner, not only left every thing to Lord Nelson for this detached service, but gave him two more line of battle ships than he demanded. The night of the 31st of March was employed as the preceding, in ascertaining, even by buoy lights, the course of the Upper Channel. Captain Brisbane was particularly active on this service, conducted under Lord Nelson's immediate directions."

"On the first of April in the afternoon, we

took our departure with twelve sail of the line, and a proportional number of smaller vessels, from the main body of the Fleet then lying about four miles below Copenhagen; and coasted along the outer edge of the Shoal called the Middle Ground, until we doubled its farthest extremity, when the Fleet cast anchor. The Shoal, of the same extent as the sea front of the town, lies exactly before it at about three quarters of a mile in distance; the interval between it and the shore had deep water, and is called the King's Channel: there the Danes had arranged their Line of Defence as near the town as possible. It consisted of nineteen ships and floating batteries, flanked at the town's extremity by two artificial islands at the mouth of the harbour, called the Crown Batteries; and extended for about a mile along the whole front of the town, leaving intervals for the Batteries on shore to play. As our own anchor dropped at eight in the evening, Nelson emphatically called out, *I will fight them the moment I have a fair wind.* He spent the whole night in consultation. With the returning light, the wind had been announced as becoming perfectly fair, and at half past nine the signal was given to weigh in succession. This was quickly obeyed by the Edgar, who proceeded in a noble manner for the Channel. The Agamemnon was to follow, but happened to take a course in a direct line for the end of the shoal. The Polyphemus' signal, Captain Lawford, was



then made, and this change in the order of sailing was most promptly executed. The Polyphemus was followed by the Isis, Bellona, and Russel; the former, commanded by Captain Walker, took her station most gallantly, and had the severest birth this day of any ship, the Monarch perhaps not excepted. The Bellona and Russel in going down the Channel kept too close on the starboard shoal, and ran aground; they were, however, within range of shot, and continued to fire with much spirit upon such of the Enemy's ships as they could reach. In succession, as each ship arrived nearly opposite to her number in the Danish line, she let her anchor go by the stern, the wind nearly aft, and presented her broadside to the Enemy.

'The Action began at five minutes past ten. In about half an hour afterwards the first half of our fleet was engaged, and before half past eleven the Battle became general. The Elephant's station was in the centre, opposite to the Danish Commodore, who commanded in the Dannebrog, 62, Commodore Fischer, Captain F. Braun. The Glatton had her station immediately astern of us, the Ganges, Monarch and Defiance ahead; the distance between each not exceeding a half cable. The judgment with which each ship calculated her station in that intricate channel, was admirable throughout. The failure of the three ships that were aground and whose force was to have been opposed to the Trekroner battery, left

this day, as glorious for seamanship as for courage, incomplete.”

“About one P. M. few if any of the Enemy’s heavy ships and praams had ceased to fire. The Isis had greatly suffered by the superior weight of the Provestein’s fire; and if it had not been for the judicious diversion of it by the *Desirée*, Captain Inman, who raked her, and for other assistance from the *Polyphemus*, the Isis would have been destroyed. The *Monarch* was also suffering severely under the united fire of the *Holstein* and *Zealand*; the *Elephant* was warmly engaged by the *Dannebrog*, and by two heavy praams on her bow and quarter. Signals of distress were on board the *Bellona* and *Russel*, and of inability from the *Agamemnon*. The Contest in general, although from the relaxed state of the Enemy’s fire it might not have given room for much apprehension as to the result, had certainly at one P. M. not declared itself in favour of either side. About this juncture, and in this posture of affairs, the signal was thrown out on board the *London*, for the Action to cease. Lord Nelson was at this time, as he had been during the whole Action, walking the starboard side of the quarter deck; sometimes much animated, and at others heroically fine in his observations. When the signal was made, the signal Lieutenant reported it to him.—He continued his walk, and did not appear to take notice of it. The Lieutenant meeting his Lordship at the next

turn, asked, *Whether he should repeat it?* Lord Nelson answered *No, acknowledge it.* This remarkable Signal was therefore only acknowledged on board of the Elephant, not repeated."

"The Action now continued with unabated vigour. About two P. M. the greater part of the Danish line had ceased to fire: the taking possession of such ships as had struck, was however attended with difficulty; partly by reason of the batteries on Amak Island protecting them, and partly because an irregular fire was made on our boats, as they approached, from the ships themselves. Lord Nelson naturally lost temper at this, and observed, "That he must either send on shore and stop this irregular proceeding, or send in our fire ships and burn them." He accordingly retired into the stern gallery and wrote, with great despatch, that well-known letter addressed to the Crown Prince, with the address, *To the brothers of Englishmen, the brave Danes:* and in order to shew that no hurry had ensued upon the occasion, he sent for a candle to the Cockpit, and affixed a larger seal than usual. This letter was conveyed on shore through the contending Fleets by Captain Sir Frederick Thessiger, who acted as his Lordship's Aid-de-Camp; and who found the Prince near the sally port. While the boat was absent, the animated fire of the ships ahead of us, and the approach of two of the Commander in Chief's division, the *Ramilies* and *Defence*, caused the remainder of the

Enemy's line to the eastward of the Tre Kroner to strike. The firing from the Crown battery and from our leading ships did not cease until past three o'clock; when the Danish Adjutant General, Lindholm, returning with a flag of truce, directed the fire of the Battery to be suspended. The signal for doing the same, on our part, was then made from our ship to those engaged; and the action closed after five hours' duration, four of which were warmly contested.

“The answer from the Prince Regent was to inquire more minutely into the purport of the Message, and the following reply was returned: ‘Lord Nelson’s object in sending the Flag of Truce was Humanity: he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. And Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn and carry off his prizes as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to H. R. H. the Prince of Denmark, will consider this the greatest Victory he has ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious Sovereign, and his Majesty the King of Denmark.’—His Lordship, having finished this letter, referred the Adjutant General to the Commander in Chief, who was at anchor at least four miles off, and followed him about four o'clock to the London, where that negotiation first began, which terminated in an honourable peace.”

“ Early in the morning of the 2d of April, when it was scarcely light, Lord Nelson repaired, in his gig, (his usual conveyance) on board of our ship the Elephant. On the 4th he left the ship, accompanied by Captains Hardy and Fremantle, and was received with all possible attention from the Prince. The Negotiation continued; and the interim between the 4th and 9th of April, was employed in destroying the prizes, refitting the fleet, and in taking a position with the Bomb Vessels and Gun Brigs, in order to open the bombardment in the event of hostilities being renewed. On the 9th, Lord Nelson landed again, and was escorted to the Palace, surrounded by an immense crowd, who shewed more satisfaction on this occasion than on the preceding one. The Commissioners, who were appointed to adjust the terms of an Armistice, proceeded to business without delay. The duration of the Armistice could not however be adjusted; and the conference broke up at two o'clock, for reference to the Crown Prince. A levee was consequently held in one of the state rooms, and his Lordship then proceeded to a grand dinner up stairs, the Prince leading the way. They were afterwards closeted together for some time, and the Prince at length acceded to an Armistice of fourteen weeks duration; to which Lord Nelson assenting, with the reservation of the approval of the Commander in Chief, the party returned on board.” On the succeeding day, April 10, the

Danish Commissioners repaired to the London, where the Terms were finally ratified by the Commander in Chief. Previous to the convention of the 9th, the whole of the Danish prisoners were sent on shore, and receipts had for 6,000 killed, wounded, and taken on the 2d. The Prizes, which amounted to six line of battle ships and eight praams, exclusive of one line of battle ship and two smaller craft burnt and sunk during the Action, were all destroyed, excepting the *Holstein*; she was sent to England with wounded men, under the charge of that excellent medical officer Surgeon Ferguson, who had volunteered his services with Colonel Stewart during the service, and whose professional skill acquired him the high opinion of Lord Nelson. The measure of destroying the Prizes was much regretted, but deemed necessary by the Commander in Chief, with a view to the ulterior active services of his Fleet.

The Commander in Chief, Sir Hyde Parker, throughout the whole of this most arduous enterprise, and in the difficult situation in which he was ultimately placed, certainly preserved a candid and honourable conduct. Sir Hyde's behaviour to Lord Nelson, which has been commended in the previous Memoir of this Battle, was rendered still more liberal by the manner in which he closed his Official Letter... 'His Lordship has stated so fully' the whole of his proceedings on that day, as only to leave me the

• Vide Quarto Edit. vol. ii. p. 277. et seq.

opportunity to declare my entire acquiescence and testimony, of the Bravery and Intrepidity with which the Action was supported throughout the line; were it possible for me to add any thing to the well-earned renown of Lord Nelson, it would be by asserting, that his exertions, great as they have heretofore been, never were carried to a higher pitch of Zeal for his Country's service. I have only to lament that the sort of attack, confined within an intricate and narrow passage, excluded the ships particularly under my command from the opportunity of exhibiting their valour; but I can with great truth assert, that the same Spirit and Zeal animated the whole of the Fleet.'

(1801.) The Memoir of the Battle, which has already detailed the various occurrences that took place at Copenhagen, to the conclusion of the Armistice, next retraces Lord Nelson's proceedings from his being appointed Commander in Chief, as successor to Sir Hyde Parker. This intelligence had been conveyed to him, by Colonel Stewart on his return from England where he had gone with despatches; and but for this appointment, such was the precarious state of his Lordship's health, that he had determined on returning home in the *Blanche*, on the very day when the account arrived.—“The first Signal,” says the Memoir, “which Lord Nelson made, as Commander in Chief, was to hoist in all launches and prepare to weigh. This at once

shewed how different a system was about to be pursued: it having been intended, that the Fleet should await at anchor fresh instructions from England relative to the state of the northern affairs, an account of which had but lately been despatched. On the 7th of May, the Fleet left Kiøge Bay, and proceeding towards Bornholm, anchored in blowing weather off that island. A favourable wind brought us, on the 12th of May, into Revel Roads, where he was rather disappointed at not finding the Russian Fleet: the early breaking up of the ice had enabled it to proceed to Cronstadt, three days before our arrival. We came to anchor in the outer bay, and Lord Nelson having been invited by the Governor, went on shore about noon on the 13th of May, and was received with all military honours. His letter having been forwarded to the Emperor, great activity was exerted in providing the Fleet with fresh meat and vegetables, and the interval was employed by his Lordship in observation, and in acquiring information of the harbour, mole and anchorage. On the 16th of May, about three P. M. the answer to Lord Nelson's letter was received from Petersburg. It was in terms expressive of surprise at the arrival of a British Fleet in a Russian port; it professed amicable intentions towards the British Government, but declined the personal visit of the Admiral at the Capital; if accompanied by more than a single ship. Lord Nelson received it a



few minutes before dinner time ; he appeared to be a good deal agitated by it, but said little, and did not return an immediate reply. During dinner, however, he left the table, and in less than a quarter of an hour sent for me to peruse a letter which, in that short absence, he had composed. This remarkable sentiment was, I remember, in it, *The word of a British Admiral, when given in explanation of any part of his conduct, was as sacred as that of any Sovereign in Europe*: It concluded with his intention of retiring with his Fleet from the coasts of Russia. The signal for preparing to weigh was immediately made ; the answer above mentioned was sent on shore, and although contracts had been entered into for fresh provisions, &c. for the Fleet, his Lordship would not admit of the least delay ; but caused it to weigh and to stand as far to sea as was safe for that evening. It was only dark for an hour or two, during which time we lay to, and at dawn of day proceeded down the Baltic. When off Bornholm, we were joined by the Squadron under Captain Murray. A detachment from the Fleet was then sent off to Kioge Bay, and another to Dantzic, while Lord Nelson himself proceeded with a few ships to Rostock Bay."

"At Rostock not an hour was lost in procuring fresh provisions for the Fleet. The greatest veneration was here shewn to the name of Nelson ; and some distant inland towns of Mecklinburgh,

sent even deputations, with their public books of record, to have his name written in them by himself. Boats were constantly rowing round his flag ship the St. George with persons of respectability in them, who were anxious to catch a momentary sight of this illustrious man. He did not again land whilst in the Baltic; his health was not good, and his mind was not at ease: with him mind and health invariably sympathised. The day after our arrival off Rostock, on the 26th of May, 1801, a Russian lugger brought the reply from Count Pahlen, to Lord Nelson's letter written on leaving Revel. The effect intended by that letter had been fully felt at Petersburgh: a more flattering communication was perhaps never made from a Sovereign to the subject of another power, than was conveyed in the Minister's reply. It apologized for any misconception of his Lordship's views in having entered Revel roads, it expressed an anxious wish that Peace should be restored on the most solid basis; and in a particular manner invited Lord Nelson to St. Petersburgh, in whatever mode might be most agreeable to himself. The lugger, on leaving our Fleet with Lord Nelson's answer to this gracious letter, fired a salute; an act which implies much more in the Russian service than in many others. Lord Nelson's observation to me, on my return from the shore, was, *Did you hear that little fellow salute? Well now, there is peace*

*with Russia, depend on it : Our jaunt to Revel was not so bad after all.*

“ After being at anchor some days off Rostock, we returned to Kioge Bay on the 5th or 6th of June, but remained there only to complete our water, which could not be done at Rostock, and to arrange the stations of the various Squadrons that were constantly kept on the move. Lord Nelson’s principle was to keep all hands employed, and he used to say, *No matter how, and no matter where.* The St. George made her last cruise with Lord Nelson’s flag on board, off Bornholm, between the 9th and 13th of June ; on which latter day he received the sanction of the Admiralty for his return to England, and the instructions of his Majesty to invest Rear Admiral Graves with the Order of the Bath. This ceremony was performed with all possible dignity on the 14th of June, on the quarterdeck of the St. George, Lord Nelson laying the Sword on the Rear Admiral’s shoulder in the name of the King ; he accompanied this by a very dignified and animated speech. Sir Charles Maurice Pole arrived a few days afterwards in the *Æolus* frigate, and received the chief command.” On the 19th Lord Nelson embarked in the *Kite* brig, Captain Digby, and sailed for England. By this last act, in declining the use of a frigate, he shewed his usual preference for the good of the Service, over every consideration of personal convenience.

Few Admirals, dignified as he justly was, have chosen to return from their station in so small a vessel. He landed at Yarmouth on the first of July, and immediately visited the Hospitals where the wounded had been conveyed after the Battle of Copenhagen. He was escorted to Lowestoffe by the volunteer cavalry; and on his arrival in London proceeded to the house of Sir William Hamilton.

(1801.) XIV. During the summer Government received intelligence that the Invasion of Great Britain by France might be certainly expected, and the general wish of the Nation that Lord Nelson should be the guardian of that part of its southern coast, where it was expected the Enemy would make the attempt, was gratified by the plan which the vigilance of Earl St. Vincent had proposed, of placing the whole of the force applicable to that particular service, under the command of Lord Nelson, who was to have no other duty to perform, than that of attending to this important object. He accordingly proceeded to the Coast, and on the 30th of July hoisted his flag in the Downs. His private letters to Earl St. Vincent<sup>d</sup> contain a detail of what he called "this boat warfare" on the coast of France; which, he added, "is not exactly congenial to my feelings, and I find I get laughed at for my puny mode of attack." A serious attack was however made on the French Flo-

<sup>d</sup> Vide Quarto Edit. vol. ii. pages 293—304.

tilla outside the pier of Boulogne, on the 15th of August, and on the 16th he sent the following account of it, dated on board the Medusa, off that Port : “ My dear Lord : I am sorry to tell you that I have not succeeded in bringing out or destroying the Enemy’s Flotilla, moored in the mouth of the harbour of Boulogne. The most astonishing Bravery was evinced by many of our officers and men, and Captains Somerville, Cotgrave, and Parker exerted themselves to the utmost.” (Captain Jones owing to the rapidity of the tide was driven to the westward of the line.) “ Con in the command of the Howitzer Boats did every thing which was possible: indeed all behaved well, and it was their misfortune to be sent on a Service in which the precautions of the Enemy had rendered it impossible to succeed. We have lost many brave officers and men, 172 killed and wounded. My gallant, dear friend, Captain Parker, who was my Aid-de-Camp, had his thigh very much shattered ; I have my fears for his life. Lieutenant Frederick Langford, my Flag Lieutenant, who has served with me many years, was shot through the leg in attempting, with Parker, to board the French Commodore. The Flotilla, Brigs and Flats, were moored by the bottom to the shore, and to each other with chains ; therefore although several of them were carried, yet the very heavy fire of musketry from the shore which overlooked the Flotilla, forced our people to desist, without being able, as I am

told, to set them on fire. No person can be blamed for sending them to the attack but myself. I knew the difficulty of the undertaking, therefore I ventured to ask your opinion. Your kind letter I received half an hour before the Attack. Captain Somerville, whom I never saw until a few days ago, shewed all possible courage and good conduct, and succeeded completely in the fighting part of the business." Lord Nelson in his public letter added, " Owing to the darkness of the Night, with the tide and half tide, which must always make attacks in the Night, on the Coasts of the Channel, very uncertain, the Divisions separated; and from all not arriving at the same happy moment with Captain Parker, is to be attributed the want of success. But I beg to be perfectly understood, that not the smallest blame attaches itself any where: for although the Divisions did not arrive altogether, yet each, except the Fourth which could not be got up before day, made a successful attack on that part of the enemy they fell in with, and actually took possession of many Brigs and Flats, particularly the Commodore. The moment the Battle ceased on board, such vollies upon vollies of musquetry were fired directly on the decks, the Enemy being perfectly regardless of their own men, that it was impossible even to remain on board to burn them. Allow me, who have seen much service this War, to say, That more determined, persevering Courage, I never

witnessed; and that nothing but the impossibility of being successful, from the Causes I have mentioned, could have prevented my having to congratulate their Lordships on bringing off the Enemy's Flotilla."

(1801.) Lord Nelson retained his command until October; on the 10th of which month General Lauriston, first Aid de Camp to Buona- parte, arrived in London with the ratification of the Preliminaries of Peace. The manner in which the Mob complimented this French Officer gave great offence to Nelson; and in writing to Dr. Baird the next day, he said, "Can you cure Madness? for I am mad to read that Englishmen dragged a Frenchman's carriage. I am ashamed for my Country." In a letter to Mr. Davison, his Lordship afterwards observed, "England called loudly for Peace, and now I see it is to be abused; but Englishmen never are satisfied full nor fasting."—Again, in a letter to Earl St. Vincent, "Most heartily do I congratulate you on being a member of that Administration, which has been able to comply with the almost unanimous wishes of the Country. All hands must now try to keep French Men and French Principles out of our happy Country."

Lord Nelson soon afterwards returned to England, and went to the Villa he had purchased at Merton. One of the first steps which he appears to have taken afterwards, was addressing a letter

to the Lord Mayor, respecting the silence in which the Victory of Copenhagen had been passed over by the City of London. The Admiral notices this remonstrance when writing to Earl St. Vincent from Merton, Nov. 20, and afterwards thus expressed himself on the subject to Mr. Davison: "The City of London has never yet failed noticing Sea Victories, and I trust, as the first commercial City in the World, it never will. I remember a few years back, on my observing to a Lord Mayor, that if the City continued its generosity, we should ruin them by their Gifts, his Lordship put his hand on my shoulder and said, '*Do you find Victories and we will find Rewards.*' I have kept my word, and have since found two complete Victories—I have a fair and honourable claim; my part of the contract has been now doubly fulfilled."

(1802.) On the 26th of April, Lord Nelson lost his excellent Father, who expired at Bath in the 79th year of his age. He had been previously afflicted by the death of his early friend and patron Lieutenant Governor Locker, at Greenwich Hospital; and in order to recruit his health and spirits, in the month of July made a tour into Wales, with Sir W. and Lady Hamilton. The Freedom of the cities of Monmouth, Hereford, and Worcester was presented to his Lordship in the most complimentary manner; and the gratitude of his countrymen was publicly displayed throughout the whole excursion. On returning



to Merton his time was principally occupied in his little farm, and in directing the alterations he had projected. "I am really," said he in writing to Mr. Davison in October, "so very little in the world, that I know of nothing beyond a newspaper. I own myself selfish enough to wish you in St. James's Square; for at your breakfast I heard all that was going on in the great world, and it was a central place where any one could meet me. I have seen Mr. Addington and Lord St. Vincent several times; but our conversations were like Swift's and Lord Oxford's. Yet it was not difficult to discover, that we felt our importance in the scale of Europe degraded, if Buonaparte were allowed to act as he has lately done; and that it was necessary for us to speak a dignified language."

After the Battle of Copenhagen his Majesty had created the noble Admiral a Viscount, and during the month of August, 1801, the Patent of Entail of his Lordship's rank was announced, in which the Dukedom of Bronte was first mentioned. These honours were entailed on his Lordship's Father, and after his death on the Rev. Dr. William Nelson, his only surviving Son; and in case of default of heirs male from that branch, they were also entailed, first on the heirs male of his Lordship's sister SUSANNAH, who had married Mr. Bolton, and secondly on the heirs male of his Lordship's sister CATHARINE, who had married Mr. Matcham.

Anno  
Ætat. 45. (1803.) XV. On the breaking out of the present War, Lord Nelson was appointed Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, of which he received official notice on the 16th of May. On the 18th he left London very early, and arriving about noon at Portsmouth, hoisted his flag on board the Victory, Captain S. Sutton, Captain George Murray first Captain; and sailed on the 20th, in company with the Amphion, Captain T. M. Hardy. On the 22d, they went to the black Rocks off Brest to meet Admiral Cornwallis, who had been blown off his station; and it blowing strong all day on the 23d, his Lordship, in obedience to his orders, shifted his flag on board the Amphion, and proceeded to the Mediterranean. He immediately entered upon the duties of his station with his accustomed Energy, and on the 28th of June, sent a very luminous view<sup>e</sup> of the Mediterranean States to Mr. Addington, dated Amphion, between Sardinia and Naples. In July he arrived off Toulon, and on the 30th of that month, the Victory having joined the Fleet, Lord Nelson shifted his flag on board from the Amphion. The subsequent Narrative principally consists of a selection from the extensive Correspondence which his Lordship carried on with the Ministers at home, with the different States in the Mediterranean, and with various eminent Officers in

the Navy and Army with whom he was associated.

(1803.) *To Mr. Addington, August 24, off Toulon.*—“I am looking for the French Squadron, perhaps you may think impatiently; but I have made up my mind never to go into port until after the Battle, even if they should make me wait a year; provided the Admiralty change the ships which cannot keep the Sea in winter, except *Victory*, *Canopus*, *Donegal*, and *Belleisle*. This day only six men are confined to their beds in the whole Squadron. *August 25.* My station to the westward of Toulon, an unusual one, has been taken upon an idea that the French Fleet is bound out of the Straits, and probably to Ireland. It is said 10,000 men are collecting at Toulon. I shall follow them to the Antipodes. *September 27.* The French are not yet out, although about a fortnight ago they made an appearance of doing so; indeed some of their ships were outside of the harbour, but I rather think it was to get some exercise. However *they took Wit in their Anger and returned again.* The Spaniards are now so very uncivil to our ships, that I suppose we shall not be much longer friends. I have written to Mr. Frere at Madrid, to entreat that he would take every possible means to give me the earliest information of hostilities; and have pointed out to him the length of time which would elapse before I could know it through England, and the very great importance of my knowing it. *Oct.*

6. The French Admiral mounted yesterday morning his *Sea Vane*, which a landsman would not notice; but it gives a certainty to my mind that they wish to put to sea, and never was a Squadron of British ships more anxious to meet them. 'Till the Battle is over I hope to write to you no more; whether I survive it or not, my name shall never bring a blush on my friends."

(1803.) *To H. R. II. the Duke of Clarence, off Toulon, Oct. 15.* "I am absolutely, Sir, beginning this letter in a fever of the mind: It is thick as butter milk, and blowing a Levanter, and the *Narcissus* has just spoke me to say, 'she boarded a Vessel, and they understood that the men had seen, a few days before, twelve Sail of Ships of War off Minorca. It was in the dusk, and he did not know which way they were steering.' This is the whole Story and a lame one. On the 8th the French Fleet, as counted by Captain Boyle, was eight Sail of the Line, four Frigates, and some Corvettes. On the 9th it blew a tremendous Storm at N. W. which lasted till the 12th, since which time, although *Seahorse* and *Renown* are endeavouring to reconnoitre, it is so thick that I do not think they can either see into Toulon, or find me if they do. Your Royal Highness will readily imagine my feelings, although I cannot bring my mind to believe they are actually out; but to miss them—God forbid! They are my Superior in numbers, but in every thing else, I believe, I have the happi-

ness of commanding the finest Squadron in the World, Victory, Kent, Superb, Triumph, Belleisle, and Renown! If I should miss these Fellows, my heart will break. *Oct.* 16. The Seahorse (Captain C. Boyle) spoke me in the Night; and made known that the Enemy were in the same state as when last reconnoitred on the 8th: I believe this was the only time in my Life, that I was glad to hear the French were in Port."

(1803) On the 24th of October, his Fleet being very short of water, and not finding either the Renown or Canopus, which had been detached, join, the Admiral determined to go to the Anchorage amongst the Madelena Islands to the north of Sardinia, where Sir R. Bickerton had been previously sent by an Admiralty order from Sir Thomas Troubridge. Capt. Ross Donnelly was accordingly left with the Narcissus and Sea Horse, Hon. C. Boyle, to watch the French Fleet. The entrance to this Anchorage through the Straits of Bonifaccio was at all times perilous, owing to sunken rocks over which the passage lay; and these dangers were then increased by heavy gales with dark and squally weather. Some of the ships passed in so extraordinary a manner, that their Captains could only consider it as a providential interposition in favour of the great Officer who commanded the Fleet. On the 31st they anchored in Agincourt Sound, and on the following morning Lord Nelson despatched a letter to the Marquis de St. André, Viceroy of Sar-

dinia, informing his Excellency of the arrival of the Fleet at that place, for the purpose of getting refreshments for the Crews; and in writing at the same time to Mr. Jackson, his Lordship thus expressed his opinion of the anchorage: "What a noble harbour is formed by these islands, the world cannot produce a finer. This is not a very plentiful place, but still I hope we shall be allowed to purchase what we can obtain for our money; for the stated supplies of thirty bullocks for each ship might do very well, if they each weighed 700lb, but what we get are only from 150 to 200lb: and although the King of Sardinia may not be at war with the French, yet if for want of refreshments this Fleet be laid up, I believe the French would not scruple to take Sardinia and Sicily. The Sardinians generally speaking are attached to us; but there are French intriguers amongst them, and I understand they hope to bring about a revolt." On the 7th of November the Fleet unmoored and proceeded to its Station off Toulon; and on the 24th was joined by the Excellent, 74, Captain Sotheron, from England.

*To Earl St. Vincent, off Palma, Dec. 12.*—"I have received your kind letters by the Excellent, which joined me on the 24th of November. The Station I chose to the westward of Sicily, was to answer two important purposes; one, to prevent the junction of a Spanish Fleet to the westward, and the other to be to windward so as to enable

me, if the north easterly gale came on to the N. N. W. or N. N. E. to take shelter in a few hours either under the Hieres Islands or Cape St. Sebastian; and I have hitherto found the advantage of that position. Spain having settled her Neutrality, I am taking my winter's station under St. Sebastian to avoid the heavy seas in the Gulf, and shall keep frigates off Toulon. From September, we have experienced such a series of bad weather as is rarely met with; and I am sorry to say, that all the ships which have been from England in the late war have severely felt it. I had ordered the transports, with provisions, to meet me at St. Pierres, but as yet they have not made their appearance; and although this day we average three months provisions, yet I wish to keep them complete to near five months. I know no way of watching the Enemy but to be at sea, and therefore good ships are necessary. The Superb is in a very weak state; but Keats is so superior to any difficulties, that I hear but little from her. Sir Richard Bickerton is a very steady good Officer, and fully to be relied upon. George Campbell you know."

(1803.) *To Sir T. Troubridge, Dec. 21, off Corsica.*—"Were I, my dear Troubridge, to begin describing *all* the complaints and wants of this Fleet, it would be exactly the same, I dare say, as you receive from all other stations; but as it can be attended with no good effect, I shall save myself the trouble of writing, and you of reading

them. The storekeeper has sent two ships to the Adriatic to land hemp, and therefore I hope that we shall in time get rope to supply our wants.<sup>g</sup> The Kent is gone to Malta, fit only for a summer's passage. They are still under such alarm at Naples, that I cannot withdraw the Gibraltar. I have submitted to Sir Richard Strachan, whether the state of the French ships at Cadiz would allow of his coming to me for six weeks? for although I have no fears of the event of a Battle with six to their eight, yet if I can have eight to their eight I shall not despise the equality. I have just been to the southern end of Sardinia, having ordered the transports with provisions to meet me at St. Pierre's; but it blew such a tremendous storm, that we could not get in. It however turned out fortunate, for after the gale we got into the Gulf of Palma, which is without exception the finest open roadstead I ever saw. I shall send you the plan of it and soundings, taken by the Master of the Victory, an *eleve* of Hallowell's; I have him here to make him a Lieutenant. I have six frigates and sloops watching the French Army in the Adriatic and at the mouth of the Archipelago."

On leaving the Bay of Palma, the Fleet being

<sup>g</sup> Instructions had been sent out by our Government to Mr. Eton, who had been appointed the superintendant of Quarantine at Malta, to proceed to the Black Sea, and purchase in the Russian dominions a certain proportion of Naval Stores and Provisions for the supply of our Fleet in the Mediterranean.



in want of water, Lord Nelson stood again for Agincourt Sound, Madelena Islands, and on the 21st of Dec. sent Capt. R. Donnelly to ascertain whether the French Fleet was still in Toulon.

(1803.) In writing towards the close of this year to Governor Sir T. Trigge at Gibraltar, Lord Nelson mentioned the relative state of his own force with that of the <sup>b</sup>Enemy. "I am sorry, (added he) to be obliged to take Donegal from your vicinity for a few weeks, but the absence of Kent, Stately, and Gibraltar, which are never likely to be of any service again in this Country, renders it absolutely necessary with the present Fleet of the Enemy; they are now ten to our

<sup>b</sup> *List of the British and French Fleets in the Mediterranean at the close of 1803, as sent by Lord Nelson.*

FRENCH.

(As given in a list found on board a captured French schooner.)

Neptune... .. 80	Intrepide..... 74
Formidable..... 80	Atlas..... 74
Indomptable..... 80	Hannibal..... 74
Mont Blanc..... 74	Swiftsure..... 74
Scipion..... 74	Berwick..... 74

BRITISH.

Victory..... 100	Excellent..... 74
Canopus..... 80	Triumph..... 74
Superb..... 74	Renown..... 74
Belleisle..... 74	

Early in the ensuing year the *Royal Sovereign* for the flag of Sir R. Bickerton, and the *Leviathan*, were sent to the Mediterranean, appears by Admiralty letter, Jan. 13, 1804. And it was also the intention of the Board to send out 100 men, and the same number of boys, if they could be raised, to supply the deficiencies in the complements of the Mediterranean Fleet.

seven, and although I have no fears for the result of a Battle with our present force, yet if I could have more and had not, I should consider myself very reprehensible."

*Ætat. 46.* (1804.) On the 4th of January, the Fleet weighed at day light from the Madelena Islands, and in consequence of information they received, his Lordship directed Captain Parker of the Amazon to remain at anchor, and use his utmost endeavours in preventing the Invasion of the French, and give every aid and assistance in his power to the inhabitants should it be attempted. In a letter on the first of January to Sir R. Bickerton, the Admiral had informed him, that General Colli, an old Piedmontese Officer, or his son, was at Ajaccio to come over with the Expedition, and all the refugee Sardes were ordered to be assembled there, victualled, and to receive pay every day. "I have the Order," added he, "signed *Berthier*, taken in a packet boat a few days ago by a Gibraltar privateer."

The conduct of Spain towards Great Britain, in refusing to furnish our Fleet with supplies, roused the indignation of Nelson, and, in writing to Mr. Frere, *January 23*, he thus expressed his sentiments. "If this goes on, you may acquaint them that I will anchor in Roses with the squadron, and receive our daily supplies, which will offend the French much more than our staying at sea. Refreshments we have

a right to, as long as we remain at peace.”—In another letter on the same day to Mr. Frere, he added, “ I have just received information which leads me to believe, that the French Fleet is either at sea or on the eve of it, and bound to the eastward, towards Naples or Sicily. I am this moment making sail in the direction I think most likely to intercept them.”—On the 26th of January, our Fleet accordingly anchored at Madelena, as a central situation which defended Sardinia, and enabled the Admiral to cover Naples, and to be in the way of meeting the Enemy should they be bound elsewhere. “ I am distressed,” said he in writing to Sir John Acton on the 30th, “ for frigates, which are the Eyes of a Fleet; for the terrible winter we have had, has obliged me to send three into port to be refitted: however, I trust, we shall fall in with the Enemy and do the business. Your Excellency knows that with all the care and attention possible, it has happened that fleets have passed each other; therefore I need not apprise you, how necessary it is to keep a good look out for them.”—On the 8th of February Lord Nelson again took shelter in Madelena harbour from the blowing and severe weather that prevailed. According to his Diary, “ The Fleet ran in under reefed foresails through the Eastern Passage, which looked tremendous from the number of rocks, and the heavy sea breaking over them; but it is perfectly safe when once known. Captain Rives’

mark of the pedestal rock can never be mistaken."

(1804.) Notwithstanding his intelligence of the Toulon Flëet being ready to put to sea, which the Admiral continued to receive, they were still unwilling to encounter an inferior force, commanded by Nelson, and remained in port. A small squadron of French frigates, however, got along shore into Ville Franche; and under cover of the dark nights, during the northerly gales of wind, crossed over to Corsica with 1000 men. From the number of troops at that time collecting in the south of France and northern parts of Italy, together with the preparation of transports both at Genoa and Leghorn, and intelligence that the French Army had baked a month's bread, the Admiral was of opinion, as he informed Mr. Frere, whilst off the Hieres Islands, *March 8*, that an Expedition must be intended.

*To Sir J. Duckworth, March 19th.*—"There is not a man in the world, that rejoices more at the happy conclusion you have given to the French Expedition to St. Domingo, than myself, and for all your well-earned successes: your perseverance deserves to be amply rewarded. I hope to hold out, to beat your friend Admiral Latouche Treville, who took the command at Toulon the moment of his arrival there. He was sent for on purpose, as *he beat me* at Boulogne, to beat me again; but he seems very

loth to try.”—*To Sir R. Bickerton, April 7.* “As the Enemy’s Fleet has been out,<sup>1</sup> and may still be at sea, and as I should be very sorry to baulk their inclinations of a Battle by your superiority of numbers: You will therefore, whenever I make the signal, haul from us to the southward, furl your topgallant sails so as not to be discovered from the shore, and just keep sight of us from the mast-head; and make the signal for your division (except Excellent, who is going towards Toulon) and do you call in Belleisle, unless I should call her by signal to me.”

The preparations which he had made to insure success, in case of an action taking place, mark the great abilities of this extraordinary Man. With him every thing was always ready, each difficulty forestalled, and throughout his Fleet every Officer possessed clear ideas of the mode of attack which his Admiral wished to adopt, should circumstances admit of it. A considerable latitude was also uniformly given to the experience and observation of such Officers, as might be placed in situations that would render a change in any preconcerted plan advisable. On the 28th of April, Lord Nelson had issued the following Instructions, which are copied from the order book of the Hon. Captain C. Boyle then of the

<sup>1</sup> The French Fleet came out of Toulon on the 5th of April, and went in again the next morning. Lord Nelson when informing his Excellency Mr. Frere of this, added, “If they go on playing out and in, we shall some day get at them.”

Seahorse. "As it is my intention to attack the French Fleet, in any place where there is a reasonable prospect of getting fairly alongside of them, and as I think that in Hieres Bay, Gourjean Bay, Port Especia, Leghorn Roads, Ajaccio, and many other places, opportunities may offer of attacking them; I therefore recommend, that every Captain should make himself, by inquiries, as fully acquainted with the above places as is possible... In going in to attack an Enemy's Fleet, it is recommended to have the launch out and hawsers and stream anchors in her, and with any other boats, to lie out of gun shot, ready to cut as circumstances may require. Ships in bringing up, will anchor as their Captains may think best from circumstances of winds, weather, and the position of the Enemy: But I strongly recommend having the four large anchors clear for letting go, because I know from experience the great difficulty with crippled masts and yards, of getting an anchor over the side; and it is probable that it may be necessary to remove the ship after an Action, and to leave some of her anchors behind. The ships will anchor in such a manner, as to give each other mutual support for the destruction of the Enemy."

(1804.) On the 24th of May, Monsieur La-touche Treville again stood out of Toulon with a few ships, and nearly brought to action the Canopus, Donegal, and Amazon, which had been detached to reconnoitre. The main body of our

Fleet had remained far out of sight of land, and the weather being fair, Rear Admiral Campbell in the *Canopus* had been tempted to stand in close to the Port. On the near approach of our ships it fell almost calm; when the French gun boats stood towards them and began firing, which was returned. A moderate breeze springing up, five of the Enemy's line of battle ships, and three heavy frigates, endeavoured to cut off our ships. Admiral Campbell well knowing of what importance it was that his squadron should not be crippled by so superior a force, strove only to lead the Enemy towards our Fleet; but they having chased about five leagues from Toulon, during which a partial firing was kept up from our ships, and particularly from Sir R. Strachan in the *Donegal*, who with difficulty refrained from close action, the Enemy was recalled at three quarters past three P. M.

It was so extraordinary and rare a circumstance, for the French Admiral to appear even without the port, in which he had been long blockaded by an inferior force, that Latouche Trévillé could not resist from declaring, *he had chased the whole British Fleet, which had fled before him.* It was some months until Lord Nelson heard of this letter, which was almost too much for his antigallican spirit and love of truth to endure; and being already indignant at the falsehoods which Latouche Trévillé had circulated at Boulogne, his Lordship thus expressed

his feelings, in a letter to Mr. Bulkeley. “ You will have read of my running away from Mons. Latouche; but as I have written to the Admiralty, if my Character is not established by this time for not being apt to run away, it is not worth my while to put the World<sup>n</sup> right. I never was more surprised than to see the fellow’s letter; but the next French Paper makes a sort of apology.” And in writing to his brother William he said, “ You will have seen, my dear Brother, Latouche’s letter; *how he chased me, and how I ran. I keep it; and if I take him, by God he shall eat it.*”

(1804.) On the change of Ministers which took place during this year, in the month of May, Lord Melville succeeded Earl St. Vincent as First Lord of the Admiralty. On hearing of this event, Lord Nelson sent the following letter, dated June 18, to Sir John Acton; who, at the desire of Buonaparte, had been obliged to resign his situation: “ The great change of Ministry cannot, unless it gives us Peace, which I think by no means improbable, make any alterations respecting Russia and the assistance which our Country is in duty and honour bound to give Naples. Mons. Latouche came out on the 14th. I was off the Hieres with five ships; he had eight of the line and six frigates. In the evening he

<sup>n</sup> Lord Nelson felt it incumbent on him for the satisfaction of the Admiralty to send home a copy of the Victory’s Log.



stood under Sepet again, and I believe I may call it, *we chased him into Toulon the morning of the 15th*. I am satisfied he meant nothing beyond a gasconade; but I am confident when he is ordered for any service, that he will risk falling in with us and the event of a Battle, to try and accomplish his Orders."

(1804.) The anxiety with which he at that time watched his gasconading Enemy in Toulon, was much increased by the tempestuous weather which our crazy ships had to encounter. Although the spirit of Nelson pervaded the whole squadron and surmounted every difficulty, yet the fatigue of mind which he thus constantly endured with a weak and sickly frame, is hardly to be credited. On the 17th of July, his agitation at the thoughts of having suffered some of the French ships to escape, is thus described in a hurried note which he addressed to Admiral Campbell: "The French ships have either altered their anchorage, or some of them have got to sea in the late gales; the idea has given me half a fever."—In the afternoon Captain Moubray made the signal of the Enemy being all in harbour: this, however, did not quite allay the Admiral's agitation, as expressed in another note, which he sent to Sir R. Bickerton: "I have been in a little alarm at the idea of Mons. Latouche having given me the slip; and it is not quite cleared up. I am sending Active and Thunder off Marseilles for information; for I am sure if that Admiral

were to cheat me out of my hopes of meeting him, it would kill me much easier than one of his balls. Since we sat down to dinner, Captain Moubray has made the signal, but I am very far from being easy. I shall place Seahorse and Amazon close in shore, in order to examine Toulon every way to morrow."

(1804.) On the 31st of July, Lord Nelson, in order to shelter his Fleet from the prevailing gales of wind, and to unload some Transports which had arrived, made the signal to take shelter in the Gulf of Palma. The boisterous weather continuing the whole of the next day, they kept the anniversary of the first of August in that Bay, which his Lordship notices in writing to Sir A. Ball on the 3d. The mind of the Governor of Malta and his opinions were congenial with those of Nelson, and a similarity of talent gradually cemented a friendship between them, which their first acquaintance<sup>o</sup> had by no means promised.

<sup>o</sup> Sir Alexander Ball first became acquainted with Nelson when he visited France in 1783, and resided for a short time at St. Omer's. They parted in some degree prejudiced against each other. After a long interval, they again met when Captain Ball was attached to the squadron which Earl St. Vincent, in 1798, sent up the Mediterranean under Sir Horatio. The prejudice which he had imbibed at St. Omer's still remained, and on his first interview with Captain Ball, Nelson observed, "What do you expect by going with me, do you wish to get your bones broken?"—"I did not, Sir," replied Captain Ball, "*come into the Service to save my bones: I know you are going on a perilous service, and I am therefore happy to go with you.*"—During the subsequent

“ I have received, my dear Ball,” said his Lordship, “ your sketch of the views of the French in the Mediterranean, on the whole outline of which I perfectly agree with you ; and on the smaller part there are only shades of difference. I know the importance of Malta ; but, my friend, I fancy I also know how far its importance extends : on this point we may differ, but we both agree, that it never must be *even risked* falling into the hands of France . . . Look at the position of Sardinia, I have touched I recollect before upon that subject, and you should be Viceroy. I have *warned* the folks at home, but I fear in vain : Algiers will be French in one year after peace—you see it, and a man may run and read, that is the plan of Buonaparte. Respecting Egypt I agree with you most perfectly. And now, my dear Ball, I will not plague you with my nonsensical ideas any more ; and have only to hope Mons. Latouche, who says in his letter to Paris that I ran away from him, will give me an opportunity of settling my account before I go home, which cannot be much longer deferred, or I shall never go.”

(1804.) His wish to return home for a short repose from such incessant fatigue, was at times increased by a fear of not having sufficient in-

tempest in the Gulf of Lyons, the talents and greatness of mind of Captain Ball won the heart of Sir Horatio ; and from that hour the utmost intimacy and mutual regard existed, as has been seen, between these Officers.

terest, as he modestly thought, to continue in the command of a Fleet, whose conduct he so uniformly approved: "You will, I am sure," said he in writing to Sir E. Nepean, Aug. 4, "see with regret, that my shattered carcass requires rest. The leaving this Fleet where every one wishes to please me, and where I am as happy as it is possible for a man to be in a command, must make me feel: but I owe it to my King and Country, and to myself, not to let the Service suffer upon my account. I have not Interest, nor can I expect to be permitted to return in the spring to this command. Yet is this place, perhaps, more fitted for me than any other, but I submit. All my wishes now rest that I may meet Mons. Latouche before October is over."—In a letter about the same time to Count Mocenigo at Corfu, when speaking of the possibility that Latouche might after all elude his vigilance, Nelson added what it behoves all naval men to remember—*In Sea Affairs, nothing is impossible and nothing improbable.*

During the preceding month of July, the boats of the *Narcissus*, Captain Ross Donnelly, of the *Seahorse*, Hon. C. Boyle, and of the *Maidstone*, Hon. George Elliot, had on the 9th made a most gallant attack on about twelve of the Enemy's vessels at la Vandour in the Bay of Hieres. These boats had been sent in under the orders of Mr. John Thompson, first Lieutenant of the *Narcissus*; who with his gallant companions, as is nar-

rated in Capt. Donnelly's official letter, boarded and destroyed almost the whole under a prodigious fire of great guns and musketry, as well from the enemy's vessels, as from a battery and the houses of the town, close to which they had been hauled in and secured. The attack commenced at midnight. The Enemy were fully prepared, and had taken every precaution to secure their vessels, by mooring them head and stern. Lord Nelson in sending an account of this daring enterprise to the Admiralty, August 12, said, "The determined bravery of Lieutenants Thompson, Parker, Lumley and Moore, and of the petty officers, seamen, and marines employed under them could not be exceeded. I am concerned to observe, that Lieutenant Lumley has been obliged to suffer amputation at the shoulder joint; but I have much pleasure in saying, that this fine young man is fast recovering: his sufferings, I am sure, will meet their Lordships' consideration."

(1804.) At the beginning of the month of August, having heard that there was an excellent fresh water<sup>c</sup> river in a bay in the island of Pulla,

<sup>c</sup> In his Diary, during the month of September, mention is made of "A very fine Watering Place found by Captain Hillyer, about five miles to the westward of Porto Torres, with the Springs about two hundred yards from the beach, where forty casks may be filled at the same time." And, in writing afterwards to Mr. Consul Magnon, he said, "I can assure you, that we have found Pulla the most healthy place the Fleet has ever been at. So far from a man being ill from the thousands who went on shore, they have

Lord Nelson proceeded thither and found the report correct. He describes the Bay in his Diary, as being open to the E. and S. E. winds, but that the bottom was good. On the 16th of the same month, the Active, Phœbe, Seahorse, and Niger, joined from reconnoitring Toulon, and reported that sixteen or seventeen large ships, supposed of the line, had been out; and on the same day the Fisgard arrived from England. The violent gales which came on and continued for some days, obliged the Admiral to take shelter under Cape St. Sebastian. In writing on the 24th of August to Rear Admiral Sutton, he said, "The Spencer joined the 19th, from Plymouth. I was very glad to see so fine a ship, and so good a man as Captain Stopford. I have long, my dear friend, made up my mind never to be tired; the longer the happy day is deferred, still every day brings it nearer, and we all feel that the day will arrive, the sooner the better certainly, or I shall not be in at the death; for I have every reason to think if this Fleet gets fairly at Mons. Latouche, that his letter, with all his ingenuity, must be different from his last."

(1804.) Whilst Lord Nelson was thus anxiously watching Toulon, and waiting for his vaunting Enemy to give the British Fleet an opportunity of avenging that aspersion which the French

all derived the greatest benefit from the salubrity of the air brought down by that fine river."

Commander in Chief had endeavoured to cast on its renown, Latouche had been suddenly taken ill, and died. This was a complete disappointment to the Admiral, whose whole mind had been intent on annihilating the French force under Latouche, and proving to all Europe how little the boasts of that Officer would have availed him in the day of Battle. *If he had but come out and fought us*, exclaimed Nelson, *it would at least have added ten years to my life.*

(1804.) The continual attention which he had now, for so many months, paid to the Toulon Squadron, and the variety of conjectures he had constantly formed respecting their future destination, had already presented the West Indies as an object well worthy of the enterprise of Buonaparte; and this more particularly appears from his following short note to Sir R. Bickerton, dated Victory, *Sept.* 6.—“ I shall stand inshore with the starboard Division, and I therefore desire you to keep your present position, I shall come back in the evening, merely wishing to take a look who are out; for I think they will now push to the Westward, and if they should get out of the Straits, I am of opinion they will try for the West Indies, and then, with 7000 troops, farewell our Islands.” —Again in a letter to Sir A. Ball, on the same day, “ I should imagine, now the Russians are getting so large a naval force into the Mediterranean, that the Toulon fleet would not think of going to the Eastward: I should rather believe

the West Indies more likely for them to succeed in. Suppose this Fleet escapes and gets out of the Straits; I am of opinion I should bend my course to the Westward; for if they carry 7000 men, with what they have at Martinique and Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, Antigua, and St. Kitts would fall; and in that case England would be so clamourous for Peace, that we should humble ourselves. What do you think? tell me: I have weighed Ireland against the West Indies, with me, the latter throws the beam up to the ceiling; but I may be wrong, it is at best but a guess, and the World attaches wisdom to him that guesses right. I am very far from well; at the same time if I were to get better, nothing could please me so much as returning to this command; but I have no interest and another will come, and I think very probably Orde, or Curtis. I can solemnly assure you, that I am at present a poorer man than the day I was ordered to the Mediterranean command, by upwards of 1000*l*: but money I despise, except as it is useful, and I expect my Prize money is embarked in the Toulon Fleet. God bless you, my dear Ball, and ever be assured that I am your most faithful Friend, NELSON AND BRONTE."—In a letter on the same day, September 6, to General Villettes, after repeating these ideas respecting the object of the French Fleet, he added, "Whatever may be their destination I shall certainly follow, be it even to the



East Indies: such a Pursuit would do more, perhaps, towards restoring me to health, than all the doctors together. But I fear this is reserved for some happier man. Not that I can complain, I have had a good race of Glory, but we are never satisfied, although I hope I am duly thankful for the past; yet one cannot help, being at Sea, longing for a little more. Latouche has given me the slip, he died of the Cholic, perhaps Buonaparte's, for they say he was a rank Republican. Dumanoir is the Rear Admiral at present in Toulon. God bless you, my dear General, and believe me ever your much obliged Friend."

His following letter, which was addressed through Mr. Marsden to the Board, will shew, that notwithstanding the various other objects which so constantly employed Nelson's mind, he was equally intent on devising the most effectual modes for preserving the health of his Fleet.—"... I am sure their Lordships will see the justness of the case as plain as I do. Each man was formerly allowed a pint of oatmeal on certain days; but as it was found that generally a man could not get a pint of dry oatmeal down his throat, and, I suppose, thinking it no longer necessary to present this saving to the Purser, half a pint of oatmeal was issued instead of a pint, and in lieu of the other half pint, a proportion of molasses: It has sometimes occurred in the Channel fleet, that no molasses was to be pro-

cured, nor was there any allowance made for such temporary omissions. In the West Indies Cocoa and Sugar are allowed, in the Channel, I hear, Tea and Sugar. In the Mediterranean we have no Molasses nor any substitute; nor is our want of Molasses temporary but lasting. I beg, therefore, with all due respect to call their Lordships' attention to this Circumstance; and to propose, that when Molasses cannot be obtained, a proportion of Sugar should be allowed to be mixed with the Oatmeal, in lieu of Molasses: and that if Sugar cannot be obtained, the men having no substitute, in lieu, should be paid the saving as in all other species of provisions. It is not necessary to enter more at large upon this subject, their Lordships' wisdom will direct their proceedings."

(1804.) In one of four letters which he addressed on the 10th of October to Lord Melville, the Admiral expressed himself as being satisfied with the arrangements that had been made by the board of Admiralty, as to line of Battle ships, yet lamented the manner in which the Service continued to be cramped for want of frigates. A deficiency of them in the Mediterranean allowed the enemy's privateers to increase, and considerable depredations to be made on our valuable trade in that sea: "But," added he, "I am sure, my Lord, from your wise beginning, that a full crop of credit, and I believe of glory, will accrue to the Board of Admiralty.

Notwithstanding the weak state of his health from having been so long at sea, Lord Nelson would never leave<sup>d</sup> his ship: On the 17th of October he carried his Fleet to the Madelena Islands for wood, water, and other necessaries; and although the Royal Family of Sardinia were at all times ready to shew every attention to their gallant preserver, he refused all indulgence, and persisted in his determination of remaining on board. Before he left Madelena, feeling, as he did at that time, that he might not be allowed to return from England where he expected shortly to go, he presented a piece of Church Plate to the Superior as a small token of esteem for the inhabitants, and as a remembrance of the hospitable treatment which the Fleet under his Lordship's Command had ever received from them. On the 26th of October the Fleet got under weigh at Madelena, consisting of the Victory, Canopus, Superb, Spencer, Tigre, Royal Sovereign, Leviathan, Excellent, Belleisle, and Conqueror; and, as he added in his Diary, *with not a man sick in the Fleet*. On the 30th of October he looked into Toulon, where Vice Admiral Villeneuve had hoisted his flag, and sent the following account of the Enemy to Lord Melville. "The weather was

<sup>d</sup> From the information of H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, Lord Nelson never went out of the Victory but three times, and then on the King's service, from his leaving England in 1803, to his return in August 1805; and none of these absences from his ship exceeded an hour.

very thick when I looked into Toulon; but I believe a Vice Admiral has hoisted his flag, his name I have not yet heard. They now amuse themselves with night signals, and by the quantity of rockets and blue lights they shew with every signal, they plainly mark their position. These gentlemen must soon be so perfect in theory, that they will come to sea to put their knowledge into practice. Could I see that day it would make me happy."

(1804.) During this month, October, Lord Nelson had been puzzled, and before his own despatches arrived rather irritated, respecting the measures that had been taken to counteract the designs of the Spaniards in favour of the French. On the 22d of Sept. the John Bull cutter had sailed from Plymouth with secret despatches for Lord Nelson, and for Admiral Cornwallis, respecting the Spaniards, whose conduct had begun to be rather suspicious. Admiral Cornwallis was instructed to detach two frigates, to proceed with all despatch off Cadiz and the entrance of the Straits, and to unite their endeavours, with any of his Majesty's ships they might find there, to intercept and detain some Spanish frigates expected with treasure from South America. With a liberality inherent in his character, and which corresponded with the integrity<sup>e</sup> of his Government, Nelson anxiously

<sup>e</sup> The despatches for Lord Nelson were dated Sept. 19, and received Dec. 25. He was therein directed, to take only such

wished, if possible, to avoid a War with Spain: *I still fervently hope*, said he, in writing to Mr. Consul Gibert, *that no War between the two Countries may take place, and that Spain will not any longer be the tool of Buonaparte*: and before he had received his despatches, he had written as follows to Captain Gore, “ Unless you receive orders from the Admiralty, it is my most positive directions, that neither you nor any ship under your command, do molest or interrupt in any manner the lawful Commerce of Spain, with whom we are at perfect peace and amity.”

measures of Precaution as might be necessary for opposing or counteracting any hostile attempts of the Spaniards against the British dominions or their trade. He was, however, not to suffer any act of hostility or aggression (with the exception of detaining Spanish ships with treasure on board) to be committed by his Fleet until he received further orders, or had obtained positive information from unquestionable authority, of Hostilities having been committed by the Spaniards against his Majesty's interest. Additional directions, dated Sept. 25, were also sent for the Captains and Commanders of the Mediterranean Fleet, to keep a vigilant look out, and to detain Spanish ships or vessels laden with military stores. And on the 25th of November, lest any misapprehension might still have been entertained, further instructions were sent out, Not to detain in the first instance any ship belonging to his Catholic Majesty, sailing from a port of Spain, but to require the Commander to return directly to the port whence he came; and only in the event of his refusing to comply with such requisition, was the Admiral to detain and send her to Gibraltar, or to England. He was also further directed not to detain any Spanish homeward bound ship of war, unless she should have treasure on board, nor merchant ships of that nation however laden, on any account whatever.

It was not till the 12th of November that Lord Nelson first heard of the arrival of the Spanish frigates, laden with money, at Spithead;<sup>f</sup> and on the 17th, in writing to the Hon. Captain Capel, “the question of Peace or War with Spain is still, said he, “undecided, at least on the 27th of October, when my letters are dated from Madrid.”

(1804.) During the night of the 14th of November, intelligence arrived in the Mediterranean, that the Spaniards had declared War, which was officially announced by them on the 12th of the ensuing month. On the 14th of December, the Admiralty sent out word, that Mr. Frere had left Madrid, and that an embargo had been laid on all British ships and vessels in the ports of Spain; but owing to his subsequent proceedings, the Admiral did not receive this until the 14th of March, 1805. By this despatch he was directed, “In case of the detention of any Spanish ships or vessels, in consequence of these instructions, to give the most positive orders to

<sup>f</sup> On the 5th of October, the *Indefatigable*, Graham Moore; *Medusa*, J. Gore; *Amphion*, Sutton; and *Lively*, G. E. Hammond, when endeavouring to detain four Spanish frigates, *la Medée*, *la Clara*, *la Fuma*, and *la Mercedes*, laden with treasure, an Action became inevitable notwithstanding the earnest wish of Captain Moore to execute his orders without bloodshed. The *Mercedes* soon blew up with 800,000 dollars on board; the other three were taken, with their rich cargoes, consisting of 32 chests of platina, 1,859,216 dollars in silver, 1,119,658 gold, reduced into dollars, and 150,011 ingots of gold reduced into dollars.

the Officers to whom the charge of such ships or vessels might be intrusted, to take all possible care that no embezzlement of any kind whatever took place on board them." An order which was entirely congenial with his upright and disinterested character; no man deprecated more than Nelson the smallest approaches to a contrary behaviour: *Thank God!* exclaimed he on a similar occasion, *I shall get no money: the World, I know, thinks that to be our God, and now it will be undeceived, as far as relates to us.*

Anno  
Ætat. 46. (1805.) XVI. On the 18th of January the French Fleet put to sea from Toulon, Lord Nelson being then at Madelena, but were soon compelled to return, after having been dispersed in a Gale of Wind. His Lordship had suffered great anxiety lest they should escape him, but at the close of the month of March had given up all idea of their again leaving Toulon: when suddenly on the 4th of April, the *Phœbe*, Hon. T. B. Capel, was discovered in the Offing with the signal flying, *That the French Admiral was at Sea.* Cruisers were despatched in all directions, and Lord Nelson immediately proceeded with the Fleet, which he stationed in the narrow part of the Mediterranean between Sardinia and the coast of Africa until he was satisfied that the object of the Enemy was not to pass between Sardinia, and the Coast of Barbary. It was the 16th of April before any tidings could be obtained of the Enemy; when it appeared

from a Neutral spoken by the Leviathan, that the French had been seen on the 7th off Cape de Gatte, and it was soon afterwards ascertained that they had passed the Straits of Gibraltar on the 8th. Notwithstanding every exertion Lord Nelson did not get in sight of Gibraltar before the 30th of April, about which time he first heard of Villeneuve having been reinforced by some ships, under Gravina, from Cadiz; and as there was no possibility of passing the Straits at that time, and his Ships would be equally ready to embrace the least favourable spirit of wind when at anchor on the Barbary Shore, as by remaining under sail, he profited of the opportunity of watering in Mazari Bay, and ordered the Superb to Tetuan to procure Cattle, Fruit and Vegetables for the Squadron.

(1805.) On the 5th of May a breeze at length sprung up from the Eastward. The signal was immediately made to weigh; the Superb was recalled from Tetuan, leaving the Cattle and other refreshments which had just been brought down on the beach, and all the Squadron was seen standing to the Westward; when the wind suddenly failed, and on the 7th Lord Nelson anchored in Rosia Bay, Gibraltar. But before all the Fléet had done the same, there was every appearance of a Levanter coming on: the ships were unmoored, the provisioned transports taken in tow, and at six o'clock the whole



was again under sail, steering through the Straits.

(1805.) Lord Nelson's whole attention was now directed to the West Indies. He made Madeira on the 15th of May; and as the Squadron approached Barbadoes, despatched the Amazon, Captain Parker, on the 29th to Admiral Cochrane, in order to prepare whatever naval force there might be in Carlisle Bay, to join his Lordship on his approach. On the 3d of June, he received intelligence of the Enemy being in the West Indies from two British merchant ships, and on the 4th reached Barbadoes.

The alarm which prevailed for the safety of Tobago and Trinidad was very great. Intelligence had been received that the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of eighteen sail, had been seen on the 28th of May from St. Lucia, standing to the southward. This was corroborated by other accounts, and no doubt of its authenticity existed with any one except Lord Nelson; who, on his opinion being overruled, replied, *If your intelligence proves false, you lose me the French Fleet.* But this intelligence, supported by an application from General Sir W. Myers, Commander in Chief, to convey himself and 2000 troops to the relief of Tobago and Trinidad, could not be resisted. The Admiral consequently worked his ships up to Carlisle Bay; received the General and troops that evening on board the squadron,

and on the morning of the 5th of June at eight A. M. sailed from Barbadoes with twelve ships of the line, four frigates, three sloops, and four smaller vessels: On the 7th they entered the Gulf of Paria where no Enemy was to be seen, nor had any been there.

The disappointment and feelings of Lord Nelson at this time may easily be imagined. He had entered the Gulf of Paria, and found the complete fallacy of every thing that had been asserted in opposition to his own ideas; which, though deduced from apparent conjecture, proved alone to be correct. With his accustomed activity and firmness of mind he immediately exerted his great abilities to remedy the evil, and to overcome the obstacles that presented themselves. Having obtained an account on the 8th of June, that the Enemy had not moved on the 4th from Fort Royal, but were expected to sail that night for the attack of Grenada, he on the 9th arrived off that Island, and having on his passage communicated with Dominica, on the 11th was off Montserrat, and at sun-set of the 12th of June anchored in St. John's, Antigua, to land the Troops; when he sent the Curieux to England with his despatches. Thus in the short space of Eight Days, had this great Admiral secured our West India Colonies from that plunder and havoc, with which they had been threatened by the combined Fleets of France and Spain; during which he had received

on board and disembarked 2000 Troops, had entered the Gulf of Paria, and surmounting the various obstacles that combined to retard his progress, had shewn his protecting power to every Island in the chain from Trinidad to St. Kitt's.

(1805.) On the 13th of June Lord Nelson sailed at noon in pursuit of the Enemy with his squadron of eleven ships, taking with him the Spartiate, Captain Sir F. Laforey, and stood to the Northward without any Intelligence of the Enemy. No circumstance of particular moment occurred during the Passage back. On Wednesday, July 17, the Fleet came within sight of cape St. Vincent, "Making," observes the Admiral in his Diary, "our whole run from Barbuda, day by day, 3459 miles: Our run from Cape St. Vincent to Barbadoes was 3227 miles, so that our run back was only 232 miles more than our run out—allowance being made for the difference of the latitudes and longitudes of Barbadoes and Barbuda; average per day thirty-four leagues wanting nine miles."—On the 18th of July being in want of provisions, he steered for the Straits mouth, and on the 19th bore up and anchored in Gibraltar, yet still without gaining any information of the Enemy. On the 20th, as is remarked in his Diary, *I went on shore for the first time since June 16, 1803; and from having my foot out of the Victory, two years, wanting ten days.*

On the very next day, July 21, they were em-

ployed in getting ready for sea, and Lord Nelson sent home his despatches in the Thomas, Merchant brig. The Squadron unmoored on the 22d. At eight P.M. they anchored in Mazari Bay, and on the 24th at noon weighed and stood for Ceuta. Having passed the Straits and communicated with Admiral Collingwood, the Squadron under Lord Nelson bore away to the westward, and then proceeded off Cape St. Vincent, with a view to go more northward, or to act as circumstances of intelligence might render necessary. The Fleet accordingly stood to the northward on the 3d of Aug. with light breezes, northerly, and hazy weather. After some days the wind became more favourable, and on the 12th the Niobe was spoken, three days from the Channel Fleet, at which time no intelligence had been obtained of the Enemy's arrival in any of the ports in the Bay of Biscay. On the 15th of August they fell in with Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant, and in the evening Lord Nelson received orders to proceed with the Victory and Superb to Portsmouth. On the 17th the Victory at daylight was abreast of Portland, at eleven she anchored off the Princessa Shoal near the Isle of Wight, and the next day worked up to a good birth at Spithead—*Just two years and three months*, adds Lord Nelson, *from my arrival at Portsmouth in 1803.*

Anno  
Ætat. 47. (1805.) XVII. It had been the most  
anxious wish of Lord Nelson, when he

applied for leave of absence on account of his health, prior to this run to the West Indies, to be again sent out to the command of a Fleet, in which he was not only respected but beloved. The voice of the nation, and its rulers, accorded with this desire in a manner the most gratifying to his feelings.<sup>g</sup>

Towards the end of August, the Hon. Captain Blackwood arrived with the news of the Combined Fleets, being blocked up in Cadiz by Admiral Collingwood. On his way to London with the despatches, that Officer<sup>h</sup> as he passed Lord Nelson's Villa at Merton, about five in the morning, called and found him already up and dressed. On seeing Captain Blackwood he exclaimed, *I am sure you bring me news of the French and Spanish Fleets, and I think I shall yet have to beat them.* The answer was confined to giving, as briefly as possible, all the information of which Captain Blackwood was the bearer; and after expressing hopes that he should witness the intended drubbing, so well foretold, he left Merton for the Admiralty. Lord Nelson immediately followed, and soon afterwards joined him, when they talked over the operations that were intended on returning to the Mediterranean; and he frequently repeated, *Depend on it, Blackwood, I shall yet give Mr. Villeneuve a drubbing.*—Every thing was soon afterwards arranged for his return to the Medi-

<sup>g</sup> Vide 4to Edit. Vol. II. p. 421-2.

<sup>h</sup> From a Memoir furnished by Captain Blackwood.

terranean, and on the night of Friday, September 13, Lord Nelson having taken leave of his brother William and of other relations who were at Merton, with a mind much agitated and highly wrought, pursued his route to Portsmouth— To serve, as he expresses it in his Diary, his King and Country. He arrived at the George Inn, Portsmouth, at six in the following morning, and having arranged every thing with his accustomed quickness, went to that part of the beach to embark for the Victory, where the bathing machines are placed. He weighed on the 15th, at day-break, the Euryalus, Captain Blackwood, in company; but owing to a contrary wind, they came to anchor again; they however by sunset were off Christchurch, and by the evening of the next day off the Berry Head.

(1805.) After encountering much blowing weather, the Victory<sup>1</sup> arrived off Cadiz on the 29th of September, the Admiral's Birth-day, when the necessary orders were given out for the Fleet; and what is remarkable, it was on the same day that Admiral Villeneuve, as he afterwards informed Capt. Blackwood, received orders to put to sea on the first convenient opportunity. From the 29th of Sept. to the 21st of October, Lord Nelson never came in sight of land, that the Enemy might be kept in ignorance of his

<sup>1</sup> The Euryalus was detached on September 26 to Admiral Collingwood, with orders to put himself under Lord Nelson's command.

force: the wisdom of this conduct was strongly proved by subsequent events. Villeneuve repeatedly declared his belief, that Lord Nelson, by detaching six sail of the line to the Mediterranean, had reduced the British Fleet to one-third weaker than that of the Enemy. Captain Blackwood had received orders from Rear Admiral Louis, commanding the advanced Squadron off Cadiz, dated on the 29th of September, to take such a station in the Euryalus Frigate off that Harbour, as from circumstances of wind and weather might be best adapted for watching the motions of the Enemy's Fleet, and preventing Vessels from entering or coming out unperceived. On the 5th of October the Admiral sent the Pickle Schooner, Lieut. J. Lapenotiere, to Capt. Blackwood, to assist him for a few days on the look out: "Perhaps," added Lord Nelson, "with an easterly wind you could anchor a Frigate between Cadiz and the Pedro Shoals, taking care that she did not anchor until two hours after dark, and that she weighed two hours before day."

(1805.) The Combined Fleets, on the 10th of October, were close to the Porpoises and Diamond Rock at Cadiz, and almost out of the harbour, and every thing tended to confirm Lord Nelson in opinion, that their destination was the Mediterranean. On that day he issued some standing Orders, by one of which the different divisions of the Fleet were instructed to bear

the White or St. George's Ensign, being his own colours, in order to prevent confusion from a variety of flags, and to hoist Union Jacks at the foretop gallant stay of each ship, as a distinction.

During the ensuing night, it blew so strong at N. W. that the Enemy could not venture to cast their ships loose; and their continuing thus in port, rendered the situation of the blockading Fleet very critical; as Lord Nelson had been led to think, by a letter from his friend Admiral Young, that if the enemy did not soon sail, he might reasonably expect the Brest Fleet: *I must therefore, observed he in writing to that Officer, try and annihilate them, before the Cadiz Fleet can join.*

The weather on the 14th of October became more favourable, and the only apprehension was, lest the Enemy's ships from being so much crowded at the harbour's mouth, might have suffered in the late gales and be in consequence detained. On that day Lord Nelson made the following arrangement of his ships. The Defence and Agamemnon were placed from seven to eight leagues west from Cadiz, and the Mars and Colossus five leagues East from the main body of the Fleet, "whose station," adds the Admiral in his Diary, "will be from fifteen leagues, to twenty, west of Cadiz, and by this chain I hope to have a constant communication with the Frigates off Cadiz."—Lord Nelson's Diary then continues an account of his proceed-



ings to the morning of the twenty-first.—“*Wednesday, Oct. 16.* Moderate breezes, westerly. All the forenoon employed in forming the Fleet into the order of sailing. At noon fresh breezes W S.W. and squally, in the evening fresh gales. Enemy as before, by signal from the Weazel, Capt. Peter Parker. *Oct. 17.* Moderate breezes, N.W. sent Donegal to Gibraltar to get a ground tier of casks. Received accounts by the Diligent storeship, that Sir Richard Strachan was supposed in sight of the French Rochfort Squadron, which I hope is true. At midnight the wind came to the eastward. *Oct. 18.* Fine weather, wind easterly, the Combined Fleets cannot have finer weather to put to sea. *Oct. 19.* Fine weather, wind easterly. At half past nine, the Mars being one of the look out ships, repeated the signal,<sup>\*</sup> *That the Enemy was coming out of Port*—Made the signal for a general chase S.E. Wind at south, Cadiz bearing E. N. E. by compass, distant sixteen leagues. At three the Colossus made the signal, *That the Enemy's Fleet was at sea.* In the evening directed the Fleet to observe my motions during the night, and for Britannia, Prince, and Dreadnought, they being heavy sailers, to take their stations as convenient; and for Mars, Orion, Belleisle, Leviathan, Bellerophon, and Polyphemus to go ahead during the night and to carry

<sup>\*</sup> Repeated from the Euryalus, Capt. Blackwood, who, being stationed off the harbour's mouth, first telegraphed the Enemy's being at sea.

a light, standing for the Strait's mouth. *Sunday, Oct. 20.* Fresh breezes S. S. W. and rainy: communicated with Phœbe, Defence, and Colossus, who had seen near forty sail of ships of war outside of Cadiz yesterday evening; but the wind being southerly, they could not get to the mouth of the Straits; we were between Trafalgar and Cape Spartel. The frigates made the signal that they saw nine sail outside of the harbour—gave the frigates Instructions for their guidance, and placed Defence, Colossus, and Mars between me and the frigates. At Noon fresh gales and heavy rain—Cadiz N. E. nine leagues. In the afternoon Captain Blackwood telegraphed, that the Enemy seemed determined to go to the westward; and that they shall not do if in the power of Nelson to prevent them. At five telegraphed Capt. Blackwood, that I relied upon his keeping sight of the Enemy. At five Naiad made the signal for thirty-one sail of the Enemy N. N. E. The Frigates and look-out ships kept sight of the Enemy most admirably all night, and told me by signals which tack they were upon. At eight P. M. we wore and stood to the S. W. and at four A. M. wore and stood to the N. E.”

We now come to the great and terrible Day of the Battle; when, as it has been well expressed, **GOD GAVE US VICTORY, BUT NELSON DIED.** He felt that the twenty-first was the last day of his bright Career, that it had been a memorable day in his family, and he accordingly

prepared to die that his Country might be defended from the inveterate Enemies of the civilized World. He put on the <sup>1</sup>Coat which he had so often worn on the day of Victory, and which he kept with a degree of veneration: The various splendid honours he had received from different Nations, were plainly worked upon it, and the Star of the Order of the Bath which he had always worn with a peculiar pleasure, as the free gift of his Sovereign, he resolved should appear in the Battle and be nearest his heart when he fell: *In Honour*, he exclaimed, *I gained them, and in Honour I will die with them.* On leaving his Cabin he went over the different decks, spoke to and encouraged his men with his usual affability, and saw that the preparation for Battle was complete throughout the Ship: As he ascended the quarter deck ladder he was greeted with three Cheers.

Captain Blackwood's Memoir contains the following interesting account of the conversation he had with Lord Nelson on that Morning. "At six o'clock on the morning of the 21st, my signal was made to repair on board the Victory. In a few minutes I went on board, and had the satisfaction to find the Admiral in good, but very calm spirits. After receiving my congratulations,

<sup>1</sup> It had been his custom for years, to preserve what he termed his *fighting Coat*; but through inadvertency he omitted to wear the Sword, so much regarded, which had belonged to Captain M. Suckling.

at the approach of the moment he so often and so long had wished for, he replied, *I mean to-day to bleed the Captains of the Frigates, as I shall keep you on board until the very last minute.* His mind seemed entirely directed to the strength and formation of the Enemy's line, as well as to the effects which his novel mode of Attack was likely to produce. He seemed very much to regret, and with reason, that the Enemy tacked to the northward, and formed their line on the larboard instead of the starboard tack, which latter line of bearing would have kept the Straits mouth open. Instead of which, by forming to the northward, they brought the Shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro, under our lee; and also, with the existing wind, kept open the port of Cadiz, which was of infinite consequence to them. This movement was in a great degree the cause of Lord Nelson's making the signal to prepare to anchor, the necessity of which was impressed on his mind to the last moment of his life: and so much did he think of the possibility of the Enemy's escape into Cadiz, that he desired me to employ the Frigates, as much as I could, to complete the destruction of the Enemy whether at anchor or not; and not to think of saving ships or men, for Annihilation to both was his first object and Capture but a secondary one. During the five hours and a half that I remained on board the Victory, in which I was not ten minutes from his side, he frequently

asked me, *What I should consider as a Victory?* the certainty of which he never for an instant seemed to doubt, although from the situation of the land he questioned the possibility of the subsequent preservation of the Prizes. My answer was, “That considering the handsome way in which Battle was offered by the Enemy, their apparent determination for a fair trial of strength, and the proximity of the land, I thought if fourteen ships were captured it would be a glorious result;” to which he always replied, *I shall not, Blackwood, be satisfied with any thing short of twenty.*—A telegraphic signal had been made by him to denote, *That he intended to break through the Rear of the Enemy’s Line, to prevent their getting into Cadiz.* I was walking with him, continues Captain Blackwood, on the Poop, when he said, “I’ll now amuse the Fleet with a Signal;” and he asked me, “if I did not think there was one yet wanting?” I answered, that I thought the whole of the Fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about, and to vie with each other who should first get nearest to the Victory, or Royal Sovereign. These words were scarcely uttered, when his last well known Signal was made, ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY. The shout with which it was received throughout the Fleet was truly sublime. Now, said Lord Nelson, *I can do no more. We must trust to the Great Disposer of all Events, and the Justice of*

*our Cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my Duty."*

The wind was light from the S.W. and a long swell was setting into the Bay of Cadiz, so that our ships like Sovereigns of the Ocean moved majestically before it; every one crowding all the sail that was possible, and falling into her station according to her rate of going. The Enemy wore at about seven o'clock, and then stood in a close line on the larboard tack towards Cadiz: at that time the Sun shone bright on their sails, and from the number of three deckers amongst them, they made a most formidable appearance; but this so far from appalling our brave countrymen, induced them to observe to each other, *What a fine sight those Ships would make at Spithead.* "About ten o'clock, continues Captain Blackwood in his Memoir, Lord Nelson's anxiety to close with the Enemy became very apparent: He frequently remarked to me, that they put a good face upon it; but always quickly added, *I'll give them such a dressing as they never had before,* regretting at the same time the vicinity of the Land. At that critical moment I ventured to represent to his Lordship the value of such a life as his, and particularly in the present Battle; and I proposed hoisting his Flag in the Euryalus, whence he could better see what was going on, as well as what to order in case of necessity. But he would not hear of it, and gave as his reason the

force of Example, and probably he was right. My next object, therefore, was to endeavour to induce his Lordship to allow the *Temeraire*, *Neptune*, and *Leviathan* to lead into action before the *Victory*, which was then the headmost. After much conversation, in which I ventured to give it as the joint opinion of Captain Hardy and myself, how advantageous it would be to the Fleet for his Lordship to keep as long as possible out of the Battle, he at length consented to allow the *Temeraire*, which was then sailing abreast of the *Victory*, to go ahead, and hailed Captain E. Harvey to say such were his intentions, if the *Temeraire* could pass the *Victory*. Captain Harvey being rather out of hail, his Lordship sent me to communicate his wishes, which I did; when, on returning to the *Victory*, I found him doing all he could to increase rather than diminish sail, so that the *Temeraire* could not pass the *Victory*: consequently, when they came within gun shot of the Enemy, Captain Harvey finding his efforts ineffectual was obliged to take his station astern of the Admiral."

The Combined Fleet, commanded by Admiral Villeneuve in the *Bucentaur*, consisted of thirty-three powerful ships, eighteen of which were French, and fifteen Spanish: amongst the latter was Lord Nelson's old antagonist the *Santissima Trinidad* of 140 guns, besides two of 112 guns, one of 100 guns, six of eighty four and eighty, and the remainder seventy fours of a large class,

together with seven frigates of heavy metal, forty four and forty guns each, besides other smaller vessels. The Spaniards were commanded by Admiral Gravina, who had under him Vice Admiral Don J. D'Aliva, and Rear Admiral Don B. H. Cisneros. Villeneuve had under him Rear Admirals Dumanoir and Magon. Four thousand Troops were embarked on board the Fleet, under the command of General Contamin in the Bucentaur, amongst whom were several of the most skilful sharp shooters that could be selected, and many Tyrolese riflemen: various sorts of combustibles and fire balls were also embarked, as had been their practice in the Battle of the Nile. The Spaniards appeared with their heads to the northward, and formed their Line of Battle with great closeness and correctness; and as the mode of attack by Lord Nelson was unusual, so the structure of their line was new. It formed a Crescent convexing to leeward, and Admiral Collingwood, in leading down to the centre, had both the Van and Rear of the Enemy abaft his beam. Lord Nelson, in the Victory, bore down at the head of the weather column, and Admiral Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign at the head of the lee.

“Of the Victory and Royal Sovereign,” continues Captain Blackwood, “it would be impossible to decide which achieved the most. They both, in my opinion, seemed to vie with each other in holding forth a brilliant Example to



the rest of the Fleet. They were literally in themselves an Host. Admiral Villeneuve assured me, that on seeing the novel mode of attack intended to be made on the Combined Fleet, and which at that moment, he confessed, he could not in any way prevent; he called the Officers of his ship around him, and pointing out the manner in which the first and second in command of the British Fleet were each leading his Column, he exclaimed, *Nothing but Victory can attend such gallant conduct.* When Lord Nelson found the shot pass over the Victory, he desired Captain Prowse of the Sirius and myself to go on board our ships, and in our way to tell all the Captains of line of Battle Ships, that he depended on their exertions; and that if, by the mode of attack prescribed, they found it impracticable to get into Action immediately, they might adopt whatever they thought best, provided it led them quickly and closely alongside an Enemy. He then again desired me to go away; and as we were standing on the front of the Poop, I took his hand and said, 'I trust, my Lord, that on my return to the Victory, which will be as soon as possible, I shall find your Lordship well and in possession of twenty Prizes.' On which he made this reply, *God bless you, Blackwood, I shall never speak to you again.*"

In the first heat of the Action, Mr. Scott, the Admiral's Secretary, was killed by a cannon ball whilst in conversation with Captain Hardy, and

near to Lord Nelson. Captain Adair of the marines, endeavoured to remove the mangled body, but it had attracted the notice of the Admiral — *Is that poor Scott, said he, who is gone?* Afterwards, whilst he was conversing with Captain Hardy on the quarter-deck, during the shower of musket balls and raking fire that was kept up by the Enemy, a double headed shot came across the poop and killed eight of the marines. Captain Adair was then directed by him to disperse his men round the ship. In a few minutes, a shot struck the fore brace bits on the quarter-deck, and passing between Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy, drove some splinters from the bits about them, and bruised Captain Hardy's foot. They mutually looked at each other, when NELSON, whom no danger could affect, smiled and said, *This is too warm work, Hardy, to last.* The Redoubtable had for some time commenced a heavy fire of musketry from her tops, which like those of the Enemy's other ships were filled with riflemen. The Victory however, became enveloped in smoke, except at intervals when it partially dispersed, and owing to the want of wind, was surrounded with the Enemy's ships. At fifteen minutes past one, and a quarter of an hour before the Redoubtable struck, Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy were observed to be walking near the middle of the quarter deck: the Admiral had just commended the manner in which one of his ships near him was fought,

Captain Hardy advanced from him to give some necessary directions, and he was in the act of turning near the hatchway, with his face towards the stern, when a musket ball struck him on the left shoulder, and entering through the epaulet, passed through the spine, and lodged in the muscles of the back, towards the right side. NELSON instantly fell with his face on the deck, in the very place that was covered with the blood of his Secretary, Mr. Scott. Captain Hardy, on turning round, saw the serjeant of marines, Secker, with two seamen, raising him from the deck: *Hardy*, said his Lordship, *I believe they have done it at last, my backbone is shot through.*

Some of the crew immediately bore the Admiral to the cockpit, and several wounded officers, and about 40 men, were carried below at the same time, amongst whom were Lieut. Ram and Mr. Whipple, Captain's clerk, both of whom died soon afterwards. Whilst the seamen were conveying Lord Nelson down the ladder from the middle deck, he observed that the tiller ropes, which had been shot away early in the action, had not been replaced, and desired a midshipman to remind Captain Hardy of it, and to request that new ones should be immediately rove. He then covered his face and stars with his handkerchief, that he might be less observed by his men. He was met at the foot of the cockpit ladder by Mr. Burke the purser, who, with the assistance of a marine sup-

porting his legs, with some difficulty conveyed him over the bodies of the wounded and dying men, for the cockpit was extremely crowded, and placed him on a pallet in the midshipmen's birth on the larboard side. Mr. Beatty was then called, and soon afterwards the Rev. Mr. Scott attended; and his Lordship's clothes were taken off, that the direction of the ball might be the better ascertained. *You can be of no use to me, Beatty,* said Lord Nelson; *go and attend those whose lives can be preserved.* When the surgeon had executed his melancholy office, had expressed the general feeling that prevailed on the occasion, and had again been urged by the Admiral to go and attend to his duty, he reluctantly obeyed, but continued to return at intervals. As the blood flowed internally from the wound, the lower cavity of the body gradually filled; Lord Nelson therefore constantly desired Mr. Burke to raise him, and complaining of an excessive thirst, was supplied by Mr. Scott with lemonade. In this state of suffering, with nothing but havoc, and death, and misery around him, the spirit of NELSON remained unsubdued. His mind continued intent on the great object that was always before him, his Duty to his Country; he therefore anxiously inquired for Captain Hardy, to know whether the annihilation of the Enemy might be depended on; but it was upwards of an hour before that Officer could at so critical a moment leave the deck,

and Lord Nelson became apprehensive that his brave associate was dead. The crew of the Victory were now heard to cheer, and he anxiously demanded the Cause, when Lieutenant Pasco, who lay wounded near him, said that one of their opponents had struck. A gleam of devout joy lighted up the countenance of NELSON; and as the Crew repeated their cheers and marked the progress of his Victory, his satisfaction visibly increased. *Will no one, exclaimed he, bring Hardy to me? He must be killed, I am certain he is dead.* Mr. Bulkley, the Captain's Aid de Camp, then came below, and in a low voice communicated to the Surgeon the particular circumstances respecting the Fleet which had detained Captain Hardy, but that he would take the first moment that offered to leave the deck. The excessive heat of the Cockpit from the numbers of the dead and wounded, increased the faintness of the dying Admiral, and his sight became dim: *Who brought the message?* said he feebly. "Bulkley, my Lord," replied Mr. Burke. *It is his voice, said NELSON; remember me, Bulkley, to your Father.* Captain Hardy soon afterwards came down from the Deck, and anxiously strove to conceal the feelings with which he had been struggling. *How goes the Day with us, Hardy?* "Ten ships, my Lord, have struck." *But none of ours I hope.* "There is no fear, my dear Lord, of that. Five of their Van have tacked, and shew an intention of bearing down upon us;

but I have called some of our fresh ships round the Victory, and have no doubt of your complete success." Having said this, he found himself unable any longer to suppress the yearnings of a brave and affectionate heart, and hurried away for a time to conceal the bitterness of his sorrow.

The firing continued and the cheers of the men were occasionally heard amidst its repeated peals. With a wish to support his spirits that were in some degree shaken by having seen the Friend he so sincerely regarded, and from the increased pain under which he had to endure the agonies of excessive thirst, and the great difficulty of respiration, Mr. Burke said, "I still hope, my Lord, you will carry this glorious news home." *Don't talk nonsense,* replied the Admiral, *one would, indeed, like to live a little longer, but I know it to be impossible: God's Will be done. I have performed my Duty, and I devoutly thank Him for it.* A wounded Seaman was lying near him on a pallet, waiting for amputation, and in the bustle that prevailed was hurt by some person passing by: NELSON, weak as he was, indignantly turned his head, and with his usual authority reprimanded the man for not having more humanity. Sometime afterwards he was again visited by the Surgeon: *I find,* said he, *something rising in my breast, which tells me I shall soon be gone. God be praised that I have*

*done my duty. My Pain is so severe, that I devoutly wish to be released.*

A most spirited and continued fire had been kept up from the Victory's starboard guns on the Redoubtable, for about fifteen minutes after Lord Nelson was wounded; in which time Captain Adair and about eighteen Seamen and Marines were killed, and Lieutenant Bligh, Mr. Palmer, Midshipman, and twenty Seamen and Marines were wounded by the Enemy's musquetry alone: Lord Nelson did not allow of any small arms in the tops of the Victory, from the danger of setting fire to the sails. The Redoubtable had been twice on fire in her fore chains and on the fore-castle, and by throwing some combustibles had set fire to the Victory: the alarm was given, which reached to the Cockpit, yet neither hurry nor trepidation appeared, and the Crew having put out the flames, immediately turned their attention to the Redoubtable, and rendered her all the assistance in their power. On the colours of that ship being struck, and no possibility of boarding her appearing from the state of ruin of both ships, and the closing of the Enemy's ports, some Seamen immediately volunteered their services to Lieut. Quillam, to jump overboard, and, by swimming under the bows of the Redoubtable, to endeavour to secure the Prize; but Captain Hardy thought the lives of such men too valu-

able to be risked by so desperate an attempt. Afterwards, when the firing from the Victory had in some measure ceased, and the glorious result of the day was accomplished, Captain Hardy immediately visited the dying Chief, and reported the entire number that had struck: *God be praised, Hardy! bring the Fleet to an anchor.* The delicacy of Captain Hardy's situation, from there being no Captain of the Fleet, was peculiarly embarrassing; and, with as much feeling as the subject would admit of, he hinted at the Command devolving on Admiral Collingwood. NELSON feeling the vast importance of the Fleet being brought to anchor, and with the ruling passion of his soul predominant in death, replied, and somewhat indignantly, *Not whilst I live, I hope Hardy;* and vainly endeavouring, at the moment, to raise himself on the Pallet, *Do you,* said he, *bring the Fleet to anchor.* Captain Hardy was returning to the Deck, when the Admiral called him back and begged him to come near. Lord Nelson then delivered his last injunctions, and desired that his body might be carried home to be buried, unless his Sovereign should otherwise desire it, by the bones of his Father and Mother. He then took Captain Hardy by the hand, and observing, that he would most probably not see him again alive, the dying Hero desired his brave associate to kiss him, that he might seal their long Friendship with that affection which pledged sincerity



in Death.—Captain Hardy stood for a few minutes over the body of him he so truly regarded, in silent agony, and then kneeling down again, kissed his forehead: *Who is that*, said the dying Hero. “It is Hardy, my Lord.” *God bless you, Hardy*, replied NELSON feebly, and afterwards added, *I wish I had not left the Deck, I shall soon be gone*; his voice then gradually became inarticulate, with an evident increase of pain: when, after a feeble struggle, these last words were distinctly heard, I HAVE DONE MY DUTY, I PRAISE GOD FOR IT. Having said this, he turned his face towards Mr. Burke, on whose arm he had been supported, and expired without a groan.

XVIII. The Battle had been sorely contested, and the slaughter on board the Enemy almost unprecedented: in the British Fleet 423 were killed, and 1064 wounded, many of whom died afterwards. The Ships that pressed forward after their gallant Chiefs in the weather and lee Columns, are described by Admiral Collingwood, as breaking through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaging the Enemy at the muzzles of their guns: “The conflict,” adds he, “was severe; the Enemy’s ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their Officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant his Majesty’s arms a complete and glorious Victory. About three P.M. many of the Enemy’s ships

having struck their Colours, their line gave way: Admiral Gravina, with the Ships joining their Frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their Van tacked, and standing to the southward, to windward of the British Line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his Majesty's Squadron nineteen ships of the line, (of which two are first rates, the Santissima Trinidad and the Santa Anna) with three Flag Officers, viz. Admiral Villeneuve the Commander in Chief, Don Ignatio Maria d'Aliva, Vice Admiral, and the Spanish Rear Admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros. After such a Victory, it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several Commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express. The Spirit which animated all was the same. When all exert themselves zealously in their Country's Service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded, and never was high Merit more conspicuous than in the Battle I have described. The Achille, a French seventy-four, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen after her surrender, took fire and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by the tenders... Such a Battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have only to lament in common with the British Navy and the British Nation, in the fall of the

COMMANDER IN CHIEF, the loss of a Hero whose name will be immortal and his memory ever dear to his Country: But my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the loss of a Friend, to whom by many years intimacy and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell, does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought. I have also to lament the loss of those excellent Officers, Captains Duff of the Mars, and Cooke of the Bellerophon: I have as yet heard of no others. I fear the number that have fallen will be found very great when the returns come to me; but it having blown a gale of wind ever since the Action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the Ships.

“ The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me, while the Action continued, which ship lying within hail made my signals; a service Captain Blackwood performed with great attention. After the Action I shifted my Flag to her, that I might more easily communicate my Orders to, and collect the ships, and tow the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole Fleet were now in a very perilous situation; many dismasted, all shattered, in thirteen fathom water off the shoals of Trafalgar, and when I made the

signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot. But the same good Providence which aided us through such a day, preserved us in the night by the wind shifting a few points and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships which are now at anchor off Trafalgar.”<sup>k</sup>

The VICTORY having been made sea worthy at Gibraltar, where she arrived on the 28th of October, passed through the Straits in company with the Belleisle during the night of the 4th of November, and the next day, at noon, joined the Fleet, under Admiral Collingwood, cruising off Cadiz. Captain Hardy parted company in the evening, and stood for England. The Body of Lord Nelson had been preserved with the greatest care and attention by the Surgeon, at first in brandy, and afterwards on arriving at Gibraltar, where it could be procured in a sufficient quantity, with a portion of spirits of wine mixed with it. After a long and melancholy passage the Victory arrived at Spithead, and on the 11th of December, sailed for the Nore; previous to which the body of Lord Nelson was again examined. His sacred remains were wrapped in cotton vestments, and rolled from head to foot with bandages after the ancient mode of embalming, and then placed in a leaden coffin filled with brandy holding a strong solution of camphor and myrrh: this was enclosed in one

<sup>k</sup> See Appendix, No. 3, the official letters sent by Admiral Collingwood subsequent to this account of the Action.

of wood, and placed in the after part of his Lordship's Cabin. The body was afterwards on being removed from the Victory, apparelled in some of the late Admiral's uniform clothes, and laid in the Coffin made from the Mainmast of L'Orient, which had been presented to Lord Nelson in 1799, by Captain Hallowell. The whole were afterwards enclosed in another Coffin very richly ornamented, and adorned with various devices, which was sent from London.

The news of the Victory of Trafalgar was on the 6th of November announced in the Metropolis by the Park and Tower Guns. The Despatches from Admiral Collingwood had been forwarded from the Admiralty to the King at Windsor, who received them at an early hour. His Majesty was much affected, and a profound silence, which continued for some minutes, marked the gratitude of the venerable Monarch. The whole of the Royal Family shed tears. The King then went to Chapel to return his devout thanks for the Victory; and on the following day his Majesty in Council directed the 5th of December to be proclaimed as a day of General Humiliation and Praise to God: and it was also directed by the King, that the Body of the British Hero should be buried in St. Paul's at the Public Expense, with Military and National Honours. Accordingly on the 22d of December the body was removed from the Victory on board the yacht of Commissioner Grey, in

which it was conveyed to Greenwich. It lay in state in the Painted Hall there on Sunday, January the 5th, 1806, and the two following days, and was then removed to the Admiralty. The Funeral took place on Thursday, January 9th, with all the splendour and funeral grandeur which could be devised to express the Nation's Sense of the Loss which it had sustained. Nearly 10,000 regular troops marched in the procession, which was attended likewise by a vast number of Naval Officers, Peers, and Commoners, by H. R. H. THE PRINCE with the rest of the Princes of the Blood Royal, and by 48 Seamen and Marines of H. M. S. Victory, and the Admiral's barge's Crew.<sup>d</sup> A Monument was afterwards voted by Parliament; and on Portsdown Hill, at Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many other principal cities and towns of the United Kingdom, the public gratitude has dictated the Vote of a similar distinction.

The Public Character of Lord Nelson as a great Naval Officer is without a parallel in the age in which he lived. The splendour of his professional career proceeded from the uniform zeal by which his conduct was inspired, and the profound judgment and mature reflection by which that zeal was disciplined. His ardent mind was always intent on the one great object of Duty which was at any time before him: *It is to the*

<sup>d</sup> Vide Quarto Edit. vol. ii. pages 460—465.

*Day of Battle* (he constantly repeated a short time previous to his death), *It is to the Day of Battle, and only to that day, that I anxiously look.* Like an experienced Warrior, and a great Politician, he never steered a middle course, nor adopted half measures. His idea of naval enterprises was, as he strongly expressed it in his admirable letter to Sir Hyde Parker before the battle of Copenhagen, *To take the Bull by the Horns, for that the strongest measures were the best.* All his Officers were sensible of the powerful energies of his mind on Public Duty, and implicitly relied upon them.

The consciousness of his great Abilities, and the zeal which incited them, frequently gave him an appearance of what has vaguely been termed vanity; which seems too common and degrading an appellation for that Passion, which has fed the flame of genius in the illustrious men of all ages. NELSON often felt and acknowledged a supernatural influence which raised him above the common level of mankind, and made him feel from his youth upwards, that he was born to perform great and unrivalled exploits: *If God gives me life, he would often exclaim, I will be renowned.*

In what an eminent degree Lord Nelson possessed Wisdom, properly so called, the following definition of it will amply demonstrate: "The general conception of Wisdom is easy, and the character of it invariable. It consists first of

the deliberate proposing the best and fittest end; and secondly of the fixed choice, and the steady undeciding pursuit of the most proper and effectual means, in order to promote it."— This clearly appeared in his orders and plans of attack, which were simple, and, when made known, easily understood. His Wisdom extended throughout his squadron, and reflected light on those who would otherwise have been bewildered. The decision and consistency which this imparted to his professional conduct, left no room for doubt or uncertainty in the minds of his Officers: consequently the whole circle of Obedience in his Fleet was perfect. The manner in which he concluded his directions to an Officer, when he wished him particularly to exert himself, was admirably calculated to call forth whatever energies he possessed: *I am confident*, said he at the close of one of his letters on service, *that you will act as appears to you best for his Majesty's service: I rely with confidence upon your Judgment, Zeal, and Expedition.*

No Commander in Chief ever struggled more uniformly than he did, to oppose that overruling political interest at home, which prevented an Admiral from rewarding Merit, when the very spirit of the Service required it, and called on him to preserve a general emulation throughout his Fleet. His letters to the different Ministers demonstrate his judicious feelings on that increasing evil: In those addressed to the Admi-



rality, many of which have been necessarily omitted, are some filled with his reasons for an apparent neglect of the Long List of names which he had been directed to promote. NELSON frequently brought forward Officers of great and distinguished ability, whom he had scarcely seen: *You must be sensible* (said he when writing to a great Statesman then at the Admiralty), *that a Commander in Chief must have the power of rewarding Merit, if he wishes for good conduct in the Fleet. I am sure I need say no more to your Lordship upon this subject. We must think alike.*

His anxious care of the Public Money and his attention to an economy of it, never contracted his mind, nor rendered him callous to the feelings and comfort of his men. If he had treasure at any time on board, he was always restless until it had reached its destination: yet though so vigilant a Steward of the Nation's wealth, he equally reprobated that occasional disposition for parsimony which periodically affected the energies of the British Government: "No man (said he, when writing to one of our Consuls in the Mediterranean), wishes to be more economical of the Public Money than myself; yet in our present state, and with the sort of people whom we have to manage in these matters, *Care must be taken, not to be penny wise and pound foolish.*" He also particularly complained of old unprincipled men, who were in every respect unfit to serve their Country, being allowed

to retain situations abroad of great national importance: One of his letters on this subject thus concludes, *We should have, my Lord, younger men, of honour and of business: If they are money making men, they ought not to be appointed.*

Like all men of great genius and sanguine minds, the prejudices of Lord Nelson were strong, and sometimes, when unfairly worked upon, unconquerable: *as one not easily unkind, but, being wrought, perplexed in the extreme.* The exquisite tenderness of his mind unwarped by their force, extended to all with whom he was connected, and operated powerfully on their hearts. The grateful Address of the Barge's Crew of the Foudroyant, on his return to England in 1800, affords an interesting proof of it. Whenever he found himself disappointed in any person of whom he had formed too favourable an opinion, he rarely suffered it to appear by a change in his behaviour; that the routine of service might continue to glide on smoothly, and the harmony which prevailed in his Fleet might remain uninterrupted.

The whole Character of this great and lamented Admiral was consummated by his uniform sense of the blessed tenets of Christianity. This raised his mind above those mean and ignoble passions which depress the Abilities of so great a portion of mankind, and rendered him superior to the rest of his contemporaries, because he acted on a superior principle: In every

work therefore which he undertook, in the service of his King and Country, he did it in the language of the sacred Historian, *with all his heart, and prospered.* The Fame of NELSON, to use nearly the words of one who justly estimated his various excellence, will endure as long as the name of his Country shall be pronounced, in new ages of the world by future generations of men, and it will be esteemed honourable by posterity to have lived during that Era which he has ennobled. Let us then consecrate his Memory by emulating the perfection of his Character, and the disinterested zeal of his Conduct; and should the time hereafter arrive, when on our Native Land we shall be called to protect the TOMB OF NELSON, and the Liberties which he died to save, may his immortal Spirit hover around us, and with the blessing of God's Providence lead us to Victory.

# APPENDIX.

N° 1.

*Referred to at page 391.*

*British Line under the command of Sir John Jervis, K. B.  
on the 14th of February, 1797.*

N°	Ships' Names.	Guns.
1	Blenheim. ....	90
2	Diadem. ....	64
3	Prince George. ....	98
4	Irresistible. ....	74
5	Britannia. ....	100
6	Captain. ....	74
7	Egmont. ....	74
8	Victory. ....	100
9	Culloden. ....	74
10	Orion. ....	74
11	Colossus. ....	74
12	Barfleur. ....	98
13	Excellent. ....	74
14	Goliath. ....	74
15	Namur. ....	90
		<hr/>
	Total	1232 Guns
	Total Spanish Line. ....	2308
		<hr/>
	Difference against the British	1076 Guns

## FRIGATES.

Lively. ....	32
La Minerve. ....	40
Niger. ....	32
Southampton. ....	32
La Bonne Citoyenne. ....	18
Raven brig. ....	18
Fox cutter. ....	12

*Spanish Line under the command of Vice Admiral Don  
Josef Cordova.*

	Nº	Ships' Names.	Guns.	Frigates Names.	Guns
Van Squadron.	1	Yahama.....	74	{ Brigida..... 34 Casilda..... 34 Perla..... 34 Mercedes..... 34	
	2	Yelayo... ..	74		
	3	San Pablo.....	74		
	4	Neptuno.....	84		
	5	Concepcion.....	112		
	6	San Domingo.....	74		
	7	Conquistador.....	74		
	8	San Juan Nepomuceno	74		
	9	San Genaro.....	74		
Centre Squadron.	10	Mexicano.....	112	{ Paz..... 34 Dorotea..... 34 Guadalupe.... 34 Santa Teresa.. 34 Vigilante (brig) 12	
	11	Terrible.....	74		
	12	Oriente.....	74		
	13	Soberano.....	74		
	14	SANTISSIMA TRINIDAD	136		
	15	San Nicolas.....	84 <i>taken</i>		
	16	San Ysidro.....	74 <i>ditto</i>		
	17	Salvator del Mundo..	112 <i>ditto</i>		
	18	San Ildefonso.....	74		
Rear Squadron.	19	Conde de Regla.....	112	{ Matilda..... 34 Diana..... 34 Atocha... .. 34 Ceres..... 34	
	20	San Firmin.....	74		
	21	Firme.....	74		
	22	Principe de Asturias.	112		
	23	San Antonio.....	74		
	24	Glorioso.....	74		
	25	Atlante.....	74		
	26	San Francisco de Paula	74		
	27	San Josef.....	112 <i>taken</i>		
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2308</b>	<b>Guns</b>	
	<b>Total British Line.....</b>		<b>1232</b>		
	<b>Difference in favour of the Spanish Fleet</b>		<b>1076</b>	<b>Guns</b>	

*List of the Killed and Wounded in the squadron under the command of Admiral Sir J. Jervis in the action with the Spanish Fleet, February, 14, 1797.*

Ships.	Killed.				Wounded.				Total Killed and Wounded.
	Officers	Seamen	Marines	Soldiers	Officers	Seamen	Marines	Soldiers	
Victory . . . .	0	1	0	0	0	2	3	0	6
Britannia . . .	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Barfleur . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	7
Prince George .	0	7	1	0	0	7	0	0	15
Blenheim . . .	0	10	0	2	2	40	0	7	61
Namur . . . . .	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	7
Captain . . . .	1	20	0	3	2	50	0	4	80
Goliath . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	8
Excellent . . .	1	8	2	0	0	10	2	0	23
Orion . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	0	9
Colossus . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	5
Egmont . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Culloden . . . .	1	7	2	0	0	39	8	0	57
Irresistible . .	0	4	1	0	1	12	1	0	19
Diadem . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
	3	59	6	5	5	189	21	12	300

## N° 2.

*Referred to at pages 485, 488.*

*A Return of the Killed and Wounded in His Majesty's Ships under the Command of Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B. Rear Admiral of the Blue, &c. &c. &c. in Action with the French Fleet at Anchor, on the 1st of August, 1798, off the Mouth of the Nile.*

Ships.	Killed.				Wounded.				Total Killed and Wounded.
	Officers	Seamen	Marines	Total	Officers	Seamen	Marines	Total	
Theseus . . . .	0	5	0	5	1	24	5	30	35
Alexander . . .	1	13	0	14	5	48	5	58	72
Vanguard . . .	3	20	7	30	7	60	8	75	105
Minotaur . . .	2	18	3	23	4	54	6	64	87
Swiftsure . . .	0	7	0	7	1	19	2	22	29
Audacious . . .	0	1	0	1	2	31	2	35	36
Defence . . . .	0	3	1	4	0	9	2	11	15
Zealous . . . .	0	1	0	1	0	7	0	7	8
Orion . . . . .	1	11	1	13	5	18	6	29	42
Goliath . . . . .	2	12	7	21	4	28	9	41	62
Majestic . . . .	3	33	14	50	3	124	16	143	193
Bellerophon . .	4	32	13	49	5	126	17	148	197
Leander . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	14	14
	16	156	46	218	37	562	78	677	895

Officers Killed.			Officers Wounded	
Name and Quality.		What Ship.		Name and Quality.
Captain Wm. Faddy, Marines. Mr. Thomas Seymour, Mid. Mr. John G. Taylor, Mid.	}	VANGUARD	}	Mr. Nath. Vassal, Lieutenant. Mr. John M'Adye, Do. Mr. John Campbell, Adm. Sec. Mr. Michael Austin, Boatsw. Mr. John Wetherstone, Mid. Mr. George Antrim, Mid.
				THESEUS
Mr. John Collins, Lieut.	}	ALEXANDER	}	Alexander J Ball, Captain. John Creswell, Capt. Marines. Mr. William Lawson, Master. Mr. George Bully, Mid. Mr. Lake Anderson, Mid.
		AUDACIOUS		Mr. John Jeans, Lieutenant. Mr. Charles Foot, Gunner.
Mr. Baird, Captain's Clerk.	}	ORION	}	Sir James Saumarez, Captain. Mr Peter Sadler, Boatswain. Mr Philip Richardson, Mid. Mr. Charles Meill, Mid. Mr. Lanfesty, Mid.
Mr. Wm Davies, Master's Mate. Mr. Andrew Browne, Mid.				GOLIATH
G. B. Westcott, Captain. Mr. Zebedee Ford, Mid. Mr. And. Gilmore, Boatswain.	}	MAJESTIC	}	Mr. Charles Seward, Mid. Mr. Charles Boyle Mr. R. Overton, Capt's Clerk.
Mr. Robt. Savage Daniel, Lieut. Mr. P. Watson Launder, Do. Mr. George Jolliffe, Do. Mr. Thos Ellison, Mast. Mate.				BELLEROPHON
Lt. J. S. Kircheser, Marines. Mr. P. Walters, Master's Mate.	}	MINOTAUR	}	Mr. Thomas Irwin, Lieut. Mr. John Irwell, Lt. Marines. Mr. F. Foxton, Second Master. Mr. Martin Wells, Mid.
		SWIFTSURE		Mr. William Smith, Mid.

(Signed)

HORATIO NELSON.

*Force of the English and French Fleets at the Battle of the Nile.*

English.	Number of				French.	Number of		How disposed of.
	Guns.	Men.	Killed	Wounded		Guns.	Men.	
Vanguard..	74	595	30	75	L'Orient.....	120	1010	Burnt
Orion... ..	74	590	13	29	Le Franklin.....	80	800	Taken
Culloden ..	74	590	0	0	Le Tonnant .....	80	800	Do
Bellerophon	74	590	49	148	Le Guerrier.....	74	700	Do
Defence... .	74	590	4	11	Le Conquerant...	74	700	Do
Minotaur..	74	640	23	64	Le Spartiate .....	74	700	Do
Alexander..	74	590	14	58	Le Timoléon.....	74	700	Burnt
Audacious..	74	590	1	35	Le Sovereign People	74	700	Taken
Zealous ...	74	590	1	7	L'Heureux .....	74	700	Do
Swiftsure..	74	590	7	22	Le Mercure.....	74	700	Do
Majestic... .	74	590	50	143	L'Artemise .....	36	300	Burnt
Goliath ....	74	590	21	41	L'Aquilon .....	74	700	Taken
Theseus... .	74	590	5	30	La Sérieuse .....	36	300	Sunk
Leander... .	50	343	0	14	L'Hercule (Bomb)		50	Burnt
					La Fortune.....	18	70	Taken
					Le Guillaume Tell	80	800	Escaped
					Le Genereux.....	74	700	Do
					La Justice.....	40	400	Do
					La Diane.....	40	400	Do
	1012	8068	218	677		1196	11230	

Complement of men on board the French ships burnt, taken, and sunk at the battle of the Nile; as by certificates from the commissaries and officers of the different ships.....	8930
Sent on shore by cartel, including the wounded, as by certificates from Captain Barry of <i>L'Alceste</i> .....	3105
Escaped from the Timoléon.....	350
Escaped from L'Hercule (Bomb).....	50
Officers, carpenters, and caulkers, prisoners on board the fleet .....	200
	<hr/> 3705
Taken, drowned, burnt, and missing.....	5225

(Signed)

HORATIO NELSON.



N<sup>o</sup> 3.*Referred to at page 681.*

Euraylus, off Cadiz, October 24th, 1805.

SIR,

In my letter of the 22d, I detailed to you, for the Information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the proceedings of His Majesty's Squadron on the day of the Action, and that preceding it, since which I have had a continued series of misfortunes; but they are of a kind that human prudence could not possibly provide against, or my skill prevent.

On the 22d in the morning, a strong southerly wind blew with squally weather, which however did not prevent the activity of the Officers and Seamen of such ships as were manageable, from getting hold of many of the Prizes (thirteen or fourteen) and towing them off to the westward, where I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, in tow by the Neptune: but on the 23d the gale increased, and the sea ran so high, that many of them broke the tow-rope, and drifted far to leeward, before they were got hold of again; and some of them, taking advantage of the dark and boisterous night, got before the wind; and have perhaps drifted upon the shore and sunk; on the afternoon of that day the remnant of the Combined Fleet, ten sail of ships, who had not been much engaged, stood up to leeward of my shattered and straggled Charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured ships, and form to leeward for their defence; all this retarded the progress of the hulks, and the bad weather continuing, determined me to destroy all the leewardmost that could be cleared of the men, considering that keeping possession of the ships was a matter of little consequence, compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the Enemy: but even this was an arduous task in the high sea which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent; I entrusted it to skilful Officers, who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The Captains of the Prince and Neptune

cleared the *Trinidad*, and sunk her. Captains Hope, Byntun, and Malcolm, who joined the Fleet this moment from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying five others. The *Redoubtable* sunk a-stern of the *Swiftsure*, while in tow. The *Santa Anna*, I have no doubt, is sunk, as her side was almost entirely beat in; and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a ship of them into port. I hope their Lordships will approve of what I (having only in consideration the destruction of the Enemy's Fleet) have thought a measure of absolute necessity. I have taken Admiral Villeneuve into this ship; Vice-Admiral Don Aliva is dead. Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can spare a frigate (for there were only four in the action with the Fleet, *Euryalus*, *Sirius*, *Phœbe*, and *Naiad*; the *Melpomene* joined the 22d, and the *Eurydice* and *Scout* the 23d,) I shall collect the other Flag Officers and send them to England with their Flags (if they do not go to the bottom) to be laid at his Majesty's feet. There were four thousand troops embarked, under the command of General Contamin, who was taken with Admiral Villeneuve in the *Bucentaur*.

I am, Sir, &c. C. COLLINGWOOD.

*Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Collingwood, Vice-Admiral of the Red, &c. &c. to William Marsden, Esq. dated on board the Euryalus, off Cadiz, October 28, 1805.*

SIR,

Since my Letter to you of the 24th, stating the proceedings of His Majesty's Squadron, our situation has been the most critical, and our employment the most arduous, that ever a Fleet was engaged in. On the 24th and 25th it blew a most violent gale of wind, which completely dispersed the ships, and drove the captured hulls in all directions.

I have since been employed in collecting and destroying them where they are at anchor, upon the coast between Cadiz, and six leagues westward of Saint Lucar, without the prospect of saving one to bring into port.

I mentioned in my former Letter the joining of the Donegal and Melpomene after the Action: I cannot sufficiently praise the activity of their Commanders in giving assistance to the Squadron in destroying the Enemy's ships.

The Defiance, after having stuck to the Aigle as long as it was possible, in hope of saving her from wreck, which separated her for some time from the Squadron, was obliged to abandon her to her fate, and she went on shore.

Captain Durham's exertions have been very great. I hope I shall get them all destroyed by to-morrow, if the weather keeps moderate.

In the gale the Royal Sovereign and Mars lost their foremasts, and are now rigging anew, where the body of the Squadron is at anchor to the N.W. of San Lucar.

I find, that on the return of Gravina to Cadiz, he was immediately ordered to sea again, and came out, which made it necessary for me to form a line to cover the disabled hulks. That night it blew hard, and his ship, the Prince of Asturias, was dismasted, and returned into port. The Rayo was also dismasted and fell into our hands; Don Enrique M'Donel had his broad pendant in the Rayo, and from him I find the Saint Anna was driven near Cadiz, and towed in by a frigate.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

## GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, NOV. 27, 1805.

*Copy of a Letter received last night by the Honourable Captain Blackwood, from Vice Admiral Lord Collingwood, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to William Marsden, Esq. dated on board His Majesty's Ship the Queen, off Cape Trafalgar, Nov. 4, 1805.*

SIR,

ON the 28th ultimo I informed you of the proceedings of the squadron to that time. The weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from S.W. the squadron not in a situation of safety, and seeing little prospect of getting the captured ships off the land, and great risk of some of them getting into port, I determined no longer to delay the destroying them, and to get the squadron out of the deep bay.

The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel, however, saved the French Swiftsure; and his ship, the Phœbe, together with the Donegal, Captain Malcolm, afterwards brought out the Bahama. Indeed nothing can exceed the perseverance of all the officers employed in this service: Captain Hope rigged and succeeded in bringing out the Ildefonso. All of which will, I hope, have arrived safe at Gibraltar. For the rest, Sir, I enclose you a list of all the enemy's fleet which were in the action, and how they are disposed of, which, I believe, is perfectly correct.

I informed you, in my letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the enemy's fleet came out a second time to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off some of the hulks, when the Rayo was dismasted, and fell into our hands: she afterwards parted her cable, went on shore, and was wrecked. The Indomptable, one of the same squadron, was also driven on shore, wrecked, and her crew perished.

The Santa Anna and Algeziras, being driven near the shore of Cadiz, got such assistance as has enabled them to get in; but

the ruin of their fleet is as complete as could be expected, under the circumstances of fighting them close to their own shore: had the battle been in the ocean, still fewer would have escaped. Twenty sail of the line are taken or destroyed; and of those which got in, not more than three are in a repairable state for a length of time.

Rear Admiral Louis, in the *Canopus*, who had been detached with the *Queen*, *Spencer*, and *Tigre*, to complete the water, &c. of these ships, and to see the convoy in safety a certain distance up the Mediterranean, joined me on the 30th.

In clearing the captured ships of prisoners, I found so many wounded men, that, to alleviate human misery as much as was in my power, I sent to the Marquis de Solana, Governor-General of Andalusia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their Country, on receipts being given: a proposal which was received with the greatest thankfulness, not only by the Governor, but the whole country resounds with expressions of gratitude. Two French frigates were sent out to receive them, with a proper officer to give receipts, bringing with them all the English who had been wrecked in several of the ships, and an offer from the Marquis de Solana of the use of their hospital for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended.

I have ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released; the officers on parole, the men for receipts given, and a condition that they do not serve in war by sea or land until exchanged.

By my correspondence with the Marquis, I found that Vice Admiral D'Aliva was not dead, but dangerously wounded; and I wrote to him a letter, claiming him as a prisoner of war.

I am, &c.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

*A List of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain in the Action of the 21st of October 1805, off Cape Trafalgar, showing how they are disposed of.*

1. Spanish ship. San Ildefonso, of 74 guns; Brigadier Don Joseph de Vargas.—Sent to Gibraltar.
2. Spanish ship. San Juan Nepomuceno, of 74 guns; Brigadier Don Cosme Churruea.—Sent to Gibraltar.
3. Spanish ship. Bahama, of 74 guns; Brigadier Don A. D. Galiano.—Sent to Gibraltar.
4. French ship. Swiftsure, of 74 guns; Monsieur Villemærin.—Sent to Gibraltar.
5. Spanish ship. Monarca, of 74 guns; Don Ieodoro Argu-mosa.—Wrecked off Saint Lucar.
6. French ship. Fougeux, of 74 guns; Monsieur Boudouin.—Wrecked off Trafalgar: all perished and thirty of the Temeraire's men.
7. French ship. Indomptable, of 84 guns; Monsieur Hubert, —Wrecked off Rota: all perished.
8. French ship. Bucentaur, of 80 guns; Admiral Villeneuve, Commander in Chief; Captains Prigny and Majendie.—Wrecked on the Porques; some of the crew saved.
9. Spanish ship. San Francisco de Assis, 74 guns; Don Louis de Flores.—Wrecked near Rota.
10. Spanish ship. El Rayo, of 100 guns; Brigadier Don Henrique Macdonel.—Wrecked near San Lucar.
11. Spanish ship. Neptuno, of 84 guns; Brigadier Don Cayetano Valdes.—Wrecked between Rota and Catolina.
12. French ship. Argonaute, of 74 guns; Monsieur Epron.—On shore in the port of Cadiz.
13. French ship. Berwick, of 74 guns; Monsieur Camas.—Wrecked to the northward of St. Lucar.
14. French ship. Aigle, of 74 guns; Monsieur Courrege.—Wrecked near Rota.

15. French ship. *Achille*, of 74 guns; *Monsieur de Nieuport*.—Burnt during the action.

16. French ship. *Intrepide*, of 74 guns; *Monsieur Infornet*.—Burnt by the *Britannia*.

17. Spanish ship. *San Augustin*, of 74 guns; Brigadier Don Felipe X Cagigal.—Burnt by the *Leviathan*.

18. Spanish ship. *Santissima Trinidad*, of 140 guns; Rear Admiral Don Baltazar H. Cisneros; Brigadier Don F. Uriarte.—Sunk by the *Prince*, *Neptune*, &c.

19. French ship. *Redoubtable*, of 74 guns; *Monsieur Lucas*.—Sunk astern of the *Swiftsure*; *Temeraire* lost thirteen, and *Swiftsure* five men.

20. Spanish ship. *Argonauta*, of 80 guns; Don Antonio Pareja.—Sunk by the *Ajax*

21. Spanish ship. *Santa Anna*, of 112 guns; Vice Admiral Don Ignatio D'Aliva; Captain Don Joseph de Gardoqui.—Taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.

22. French ship. *Algeziras*, of 74 guns; Rear Admiral Magon, (killed); Captain Monsieur Bruaro.—Taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.

23. French ship. *Pluton*, of 74 guns; *Monsieur Casmao*.—Returned to Cadiz in a sinking state.

24. Spanish ship. *San Juste*, of 74 guns; Don Miguel Gaston.—Returned to Cadiz: has a foremast only.

25. Spanish ship. *San Leandro*, of 64 guns; Don Joseph de Quevedo.—Returned to Cadiz, dismasted.

26. French ship. *Neptune*, of 84 guns; *Monsieur Maistral*.—Returned to Cadiz, and perfect.

27. French ship. *Heros*, of 74 guns; *Monsieur Poulain*.—Returned to Cadiz; lower masts in, and Admiral Rossilie's flag on board.

28. Spanish ship. *Principe d'Asturias*, of 112 guns; Admiral Don F. Gravina, Don Antonio Escano, &c.—Returned to Cadiz dismasted.

29. Spanish ship. *Montanez*, of 74 guns; Don Francisco Alcedo.—Returned to Cadiz.

30. French ship. *Formidable*, of 80 guns; Rear Admiral Duvernois.—Hauled to the southward, and escaped.

31. French ship. Mont Blanc, of 74 guns; Monsieur de Villegries.—Hauled to the southward, and escaped.

32. French ship. Scipion, of 74 guns; Monsieur Beringer.—Hauled to the southward, and escaped.

33. French ship. Duguay Trouin, of 74 guns; Monsieur Toufflet.—Hauled to the southward, and escaped.<sup>1</sup>

ABSTRACT.

At Gibraltar . . . . .	4
Destroyed . . . . .	16
In Cadiz, wrecks . . . . .	6
In Cadiz, serviceable . . . . .	3
Escaped to the southward . .	4
<hr/>	
Total	33

*A List of the Names and Rank of the Flag Officers of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain in the Action of the 21st of October, 1805.*

Admiral Villeneuve, Commander in Chief; Bucentaur. Taken.

Admiral Don Frederico Gravina; Principe D'Asturias. Escaped in Cadiz: wounded in the arm.

Vice Admiral Don Ignatio Maria D'Aliva; Santa Anna. Wounded severely in the head: taken, but was driven into Cadiz in the Santa Anna.

Rear Admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros; Santissima Trinidad. Taken.

Rear Admiral Magon; Algeziras. Killed.

Rear Admiral Dumanoir; Formidable. Escaped.

<sup>1</sup> The four last mentioned ships were captured by Sir Richard Strachan on the 24th of November.



Admiralty Office, Nov. 30, 1805.

*Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Captain Blackwood, of His Majesty's ship Euryalus, to William Marsden, Esq. dated this day at the Admiralty.*

SIR,

Observing in the Gazette Extraordinary of the 27th instant, that the number of the enemy's ships taken and destroyed, in consequence of the action of the 21st of October, is stated at twenty sail of the line, I take the liberty of mentioning to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that as this must be intended to include the French ship Argonaute, of seventy-four guns, which ship I had an opportunity of knowing was safe in the port of Cadiz, it will be proper to state the actual number taken and destroyed at nineteen sail of the line. This apparent inaccuracy was occasioned by the despatch of the Commander in Chief, dated the 4th, having been made up before my last return with a flag of truce from that port.

I am, &c.

HENRY BLACKWOOD.

THE END.





