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MARY, DAUGHTER AND HEIRESS OF SIR JEFFREY BURWELL, WIFE OF ROBERT WALPOLE, M.P., MOTHER OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, FIRST EARL OF ORFORD, GREAT-GREAT-GRANDMOTHER OF LORD NELSON.

From the picture by W. Gardiner. Engraved by E. Harding.

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BOOK IV.

NO better commencement for the events of the all important year 1805 can be selected than an account of life on board the good ship *Victory*, derived from a diary written by Dr. Leonard Gillespie, physician to the fleet under Nelson, who directed him from time to time to examine, with the captains of various ships, and their surgeons, any officers desiring leave of absence on the score of ill-health. The veneration with which the old hulk is universally regarded will incline all who have been over it to read with interest of the orderly life and methodical duties of those on board, while they waited and watched for that enemy whose conquest was the saddest naval achievement, for with victory came death to the conqueror.

“On board His Majesty’s Ship the *Victory* at Sea, off the coast of Sardinia,” on January 7th, 1805, Dr. Gillespie wrote:—

“DEAR SISTER,—I did myself the pleasure of writing to you in great haste on the 29th ult., being at that time on board His Majesty’s Ship the *Swiftsure*, off the Coast of Catalonia, on my way to join

this Ship, which I effected on the 2nd inst., and am at present fully established in my office as Physician to this fleet, which is, (thank God,) in the best possible order as to health, discipline, spirits, and disposition towards our gallant and revered commander Lord Nelson.

“As a proof of the state of health enjoyed by the seamen, I may instance the company of this Ship, which, consisting of 840 men, contains only one man confined to his bed from sickness, and the other ships, (twelve of the line,) of from 84 to 74 guns, are in a similar situation as to health, although the most of them have been stationed off Toulon for upwards of 20 months, during which time very few of the men or officers, (in which number is Lord Nelson,) have had a foot on shore.

“You will perceive from this account, my dear sister, that the duties of my office are not likely at present to prove very laborious, and my duty as Inspector of the Naval Hospitals will occasion me to visit, as may be found necessary, Malta, Sicily, Gibraltar, and perhaps Naples, so that from all appearances and my experience hitherto, I have no room to be displeased with the comforts, duties, or emoluments of the office I at present fill, my salary being £465 per annum, and being situated so as to live in a princely style free from any expense. This exemption from expense arises from my having the honour of forming one of the suite and family of Lord Nelson, whose noble frankness of manners, freedom from vain formality and pomp, (so necessary

to the decoration of empty little great men,) can only be equalled by the unexampled glory of his naval career, and the watchful and persevering diligence with which he commands the fleet.

“On my coming on board I found that the recommendation which my former services in the Navy had procured for me from several friends, had conciliated towards me the good opinion of his lordship and his officers, and I immediately became one of the family.

“It may amuse you, my dear sister, to read the brief journal of a day such as we here pass it at sea, in this fine climate and in these smooth seas, on board one of the largest ships in the Navy, as she mounts 110 guns, one of which, carrying a 24-lb. shot, occupies a very distinguished position in my apartment.

“Jan. 12.—Off the Straits of Bonafacio, a narrow arm of the Sea between Corsica and Sardinia. We have been baffled in our progress to the rendezvous of the Squadron at the Madeline Islands for some days past by variable and contrary winds, but we expect to arrive at our destination to-night or to-morrow morning. To resume, my dear Sister, the journal of a day. At 6 O’Clock my servant brings a light and informs me of the hour, wind, weather, and course of the Ship, when I immediately dress and generally repair to the deck, the dawn of day at this season and latitude being apparent at about half or three quarters of an hour past 6.

“Breakfast is announced in the Admiral’s Cabin,

where Lord Nelson, Rear Admiral Murray, the Captain of the Fleet, Captain Hardy, Commander of the *Victory*, the Chaplain, Secretary, one or two Officers of the Ship, and your humble servant assemble and breakfast on tea, hot rolls, toast, cold tongue, etc., etc., which when finished we repair upon deck to enjoy the Majestic sight of the rising Sun, (scarcely ever obscured by clouds in this fine climate,) surmounting the smooth and placid waves of the Mediterranean, which supports the lofty and tremendous bulwarks of Britain, following in regular train their Admiral in the *Victory*. Between the hours of 7 and 2 there is plenty of time for business, study, writing, and exercise, which different occupations, together with that of occasionally visiting the hospital of the Ship when required by the Surgeon, I endeavour to vary in such a manner as to afford me sufficient employment. At 2 o'clock a band of music plays till within a quarter to 3, when the drum beats the tune called 'The Roast Beef of Old England' to announce the Admiral's dinner, which is served up exactly at 3 O'Clock, and which generally consists of three courses and a dessert of the choicest fruit, together with three or four of the best wines, champagne and claret not excepted; and what exceeds the relish of the best viands and most exquisite wines? If a person does not feel himself perfectly at his ease it must be his own fault, such is the urbanity and hospitality which reign here, notwithstanding the numerous titles, the four orders of knighthood worn by Lord Nelson, and the well-earned laurels which he has acquired. Coffee and liqueurs close the dinner

about half-past 4 or 5 O'Clock, after which the company generally walk the deck, where the band of music plays for near an hour. At 6 O'Clock tea is announced, when the company again assemble in the Admiral's Cabin, where tea is served up before 7 O'Clock, and as we are inclined the party continue to converse with his lordship, who at this time generally unbends himself, though he is at all times as free from stiffness and pomp as a regard to proper dignity will admit, and is very communicative. At 8 a rummer of punch with cake or biscuit is served up, soon after which we wish the Admiral a good-night, (who is generally in bed before 9 O'Clock).

“For my own part, not having been accustomed to go to bed quite so early, I generally read an hour, or spend one with one of the Officers of the Ship, several of whom are old acquaintances, or to whom I have been known by character.

“Such, my dear Sister, is the journal of a day at sea, in fine or at least moderate weather, in which this floating castle goes through the water with the greatest imaginable steadiness, and I have not yet been long enough on board to experience bad weather.”

Dr. Gillespie's letter or diary is somewhat lengthy, and merely relates to the ship's movements or his own duties, but for his record of a day on the good ship *Victory* we are greatly indebted. Early to bed and early to rise, duly enforced by example of the Chief, refreshed the spirits of those seamen. Nelson considered sagely that the keeping the mind free from depression tended to

restrain sickness, and to this end he constantly varied the position of the fleet, sometimes looking towards Toulon, sometimes from it, now and again taking a short cruise. The band of music he had begged from Earl St. Vincent, asking him to spare him a few of his musicians.

The account coincides with that written by Nelson himself to Lady Hamilton: "The routine goes on so regular that one day, except for the motion of the ship, is the same as the other. We rise at five, walk the deck till near seven, send out ships to chase, refit our ships, etc. Breakfast at seven precisely: Captains Murray, Hardy, Dr. Scott, as we call him to distinguish him from the Secretary Mr. Scott, Dr. Snipe, Officer of the Watch, and two Mids. This is always with the addition of the Captain of a frigate or sloop, if I want to send off. From breakfast to dinner employed variously on the business of the fleet, writing, exercising the squadron, etc. Dine at three—in fine weather always some of the Captains, in general twelve at table. After coffee and tea, no more eating. I send if I am so inclined at half-past seven, for my family to sit and talk half an hour or longer, and at a quarter- or half-past eight I go to bed, sleep and dream of what is nearest my heart, pull the bell three or four times for the Officer of the Watch, and rise again the next morning."

Before inserting a letter from Mrs. William Nelson to Lady Hamilton it is necessary to explain a remark made in the first paragraph, that she, (Mrs. Nelson,) will not break confidence nor mention what Lady

Hamilton has written to them. This requires explanation, otherwise it might easily be interpreted wrongly. A young man, son of Colonel Suckling, (relatives of the Nelson family,) served on board the *Narcissus*, where Lord Nelson had placed him, after meeting with great difficulties in obtaining the post for him. Colonel Suckling removed his son from the *Narcissus* and had written to Nelson about his doing so. Nelson did not reply to him, but he privately wrote to Lady Hamilton that Colonel Suckling was a fool to remove his son from one of the most desirable situations in the Navy. She with her usual kindness of heart had endeavoured to advise the young man, who on receipt of her letter showed it to Lord Nelson, and he asked Captain Durban to take Mr. Suckling on the *Ambuscade*, which that Captain did to oblige his Chief. In the same letter wherein Nelson told Lady Hamilton this troublesome business he said, "I enclose you a trifle for a birthday gift. I would to God I could give you more, but I have it not."

In writing of this family affair, and enclosing Nelson's account of it for their perusal, she had begged them not to mention it to other relatives. To which Mrs. Nelson made answer:—

"CANTERBURY, April 20th.¹

"I have to thank you, my dear Friend, for your letter. I was glad to hear my dear Horatio got safe to you, and *we* have to thank you for your communication of my Lord's letter. Thank God he was alive and well on the 25th. We have not said a word to

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq.

any one that we have heard ; what you write to us we never speak of but when you say we may.

“ This post brought a letter from Mr. Johnson ; he will be with us on Sunday. I shall be quite glad to see him. I shall now write from his own letter what he says of you. He ‘ called on Horatio and he introduced me to Lady Hamilton and your delightful daughter. I was very much pleased with my reception, and quite in love with her Ladyship. I think she has the Handsomest Face I ever saw. How proud you ought to be of your children, both of you, and I dare say you are ! I am to dine with Lady Hamilton to-day.’ I shall be glad to know what you think of him. I have told you what he thinks of you at first sight : what will he say when he hears you sing ? I hope you and Charlotte was quite in tune the day he dined with you. (What pleasure it is to hear the praise of those we love !)

“ If I should have any fright about the invasion I shall come to Town with Mr. Johnson, but I hope that will not be the case ; as I am so soon now to have the happiness of seeing you here it would be a journey thrown away. God bless you and send us more peaceable times. My kind love to Charlotte, and accept the same from your ever affectionate

“ S. NELSON.”

On May 22nd, 1805, Mrs. Nelson again wrote to Lady Hamilton from Canterbury :—

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,¹—As you will like to know

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq.

Dr. Nelson has received a letter from his Brother I take up my pen to say so. It was dated as long ago as March 31st, a very affectionate letter, and gave us great pleasure ; he says he did not get his leave till Christmas Day, which was a great disappointment, for he thought of eating his Christmas Dinner at Merton. One thing he says, that Sir John Orde will be one of the richest Admirals we have, all of which ought to have been his, and he thinks himself ill-used. I think with you that he will not come home pleased if he does not beat the French Fleet. I hope it will be soon and that we shall all meet this summer at Merton. How happy you must have been to have received such long letters. I hope you will both have a pleasant evening at Lady Cholmondley's. I shall be glad to see Mr. John Bridges and to hear what he says of Charlotte. I suppose the great Mr. Davison is out before this time. I have nothing more to add to-day but your ever affectionate

“S. NELSON.”

Mrs. Nelson's remark about Mr. Davison refers to his prosecution for bribery at the Ilchester election in April 1804. He was sentenced by the Court of King's Bench to confinement for twelve months in the Marshalsea Prison. Nelson writing him July 1803, remarked, “I hope in God, my dear Davison, that you will get over these — prosecutions. It has and does give me serious uneasiness.”

The reference to Sir John Orde being the richest Admiral means that Sir John had arrived as

Commander-in-Chief of a squadron off Cadiz that had previously been a portion of Nelson's command. He carried Nelson's leave of absence, and it was feared by the fleet, by whom he was greatly disliked, that as soon as Nelson was homeward bound Sir John Orde would take up the position of Commander of the whole fleet. The very thought cast a gloom over the officers and men. Although Nelson's own belongings were transferred to the *Superb* and he himself could be off in two hours, yet he was willing to remain *under* Sir John Orde until another flag-officer was sent from England, Admiral Campbell having gone home ill. Nelson was full of suspicion that some undue advantage would be taken, and that Sir John was sent to carry off prizes which should be his after so many months of weary blockade. He quoted the case of the late Admiralty directing Admiral Cornwallis to send Campbell to cruise at the mouth of the Straits, "who took all my sweets; and now this Admiralty sends and takes all my golden harvest." He was, he said, returning to England not a farthing richer than when he left it.

No better description of this well-grounded complaint of Nelson's can be found than a few lines written by Coleridge, who alludes beautifully to the harmony existing in the fleet under Nelson, and to the love the sailors bore him. He speaks of the weary waits for the chances of prizes which, when likely to come within range, were suddenly snatched from them by an interloper. We can only reverence the brotherly affection that linked together the hearts of honoured sailors



Nelson Bronte

Painted by J. Hoppner.

under such disappointing trials. When it was resolved to commence hostilities against Spain no word was sent to Nelson, but another Admiral with two or three ships of the line was sent to Cadiz to intercept prizes. For five weeks Nelson was unaware of this circumstance. The prizes taken were of immense value. A month or two sufficed to enrich this small squadron, after which they proceeded home with the booty. "It was not enough," Nelson exclaimed, "to have robbed me once before of my West India harvest—now they have taken away the Spanish, and under what circumstances and with what pointed aggravation!" Unexplainable but certainly cruel that a small favoured squadron was sent, unknown to the station, to intercept the prizes waited for by the larger fleet in much toil and suffering!

Just after the date of Mrs. Nelson's last letter she again wrote to Lady Hamilton, and congratulated her upon having heard from the Queen of Naples, making her usual commonplace remark, "For what is so gratifying as to hear from those we love?" As Lord Nelson meditated coming home he desired Lady Hamilton to ask Mrs. Nelson what she would like him to bring as presents for her children, to which Mrs. Nelson made reply, "It is like my Lord to remember our children. Something of lace I should like for Charlotte if you think the same, for you are so good to her she never wants for Trinkets or indeed anything else." (Addressed to Lady Hamilton, 11, Clarges Street, London. Her Ladyship kept up her London residence, though she lived mostly at Merton.)

Upon the day following that upon which Mrs. W. Nelson had written to her Ladyship, Dr. Nelson addressed himself to her on private business of his own. His ultimate cruel treatment of the poor woman, when honours and wealth, the nation's gift, were secured to himself as next-of-kin to the greatest and best beloved of naval heroes,—is so well known that the merited blame due to his behaviour can only be increased by the perusal of his insinuating schemes confided to Lady Hamilton, inviting her assistance to secure a rich husband for his daughter, Miss Charlotte Nelson.

“CANTERBURY, *May 23rd*, 1805.¹

“(*Most Secret and Confidential.*)

“MY DEAR LADY HAMILTON,—I have rec^d a letter this morning from my friend Mrs. Berney, (who you will see is now at Walford's Hotel in Conduit Street,) which puzzles us both above measure. Perhaps your penetration will be able to unravel the mystery. If it means anything more than mere civility, mere words of course, mere milk and water, it can mean nothing else but a proposal for her son to marry Charlotte, and this may be intended to sound whether she is engaged or not. If this is really the case, nothing wou'd give both Mrs. Nelson and myself greater pleasure. He is a worthy young man, and an estate between 3 and 4 thousand a year I should think, but I don't know exactly; but I have sent you the letter for you to form your opinion of and give your sentiments to us.

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq.

“ You will see she begins by expressing her fears her long silence sh^d have made me forget her, and then goes on and explains the sad cause, *viz.* her son's illness.

“ She says *this* letter to me is y^e first fruits of his recovery, and the *second* shall be at your door—where she must know Charlotte is—where she shall hear of friends who to life's *last day* shall ever be remembered affectionately, and how she and her children love the family of Nelson, with three great asterisks!!! to mark it more; and lastly, she concludes by saying, if Dr. and Mrs. Nelson desire to know more of her children, their hearts are so much yours I will answer for their domesticity with you for two or three weeks in the friendly way which will give an opportunity for the cultivation of the friendship of your son and daughter, and may lay the foundation of much future felicity to all, and concludes the whole by saying her son is of age July 17th.”

(The page which follows is again headed *Most secret.*)

“ What can this mean except that he may marry and make settlements and do anything he pleases?

“ If, after all, this letter means nothing we shou'd make ourselves fine fools by a premature disclosure of our thoughts, and perhaps make a coolness which w^d be very unpleasant. This delicate matter must be left to your superior penetration to find out and manage and give us your opinion of; if it is as we suppose I am very certain it wou'd give great pleasure to my dear Brother to have Charlotte form so valuable a connection.

"I need not tell you the greatest caution must be used in this business, and that neither Charlotte nor Mrs. Bolton¹ must have the least hint of it at present, and above all Mrs. Berney herself must not have y^e

form so valuable a connection; - -

I need not tell you the greatest caution must be used in this business & that neither Charlotte, nor Mrs Bolton must have the least hint of it at present, & above all Mrs Berney herself must not have y^e smallest suspicion that you have heard & seen her letter to me, - she has a hundred Eyes, & y^e least look even, will discover the whole to her -

PAGE FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY THE REV. WILLIAM NELSON (AFTERWARDS EARL NELSON) TO EMMA LADY HAMILTON, RELATIVE TO AN IDEA HE HAD THAT THE MRS. BERNEY MENTIONED THEREIN WISHES HER SON TO MARRY HIS DAUGHTER CHARLOTTE (AFTERWARDS BARONESS BRIDPORT).

smallest suspicion that you have heard and seen her letter to me; she has a hundred Eyes and y^e least *look* even will discover the whole to her.

¹ Dr. Nelson's sister Susannah.

“It appears clearly that you are a favourite with her, as a part if not y^e principal of y^e Nelson family. I beg of you most earnestly to write to me by Saturday at the latest moment, when I shall have it on Sunday morning, and will write to Mrs. Berney and invite her son and daughter to come here as soon as she can spare them. If they come near our audit time, which begins about June 20th, I will propose their going to y^e Sea to bathe.

“If they do come it wou'd not be bad policy to have Charlotte here. Perhaps Mrs. Berney wishes her son to see a little more of her first, and whether he likes her enough to propose, but we hope you will be able to accompany her.

“Believe me, dear Lady Hamilton, faithfully and affectionately y^{rs},

“W^m NELSON.”

With such a letter to bear testimony to the cringing flattery of Dr. Nelson, when his schemes were in need of co-operation to secure a valuable alliance for his daughter, it seems incredible that in return for her several years' custody of Miss Charlotte Nelson, her hospitality to himself and Mrs. Nelson, and untold acts of kindness, he made her the base return of withholding the sacred appeal bequeathed by his heroic brother to the British nation to take upon itself the duty that he had performed on its behalf, until his generous hand was stilled in death.

Miss Charlotte Nelson was born on September 20th, 1787. Thus it will be seen that she was no child in

1805, and her presence under the roof of Nelson at Merton, which extended similar hospitality to Lady Hamilton, is a strong argument in favour of the propriety existing in the establishment. If further evidence were necessary, the feeling tribute to Nelson's private worth written by Mrs. Ullock, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Lancaster, Vicar of Merton, leaves nothing to be desired. It was written to Sir Harris Nicolas when compiling the *Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson*.

“In revered affection for the memory of that dear man I cannot refrain from informing you of his unlimited charity and goodness during his residence at Merton. His frequently expressed desire was that none in that place should want or suffer affliction that he could alleviate; and this I know he did with a most liberal hand, always desiring that it should not be known from whence it came. His residence at Merton was a continued course of charity and goodness, setting such an example of propriety and regularity that there are few who would not be benefited by following it.”

After many years, when libellous fabrications were past their infancy, this true woman spoke out her honest remembrance of the noble life lived at Merton. The minister's daughter, the first who would have retired if fair fame had absolutely been tarnished, wrote, regardless of anonymous aspersions that had grown in lapse of time to be accepted facts, “*His residence at Merton was a continued course of charity and goodness, setting such an example of propriety and*

regularity that there are few who would not be benefited by following it."

The recent writers holding forth their unsatisfactory guesses at Nelsonian transactions, not by any means clear or humanly probable, cannot refrain from introducing some paragraph quite contradictory of the opinions they have expounded, and thus evidencing that there is a better side to the story which even they cannot evade. Thus, after quoting the letter of Mrs. Ullock so beautifully descriptive of Nelson's life at Merton, Captain Mahan makes his own remarks: "In the regularity and propriety of observance which impressed the clergyman's daughter he carried out the ideal he had proposed to Lady Hamilton: 'Have we a nice church at Merton? We must set an example of goodness to the under parishioners.'" He continues: "Whatever of censure or of allowance may be pronounced upon the life he was living, there was in the intention just quoted no effort to conciliate the opinion of society, which he was resolute in braving; nor was it inconsistent with the general tenor of his thoughts. In the sense of profound recognition of the dependence of events upon God, and of the obligation to manifest gratitude in outward act, Nelson was from first to last a strongly religious man. To his sin he had contrived to reconcile his conscience by fallacies, analogies to which will be supplied by the inward experience of many if they will be honest with themselves." An ample testimony that the life at Merton was eminently good. It is all too apparent that actual criminality existed not, and

was not suspected by the immense circle of acquaintance intimate at Merton. The whole sequence of events that brought together Lord Nelson and the Hamiltons was exceptional, and it seems extraordinary to desire the severance of those who had worked desperately hard for the glory of Old England, in distant waters. Their recollections, their anxieties, their enthusiasm over prizes taken, victories gained, would draw them into close quarters and companionship, and so far there is no direct evidence of evil life, for the whole scandalous story is nothing but surmise. There is no absolute proof that would be accepted by any court of law as sufficient grounds for defaming the living or the dead.

Captain Mahan follows with the evidence of the Rev. Dr. Scott, who so thoroughly knew Lord Nelson: "He was a thorough clergyman's son—I should think he never went to bed or got up without kneeling down to say his prayers." All is so out of keeping with the foul attachments so strenuously advocated by successive writers of the same school. Is their matter new? or have they not followed each other with precisely the same ideas as Pettigrew, with whom the responsibility rests, for the previous writers held different views? All things considered, the intimacy was unfortunate, but the probabilities are that, even had Lady Hamilton been *non est*, Nelson would not have been happy with Lady Nelson, cold, easy-going, and selfish, who extended no welcome to his relatives, to whom she grudged his monetary gifts, holding that her own son had prior rights.

After a most disappointing cruise to the Barbadoes, whither he had been directed in pursuit of the French fleet, Lord Nelson made his way to Gibraltar and Ushant in August 1805, and on the passage commemorated the anniversary of the Battle of the Nile by having a play performed on board ship. In August he returned to England, whence he had been absent two years and three months. Absent from home comfort and the womanly attentions so necessary for the alleviation of his various ailments, no wonder his heart yearned towards Merton! He had written of proposed changes in the servants' portion of the house, said he had it all in his head but had not the money. He arrived at Merton early on the morning of August 20th.

During his stay he was visited by the Duke of Clarence, who dined with him and Lady Hamilton; at a side-table sat Charlotte Nelson, Horatia, Anne and Eliza Bolton his nieces, and Mr. George Matcham, son of his sister Catherine. Lord Nelson remarked to the Duke that he was never so happy as when in the company of young people; these were the young people to whom Lady Nelson had so strongly objected, and whom Lady Hamilton was entertaining when the news arrived that the Admiral was coming home.

This nephew of Lord Nelson's, Mr. George Matcham, went with the party to South Wales in 1802, and visited Merton for three weeks before the Admiral his uncle sailed for Cadiz in September 1805. He described Lord Nelson's private life as marked by

a quiet manner, somewhat sedate and unobtrusive, anxious that every one about him had pleasure, and distinguishing each in turn by some act of kindness, singling out for special attention those who seemed to want it most. Sometimes a group of relatives would form for conversation—the quiet conversation that Lord Nelson delighted in, and through which flowed an undercurrent of pleasantry interspersed with escapes of caustic wit, just as it is occasionally infused into his correspondence. He was the least heard at his own table, and so averse to any intemperance that he invariably allowed but short time to the gentlemen for after-dinner sitting. This is quite consistent with a sentence written by Lord Nelson from Naples, where he had been invited by a friend “to dine with D. and Mr. Elliot, that I could not get off without offence, but I shall get from him as soon as possible, for they say there is much drinking.” Mr. George Matcham further said that so diffident was Lord Nelson as to his own achievements that he never voluntarily made talk of the great actions of his life. In stature he said Lord Nelson was not actually little, he was of middle height, and when at home he dressed in a plain black suit, looking the quiet gentleman, his whole conduct marked by good breeding, courtesy, and consideration.

An interesting ceremony had been postponed to await the personal attendance of Lord Nelson when he should be in England, which an entry in the register at Merton Church will explain, under Baptisms 1805:—

“*Nelson*—Son of William Suckling, Esq., and Wibrew his wife, born in the morning of the thirty-first day of

December, Eighteen hundred and three, in the Borough of New Windsor, Berkshire, and Christened in the Parish of Merton, Surrey, on the sixth day of September, eighteen hundred and five (which christening was postponed on account of Lord Viscount Nelson (one of his godfathers) being out of England on His Majesty's Service."

Lord Nelson declined a pressing invitation from Mr. William Beckford to visit him at Fonthill, saying he could not leave as he had his family with him. This consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Nelson and their children Horace and Charlotte, his sisters and brothers-in-law the Matchams and Boltons, with his nephews George Matcham and Tom Bolton, and his nieces Anne and Eliza Bolton. He accepted no invitations, happily content with contributing pleasure to his own immediate connections.

Brief indeed was the repose for mind and body allowed, for as early as five o'clock in the morning of September 2nd, 1805, he was found by Captain Blackwood of the *Euryalus* up and dressed. At sight of Captain Blackwood Nelson exclaimed, "I am sure you bring me news of the French and Spanish fleets, and I think I shall yet have to beat them." Blackwood was hurrying to the Admiralty with the news that the combined fleets had put into Cadiz, therefore he did not stay at Merton many minutes. After he was gone Nelson seemed thoughtful and as if forcing gaiety into his conversation, which Lady Hamilton quietly noted. The terraced grounds at Merton were called after ships' localities. One was the Poop, another the Quarter-deck, and so on. Later in the day Lady

Hamilton found him strolling on that terrace called the Quarter-deck. She asked him what made him seem so low, which question he tried to evade, assuring her that he was perfectly happy with his family about him, and that his health had been so much better since he had been at Merton. Knowing that for months his letters from sea had contained longings to get at the enemy, she but too well sympathised with his mood, and read the inward workings of his mind ; she told him he was longing to get at the French and Spanish fleets, and that they were his right after so many months of discomfort in the Mediterranean. She told him to go and offer his services and they would be accepted, even though those at Merton would lament his absence and short stay ; but his going would be to victory—then home for rest and happiness. Glad in heart to have found his own wishes thus seconded, he thought silently for a few moments, then turned to her while tears stood in his eyes, saying he wished it all but dare scarcely even think about it—however, he would go to town. Next morning the chaise took Lady Hamilton, Mrs. Bolton, Mrs. William Nelson, and Lord Nelson to London. The ladies alighted in Clarges Street at Lady Hamilton's town house, after leaving Lord Nelson at the Admiralty, and there they awaited the result of his interview. Very soon they received a note stating that the *Victory* was telegraphed not to go into port, and he begged the ladies to prepare his things for immediate departure.

Lord Nelson was very intimate with Sir William

Beechey, the great portrait painter, and was godfather to one of his children, named Nelson, after him. When making final arrangements to sail for Trafalgar he called in Harley Street to say good-bye to Sir William Beechey, and before parting asked what he should give his baby godson. "Give him the hat you wore at the Battle of the Nile," said Sir William Beechey, and the hat, which was pierced with two bullets, was bestowed upon the baby as a farewell gift, and now remains a treasured relic with Miss Beechey, descendant of Nelson's godson.

Lord Nelson was requested to select his own officers, and a list of the Navy was placed in his hands by Lord Barham, First Lord of the Admiralty. The list was returned, Lord Nelson saying, "Choose yourself, my Lord; the same spirit actuates the whole profession; you cannot choose wrong."

As Lord Nelson merely resumed his command after leave of absence, a new commission was not necessary, and none was issued.

Fatal bidding! Bitter though the separation was from friends, relations, home, he yielded up all to accomplish a glorious naval victory, and perfect subjugation of Europe's hated foe. Disappointing too was his short stay in the house which Lady Hamilton had made so comfortable. Her letter to Lord Nelson's niece, Lady Bolton, told its own pitiful tale:—

"September 4, 1805.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am again broken-hearted, as our dear Nelson is immediately going. It seems

as though I have had a fortnight's dream and awake to the misery of this cruel separation. But what can I do? His powerful arm is of so much consequence to his country, but I do not, cannot say more. My heart is broken," etc.

Sadly and too quickly came the hour for final leave-taking. Overshadowed by the conviction that the good fight he was going forth to make would bring disaster to himself, he even waited upon his upholsterer Mr. Peddieson, with the gloomy request that the coffin he had left in his custody be got into readiness, as it would soon be needed. This coffin had been presented to him by Captain Hallowell; it was made out of the timbers of the *Orient*, burnt at the Battle of the Nile.

His last act before leaving Merton Place was fully consistent with his character: he crept to the bedside of the little child he had adopted—his little Horatia—and earnestly prayed.

If humanity could have guided events, what a home-coming there would have been at Merton for the conqueror!

There would have been money to spend and hundreds of hearts made happy, many a life's burden lightened, and Merton Place would have been all that Nelson ever designed it to be—a loving home resounding with the merry laughter of happy children, and the singing of sailors' sea-songs.

Oh the bitterness of Nelson's last look at Merton, leaving his dear ones, going forth to fight for King and Country!

Lord Minto, who was present at this most affecting leave-taking, wrote of Lady Hamilton's distress. "She tells me nothing can be more pure and ardent than this flame. Lady Hamilton was at this last moment overwhelmed with the consciousness that it was at her suggestion that he was going away, and the awful dread of what might and did happen completely overcame her."

Nelson had anticipated his happiness in the retirement of Merton, and now we contrast the reality with his bright expectations. The saddest of scenes must be conjured up—the unconscious sleeping child in its little bed, the weeping inmates crowding round him in farewell as he took his last look at Merton.

With pious resignation he made entry of his departure in his note-book, Friday night, September 13th:—

"At half-past ten drove from dear, dear Merton, where I left all that I hold dear in this world to go to serve my King and Country. May the great God whom I adore enable me to fulfil the expectations of my country; and if it is His good pleasure that I should return, my thanks will never cease being offered up to the throne of His mercy. If it is His good providence to cut short my days upon earth, I bow with the greatest submission, relying that He will protect those so dear to me that I may leave behind. His will be done. Amen, Amen, Amen."

Saturday, September 14th, he reached Portsmouth at 6 o'clock in the morning, and breakfasted at the George Hotel. Observing that a great crowd had assembled in the High Street in front of the hotel,

he stole secretly out of the back door into Penny Street. His retreat was soon discovered, and the crowd rushed away eager to see the face of the hero who was now regarded by the populace with absolute veneration.



THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE,

Drawn from the original picture by Sir W. Beechey. Engraved by Vendramini.

They caught up to him on Southsea Common and surrounded him, one struggling with another to shake him by the hand. "I wish I had two hands," he said, "then I could accommodate more of you." And

the people cried, "God bless you, Nelson!"¹ When he pushed off from the shore in company with Mr. Canning and the Hon. George Rose, the people once more sought to grasp his hand, and in their anxiety to do so actually rushed into the water.

Then the soldiers had to interfere to allow of the boat's departure, and the populace were forced back; the tears of pride flowed down the furrowed cheeks of his old bargemen—they knew him as fearless, gentle, kind, and ready to give up life to defend his country—and his old seamates and he went off in company to fight the great sea-fight. This act of spontaneous homage must have filled with joy the heart that so craved for love, and the memory of the incident must surely have entered into his soul on the day of battle, and its very remembrance have impelled him to the daring attack on the enemies of our nation. The good people of Portsmouth may make it a matter of congratulation that they rendered Nelson due homage at his departure; he never returned alive to receive England's welcome home.

Heartbroken at the sudden departure of Lord Nelson, Lady Hamilton wrote to J. D. Thompson, Esq., Secretary to Lord Barham at the Admiralty, to ask news of him:—

"MERTON, 14th September, 1805.²

"MY DEAR SIR,—We are all so prostrated, our glorious Nelson having left us last night at ten o'clock.

¹ From the account of one whose father shook hands with Nelson on this memorable occasion.

² In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

His sisters, myself, beg of you to let us know by a line when he has hoisted his Flag, and when he sails. You may imagine the feelings of your obliged friend,

“EMMA HAMILTON.

“ I shall be here till Monday and then go to Clarges Street, but our griefs are better given way to here than in public, for my face is an honest picture of the sufferings of my heart. Will you write me a line ? ”

Lady Hamilton, in spite of all her follies and indiscretions, never alluded to Lord Nelson except in terms of devoted admiration, and with an expressive adjective prefixed, such as “glorious,” “great,” “good,” and, in time, “deeply lamented”; all of which indicate her respect and esteem as well as affection.

During Lord Nelson’s absence Lady Hamilton went to Canterbury to the Rev. William and Mrs. Nelson, leaving Horatia with Miss Cecilia Connor, her governess, a relative of Lady Hamilton selected by Lord Nelson himself. While at Canterbury the child wrote the following letter, across one from Miss Connor to Lady Hamilton, on October 4th :—

“MY DEAR MY LADY,—I thank you for the books. I drink out of my lord’s cup every day. Give my love to him every day when you write and a kiss. Miss Connor gave me some kisses; when I read my book well I have three kisses. My love to Miss Nelson. My dear my lady, I love you very much.

“HORATIA.”

The cup was a silver-gilt one purchased by Lord Nelson, who had called very early in the morning of August 30th at Mr. Salter's, silversmith, in the Strand. The little girl used it daily until Lady Hamilton laid it by as a relic.

It is not proposed to follow closely the preparations for the coming fight; it is not necessary considering how many times the story has been told.

On the arrival of Lord Nelson upon the *Victory* at St. Helens, he at once set about gathering together for the conflict those on whom he best relied, and on September 14th he wrote to J. D. Thompson, Esq., of the Admiralty, on behalf of Captain Staines:—

“MY DEAR SIR,—I beg that you will present my friend Captain Staines to Lord Barham. I believe the *Cameleon* could have been in 14 days made fit for two years' serving. He is an invaluable officer and one who has served as Lieutenant with me. I am, dear Sir, your very faithful and humble servant,

“NELSON AND BRONTE.”¹

FROM LORD NELSON TO LORD COLLINGWOOD.²

“*Victy*, Oct^r 9th, 1805.

“MY DEAR COLL,—The Master of the *Lord Duncan* has brought his Invoice, which I send you; there is also 392,000 lbs. of bread at Gibraltar; the Bread dispose of, and whatever else is wanted in your

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

² *Ibid.*

Line from this Ship. I have not got the account of what is embarked in the *Shield*, except some stores for the *Canopus* and Ships in your Line—to-morrow will be fine.

“Yours faithfully,

“NELSON AND BRONTE.”

“Malabar’s Bread of course take out of her and the other good things.”

FROM LORD NELSON TO LORD COLLINGWOOD.¹

“Oct. 12, 1805.

“MY DEAR COLL,—Hope tells me that he has all the provisions except a few Casks of Oatmeal which they do not want, therefore I sent him to relieve *Mars* and *Colossus*: they have both things in the *Bellisle*. If you will take the trouble of ordering the Tar and Blocks to be delivered to the Ships I shall be glad; the tar may soon be disposed of, and if you find the Blocks troublesome to deliver send them into Gibraltar.

“There are some ridiculous forms in the Sick and Hurt department; the survey may not be necessary, but as the Dispenser has desired it, I think he will not comply with the demand without knowing the reason. I have just received the Surgeon’s very improper letter, and I send you a Public answer.

“Ever, my dear Coll, yours faithfully,

“NELSON AND BRONTE.”

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

FROM LORD NELSON TO CAPTAIN HAMOND.¹

“Victory, Oct 15th, 1805.

“MY DEAR HAMOND,—I am very sorry to hear such a very indifferent account of your health. As soon as you have done with the expedition you had better make haste to us, and you will get well. I had the pleasure of seeing your good Father several times for the few days I was in England. I think he was very well considering how his mind has been tormented by the Earl and his Crew, and I am confident He will stand the trial with honor. Sir Robert Calder has just left us to stand his trial, which I think of a very serious nature. God send him a good deliverance.

“Your Father wished you home in your Ship—something about a Law-suit with Capt. Lawford ; in that, as in everything else in which I can with propriety meet his and your wishes, you may always rely upon the attention of, My Dear Hamond,

“Your very sincere friend,

“NELSON AND BRONTE.”

When fresh ships from England joined Nelson's fleet they had the hoops of their masts painted black, which was likewise a common practice with the enemy. But so that the English might not fire upon their own vessels, scarcely to be distinguished amid the smoke of battle, Nelson telegraphed for all his vessels to have their hoops painted yellow.

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

The beginning of the eventful combat may be found in the following letter to Lady Hamilton; the signal was up that the combined fleets were coming out of port, and, acting under the elation at the sight of them, he at once recorded it on paper for the appraisal of his distant correspondent:—

"Victory, October 19th, 1805.

"Noon, CADIZ, E.S.E. 16 leagues.

"MY DEAREST BELOVED EMMA, the dear friend of my bosom,—The signal has been made that the enemy's combined fleet are coming out of port. We have very little wind, so that I have no hopes of seeing them before to-morrow. May the God of Battles crown my endeavours with success—at all events I will take care that my name shall ever be most dear to you and Horatia, both of whom I love as much as my own life. And as my last writing before the Battle will be to you, and I hope in God that I shall live to finish my letter after the battle. May Heaven bless you prays your

"NELSON AND BRONTE.

"October 20th.

"In the morning we were close to the mouth of the Straits, but the wind had not come far enough to the westward to allow the combined fleets to weather the shoals off Trafalgar; but they were counted as far as forty sail of ships of war, which I suppose to be thirty-four of the line and six frigates. A group of them was seen off Cadiz this morning, but it blows so very fresh and thick weather that I rather

believe they will go into the harbour before night. May God Almighty give us success over these fellows and enable us to get a peace."

These two letters were written on a sheet of thick grey-blue letter paper, and were found unfinished upon Nelson's desk after the Battle of Trafalgar. They extended over three sides of the paper. They were enclosed in a sheet of foolscap, to which Dr. Scott and Captain Hardy attached their seals.

Lady Hamilton endorsed the letters, or rather letter, for all was written upon one sheet: "This letter was found open on his desk and brought to Lady Hamilton by Captain Hardy. Oh miserable wretched Emma—oh glorious and happy Nelson!" It was purchased for the British Museum in April 1853 for £23.

To Horatia he wrote thanking her for her letter of September 19th, and he rejoiced that she was a good child; and to show that she was ever uppermost in his thoughts he wrote to her even when the enemy's ships were reported as coming out of Cadiz—he bade her be a good girl and do what her governess told her.

On the morning of the memorable 21st of October, Lord Nelson rose soon after daylight: he dressed in his usual Admiral's frock-coat, wearing on the left breast four stars of different orders, as was his daily custom. His sword had been taken down and laid ready on the table, but in the subsequent hurry it was forgotten, and Trafalgar was the only action in

which he appeared without it. He was in excellent spirits. When he had ascended the poop to have a better view of both lines of the British fleet, he gave directions to remove certain fixtures in his cabin, and to take below a picture of Lady Hamilton, recommending the sailors to take care of his guardian angel. It was Romney's portrait of Lady Hamilton as St. Cecilia.¹

He then retired to his cabin, where shortly an officer, Lieutenant John Pasco, applied, hoping to have a few words with Nelson relative to a little annoyance to himself that had occurred. He had been appointed Signal Lieutenant during action, which, as Senior Lieutenant, he regarded as an inferior position. But when he entered the cabin he found Lord Nelson on his knees, writing. The Lieutenant could not disturb the Admiral's mind at such a moment, but filled the appointed office according to instructions, though his promotion suffered in consequence when the rewards were dealt out.²

¹ Another picture which Nelson called his guardian angel was sketched by Miss Knight, and represented Lady Hamilton decorating the rostral column after the Battle of the Nile.

² It was Lord Nelson's practice to make the officer first on his list for promotion do duty as signal-officer, and the junior that of First Lieutenant. Mr. Pasco was senior in the *Victory*, but he was forced to submit to the regulation rather than disturb the prayer of Lord Nelson. In consequence of the death of Lord Nelson Mr. Pasco lost the promotion to which his rank entitled him; he had the mortification of receiving only a Commander's commission dated December 24th, 1805, while Mr. Quillam, the Sixth Lieutenant, was at once advanced to post rank.

During the battle Mr. Pasco had the misfortune to be very severely wounded by a grape-shot in the right side and arm, for which he

On his knees had Lord Nelson besought from the Highest Powers a blessing on that day's work and shaped it into written prayer.

“May the Great God whom I worship grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet. For myself individually I commit my life to Him who made me, and may His blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my country faithfully. To Him I resign myself and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen, Amen, Amen.”

After this sublime composition he added a codicil to his will, bequeathing to his country's care Emma, Lady Hamilton, as his legacy in the event of death in action, knowing that her income would then be inadequate to support her position.

*Codicil to Lord Nelson's Will, written in his
Pocket-Book.*

“October the twenty-first, one thousand eight hundred and five, then in sight of the combined fleets of France and Spain distant about ten miles.

“Whereas the eminent services of Emma Hamilton, widow of the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton, have been of the very greatest service to our King

received a pension of £250 per annum, besides having at the time a grant from the Patriotic Fund. He was a gallant sailor and a mild and amiable gentleman. He died at East Stonehouse, near Devonport, in November 1854, aged 79, having attained the rank of Rear-Admiral.

and country, to my knowledge, without her receiving any reward from either our King or country ;—first that she obtained the King of Spain's letter in 1796



EMMA LADY HAMILTON.

*From the miniature found in the cabin of Lord Nelson after his death,
and now the property of the Army and Navy Club.*

to his brother the King of Naples, acquainting him of his intention to declare war against England, from which letter the Ministry sent out orders to then

Sir John Jervis to strike a stroke if opportunity offered against either the arsenals of Spain or her fleets. That neither of these was done is not the fault of Lady Hamilton. The opportunity might have been offered. Secondly, the British fleet under my command could never have returned the second time to Egypt, had not Lady Hamilton's influence with the Queen of Naples caused letters to be wrote to the Governor of Syracuse that he was to encourage the fleet being supplied with everything should they put into any port in Sicily. We put into Syracuse and received every supply, went to Egypt and destroyed the French Fleet. Could I have rewarded those Services I would not now call upon my country; but as that has not been in my power, I leave Emma Lady Hamilton therefore a legacy to my King and country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life. I also leave to the beneficence of my country my adopted daughter Horatia Nelson Thompson; and I desire she will use in future the name of Nelson only. These are the only favours I ask of my King and country at this moment, when I am going to fight their battle. May God bless my King and country and all those who I hold dear. My relations it is needless to mention; they will of course be amply provided for.

“NELSON AND BRONTE.

“Witness: HENRY BLACKWOOD.

T. M. HARDY.”

Those last words of appeal to the mighty nation

whose dignity was maintained at the cost of his precious life were disregarded. Yet Nelson wrote in full reliance that if he were killed, the sacrifice of his life would purchase those legacies. No shadow of doubt marred his beautiful trust. How sad the thought that England ignored Nelson's bequests!

For two days the fleet had been full of excitement, and many a home letter, (most precious to-day,) was penned to tell of this crisis in the history of Europe which was at hand. Captain Blackwood's is as concise as any that could be selected; he commenced to his wife on October 20th:—

“ At this moment the enemy are coming out and as if determined to have a fair fight; all night they have been making signals, and the morning showed them to us getting under sail. They have thirty-four sail of the line and five frigates. Lord Nelson has but twenty-seven sail of the line with him; the rest are at Gibraltar getting water. Not that he has not enough to bring them to close action; but I want him to have so many as to make this the most decisive battle that was ever fought, and which may bring us lasting peace and all its blessings. Within two hours, though our fleet was sixteen leagues off, I have let Lord Nelson know of their coming out, and have been enabled to send a vessel to Gibraltar which will bring Admiral Louis and the ships there. At this moment, (happy sight,) we are within four miles of the enemy, and talking to Lord Nelson by means of Sir H. Popham's signals, though so distant, but reached along by the rest of the frigates of the

squadron. You see, dearest, I have time to write to you, and to assure you that to the latest moment of my breath I shall be as much attached to you as man can be. It is odd how I have been dreaming all night of carrying home dispatches. God send me such good luck! The day is fine and the sight magnificently beautiful. I expect before this hour to-morrow to carry General Decrès¹ on board the *Victory* in my barge, which I have just painted nicely for him.

“Monday Morning, 21st.—The last twenty-four hours has been most anxious work for me, but we have kept sight of them, and at this moment bearing up to come to action: Lord Nelson twenty-seven of the line; French, thirty-three or four. I wish the six we have at Gibraltar were here. My signal just made on board the *Victory*; I hope to order me into a vacant line of battle ship. Adieu, my dearest wife. Your Henry will not disgrace his name, and if he dies his last breath will be devoted to the dearest of dear wives. Take care of my boy; make him a better man than his father. Most affectionately and very [?] your husband,

“H. BLACKWOOD.”

The dream was singularly verified—Captain Blackwood did carry home the dispatches.

The record of the part taken by any individual ship at Trafalgar teems with animation, but none

¹ Captain Blackwood mistook the name—it should be Villeneuve not Decrès, which error he corrected later.

more so than that of the *Bellerophon*, commanded by Captain Cooke, who lost his life in the engagement. The main incidents now told are from the memoranda of Captain William Pryce Cumby, R.N., who lived at Heighington, Durham, and who when a young man joined the *Bellerophon* as First Lieutenant, very much against his inclination, though his doing so carried him with a leap to the position many a man waits a lifetime to reach. On October 19th, 1805, two days before the battle, his young eyes were the first to catch sight of the signal No. 370 flying from the inshore squadron, indicating that the enemy's ships were getting under way. It was flying at the masthead of the *Mars*, 74, but at so great a distance that the top-gallant masts only of that vessel were visible above the horizon. Nobody else on board the *Bellerophon* could read the signal, and Cumby's Captain refused to repeat it to the Commander-in-Chief unless some other person on board could confirm the Lieutenant's report. Glasses were focussed, but no one else could see the signal. The announcement was instantly observed on board the *Victory*, and, said Captain Cumby in later days, "Thus we lost the opportunity of being the first to communicate the delightful intelligence to the Admiral, which was as much a matter of regret to Captain Cooke as to myself." For the next two days the fleet was in continued chase. Exhausted by fatigue, Cumby lay down for a brief rest, and he was awakened at half-past five by Mr. Overton, the Master, with the tidings that thirty-three sail of the line were under their lee waiting an attack. A brief prayer, very

similar to Lord Nelson's, was uttered by the young Lieutenant, and then he set about the arduous duties of the memorable sea-fight. At eight o'clock, during breakfast, the Captain privately told him the orders he had received from Nelson as to the management of the ship, and by Cumby's advice he told the Master also, which was done "in case," as the Captain remarked, "I should be bowled out." Of the three persons in possession of this important knowledge at the commencement of the action Cumby alone was not "bowled out" at the close.

When the *Bellerophon* had broken the enemy's line and was engaged with the Spanish two-decker the *Monarca* on one bow, and *L'Aigle* on the other, with the guns of the two ships raking her fore and aft, Cumby was sent below by Captain Cooke with some orders to the officers about the new position of the ship, bidding them direct their fire chiefly at *L'Aigle*. During his absence the poop, quarter-deck, and fore-castle were fearfully swept by the musketry of troops on board *L'Aigle*. Master and Captain had fallen, and not more than fifteen men were left alive on the quarter-deck. But the temporary success of *L'Aigle* was soon counterbalanced by the well-directed fire from the English ship below. Captain Cumby in relating the account, said that in going round before battle began, to see that all was clear for action, he found the guns on the lower deck marked in chalk "Victory or Death." Thrice during the contest the *Bellerophon* was on fire, but so quietly was it extinguished that the crew were not disturbed by it. A

Captain Wemyss was wounded, and Cumby meeting him expressed regret. "It is only a scratch. I shall have to apologise to you by-and-by for quitting the deck on so trivial an occasion." The *trivial occasion* was to have his arm amputated!

The following extract from the log of the *Bellerophon* having relation to the Battle of Trafalgar was copied on the twentieth anniversary of the fight (October 21st, 1825) by a guest of Captain Cumby's, who, though only Lieutenant when the contest began, may be considered (his superior Captain Cooke having been killed early in action) to have fought the ship. He was nearly the only person left unharmed at the end of the day upon the vessel's quarter-deck.

Minutes of the Battle of Trafalgar taken on board the "Bellerophon" and extracted from the Ship's Log Book.

"Oct. 21st, 1805.—At daylight saw the enemy's fleet E.N.E. At 6 h. answered signal to form the order of sailing. At 6 h. 15 m. answered to bear up and steer E.N.E. Out reefs and made sail. At 6 h. 20 m. answered signal to prepare for battle. Beat to quarters and cleared for action. At 6 h. 42 m. answered signal to steer E. 11 h. 14 m. answered telegraph sign from the *Victory*, 'England expects that every man will do his duty.' 11 h. 50 m. answered signal to make more sail from *Royal Sovereign*. Set studding sails. 12 h. answered from *Victory* the signal to prepare to anchor at the close of day. At 12 h. 10 m. the *Royal Sovereign*¹ opened fire on enemy's centre." From this

¹ Lieutenant Joseph Simmonds (afterwards Commander R.N.), who

point the action is closely described. At 1 h. 5 m. Mr. Overton, the Master, fell ; at 1 h. 11 m. the Captain. The few lines which show the time when the victory was accomplished close with words of awful significance : " At 5 h. 7 m. the firing ceased. Perceived 19 of the enemy's line had struck ; one of them sunk ; another blew up. At 5 h. 20 m. answered signal to haul to the wind on starboard tack together. At 5 h. 30 m. sent an officer and took possession of the Spanish ship *Bahama* of 74 guns by order of Vice-Admiral Collingwood brought by an officer of the *Euryalus*. At dusk ten of the enemy's line, six frigates, and two brigs to leeward. At 7 h. 30 m. perceived the *Euryalus* carried the Admiral's lights, and that there were *none on board the Victory*." This was the first suspicion those on board the *Bellerophon* had that the worst had happened to Lord Nelson.

If Lieutenant John Pasco felt himself aggrieved at occupying the position of Signal Lieutenant, and abstained from asking the interference of his Admiral from pious dread of breaking in upon the act of prayer that prefaced the coming fight, his retaining the station carried its own reward, for his name will be for ever honoured as that of the signaller of Nelson's celebrated message to the eager well-disciplined men of the various ships, now ranged and looking towards Nelson's ship for the sign to commence action.

Captain (he was promoted after the Battle of

was on board the *Royal Sovereign* at the Battle of Trafalgar, fired the first shot which opened the battle. He died at Southsea March 17th, 1838.

Trafalgar) Pasco wrote to Sir Harris Nicolas telling him how it came about : "His Lordship came to me on the poop, and after ordering certain signals to be made about a quarter to noon he said, 'Mr. Pasco, I wish to say to the Fleet, "England confides that every man will do his duty,"' and he added, 'And you must be quick, for I have one more to make, which is for Close Action.' I replied, 'If your Lordship will permit me to substitute the word *expects* for *confides* the signal will soon be completed, because the word *expects* is in the vocabulary, and *confides* must be spelt.' His Lordship replied in haste and with seeming satisfaction, 'That will do, Pasco ; make it directly.' When it had been answered by a few Ships in the Van, he ordered me to make the signal for Close Action and to *keep it up* ; accordingly I hoisted No. 16 at the top-gallant mast-head, and there it remained until shot away."

The word *duty* was not in the vocabulary, and had to be spelt.

Finding the shot flying over the *Victory*, Lord Nelson desired Captains Prowse and Blackwood to return to their own ships, and on their way they were to inform the Captains of line of battle ships that he depended on their exertions, and if the prescribed mode of attack was found impracticable they might adopt whatever means they thought best, provided they quickly surrounded the enemy. Nelson knew full well the competency of his Captains, who, thus freed from the trammels of red-tapeism that had so often blocked his own designs, guided each ship into the action, which proved short and decisive. Blackwood

took the Admiral by the hand, and cheerfully said that when next they met he trusted Lord Nelson would be in possession of twenty prizes, and well in health; to which Nelson said sadly, "God bless you, Blackwood: I shall never speak to you again." Blackwood had wished him to go to his own frigate, the *Euryalus*, whence he could obtain full view of the engagement and thence issue orders, but Nelson refused. He would infuse spirit by example, and sent back another ship that was trying to pass the *Victory*, in order to be first in the fray.

Soon the French *Redoutable*, the English *Victory* and *Téméraire* were so close as to be in danger of taking fire from the flames when guns were discharged. Dr. Campbell says, "The muzzles of the lower deck-guns on the *Victory* touched the side of the *Redoutable* when they were run out, therefore the firemen of each gun stood ready with a pail of water, which, as soon as the gun was discharged, he dashed into the hole made by the shot." So sharp was the discharge of bullets from the various ships that shots were seen to strike each other as they fell like hailstones. While Nelson was talking with Captain Hardy in the middle of the quarter-deck, a ball was fired from the enemy's mizzen-top, where two or three men were grouped in crouching position aiming down on the *Victory*, not more than fifteen yards from where his Lordship stood. It struck his left epaulette, passed through his chest, and settled in the muscles of his back. Captain Hardy, being in advance, was unaware of the occurrence until he turned round and saw some seamen

raising his Lordship from that spot upon the deck whereon his Secretary, Mr. Scott, had but just breathed his last, and whose blood bespattered the clothes Lord Nelson had on.¹ "They have done for me at last, Hardy; my backbone is shot through." Captain Hardy desired the seamen to take their Chief below into the cockpit, where those injured were receiving attention. Still observant of the necessities of the ship as he was carried along, he desired that a new tiller rope at once be rove, and Captain Hardy be reminded that it was replaced, for it had been removed. Then not to shock the busy crew with the knowledge of his disaster he covered his own face with his handkerchief. His Chaplain, Dr. Scott, had been so horrified by the constant arrival of suffering men, which had quickly converted the cockpit into the appearance of butcher's shambles, and so distressed, being naturally sensitive and full of tender feeling, that he fled up the companion ladder at the risk of losing his life from chance bullets, rather than remain among the carnage, the remembrance of which haunted him for ever as a dreadful dream.² He followed

¹ The body of Mr. John Scott, the faithful Secretary who had been recommended by Mr. Marsh, and who was one of the first to fall, was at once lowered into the sea. Through the blinding smoke Lord Nelson could not clearly distinguish the form, and asked, "Is that poor Scott?" No time for ceremony; all that could prove an obstruction was promptly removed, and so the dead were thrown overboard as they fell. The thought of the fate which had overtaken his confidential Secretary caused Lord Nelson to appeal earnestly to Captain Hardy, "Don't throw me overboard, Hardy."

² Dr. Scott had had his nervous system shattered by an awful storm of thunder and lightning in the West Indies, and he was perfectly unfitted for the awful scenes he was forced to witness.

his Chief below, but it was impossible to administer spiritual comfort amid the terrible confusion and noise of ships in desperate conflict, while the sufferings of the dying hero—for too surely his hours were numbered—caused the attendant surgeons to use their best efforts to allay pain, and quench his thirst with lemonade. During the intervals of intense pain, however, he was heard to make low and earnest appeals for Divine mercy.

He had sent for Captain Hardy, and it was one hour and a quarter from the time that Nelson was struck before Captain Hardy could go, in spite of the frequent and urgent messages he received begging him to do so; but knowing that the faithful following up to glorious victory now devolved upon him, this gallant man was staunch to the execution of his duty, though his heart and anxieties were with the dying hero and friend below. His non-appearance began to distress Lord Nelson, who feared his Captain was injured, and he disbelieved the assurances of those who told him that all was well with Hardy, but that his presence on deck was necessary.

And while they awaited his coming Lord Nelson in disjointed sentences conversed with Dr. Scott, for the intense pain prevented connected messages. When first carried below he did not think he had half an hour to live, and therefore in an agitated manner he said to his Chaplain, mid pauses broken with agony: "Remember me to Lady Hamilton, remember me to Horatia; remember me to all my friends; remember me to Mr. Rose; tell him I have made a will and

left Lady Hamilton and Horatia to my country." The first nervous shock over, he gradually became more calm and spoke of what was going on.

The appearance of Captain Hardy instantly soothed him, and he listened to his report of the state of the fleet, directed him to anchor, and congratulated him on the victory achieved. In reply to the question as to whether the pain was very great, Nelson turned to his Captain and said "Yes, but I shall live half an hour yet. Kiss me, Hardy." And good, stout, honest Captain Hardy knelt by the slight figure already in death's agony, and sealed their long friendship with the kiss of love. Good-bye for evermore!

Lord Nelson became speechless a quarter of an hour after Hardy left him to go again upon deck. Mr. Burke, Purser of the *Victory*, kneeling under the head of the mattress upon which Lord Nelson lay, raised it so that a semi-sitting posture was obtained, the only one that Nelson was able to endure. When Dr. Scott and Mr. Burke found they could not arouse him they sent Mr. Chevalier, Lord Nelson's Steward, to tell the Surgeon, Dr. Beatty, that they feared he was dying, for the Doctor was absent attending to other sufferers. He went at once, knelt by Nelson, felt the hand—it was cold and the pulse was stilled. Again the Surgeon had to leave, and in five minutes Mr. Chevalier followed to tell him Lord Nelson had expired, the time then being half-past four. The last words that Dr. Scott heard him murmur were "God and my country." Silent reverence is the fittest close for the saddest scene in naval history.



SIR THOMAS MASTERMAN HARDY, K.C.B.

T. M. Hardy

Painted by R. Evans. Engraved by H. Robinson.

From the time Lord Nelson was wounded to that when he expired two hours and forty minutes elapsed. But at the end of the first hour and a quarter he heard that a decisive victory had been gained. A partial cannonade, however, was still maintained in consequence of the enemy's running ships passing the British at different points, and the last distant guns which were fired at their van ships that were making off, were heard a minute or two before his Lordship expired.

“Blackwood, I shall never speak to you again.” Ominous forecast, truly said. What the feelings of Captain Blackwood were he has openly confided to his wife while concluding the account of his final interview, to which he had been summoned by signal while writing to her on the day of battle. He continued, the day after the victory at Trafalgar:—

“A Victory, such a one as has never been achieved, yesterday took place in the course of five hours; but at such an expense in the loss of the most gallant of men, and best of friends, as renders it to me a Victory I never wished to have witnessed—at least on such terms. After performing wonders by his example and coolness, Lord Nelson was wounded by a French Sharpshooter, and died in three hours after, beloved and regretted in a way not to find example.

“To any other person, my Harriet, but yourself, I could not and would not enter so much into the detail particularly of what I feel at this moment. But to you who know and enter into all my feelings I do not, even at the risk of distressing you, hesitate to

say that in my life I never was so shocked or so completely upset as upon my flying to the *Victory*, even before the Action was over, to find that Lord Nelson was even then in the gasp of death. His unfortunate decorations of innumerable stars, and his uncommon gallantry was the cause of his death; and such an Admiral has the Country lost, and to every officer and man so kind, so good, so obliging a friend as never was. Thank God he lived to know that such a Victory, and under circumstances so disadvantageous to the attempt, never before was gained. Almost all seemed as if inspired by the one common sentiment of conquer or die. The Enemy, to do them justice, were not less so. They waited the attack of the British with a coolness I was sorry to witness, and they fought in a way that must do them honour. As a spectator who saw the faults, or rather mistakes, on both sides, I shall ever do them the justice to say so. They are, however, beat, and I hope and trust it may be the means of hastening a Peace. Buonaparte I firmly believe forced them to sea to try his luck and what it might procure him in a pitched battle. They had the flower of the Combined Fleet, and I hope it will convince Europe at large that he has not yet learnt enough to cope with the English at sea. No history can record such a brilliant Victory. At 12 O'Clock yesterday it commenced, and ended about 5, leaving in our hands nineteen Sail of the Line; one of them afterwards blew up (a French one, the *Achille*), therefore except for our Prize money it is not of so much consequence. They were attacked in a way

no other Admiral ever before thought of, and equally surprised them. Lord Nelson (though it was not his station) would lead, supported by Captain Hardy, and Freemantle in *Téméraire*, and *Neptune*. He went into the thickest of it, was successful in his first object, and has left cause for every man who had a heart never to forget him. I closed my last sheet in a great hurry to obey my signal on board the *Victory*, and really I thought I was sent for to take the command of one of the Ships vacant. It was, however, only to talk to me—explain what he expected from the Frigates in and after the action—to thank me (which he did but too lavishly) for my intelligence and the look-out we kept, and to tell me that if he lived he should send me home with the dispatches. Have I not therefore, my dearest love, but too much cause to regret such a considerate friend? How completely he has acted up to the letter I send you, which I am sure you will be glad to see and keep, the issue has proved. And how glad I am to possess such a letter I cannot express! I stayed with him till the Enemy commenced their fire on the *Victory*, when he sent me off. He told me at parting that we should meet no more; he made me witness his Will, and away I came with a heart very sad. The loss in the *Victory*, and indeed I believe in almost all the other Ships, has been sufficient to convince us the Enemy have learnt how to fight better than they ever did, and I hope it is not injustice to the Second in Command, who is now on board the *Euryalus*, and who fought like a hero, to say that the Fleet under any

other never would have performed what they did under Lord N. But under Lord N. it seemed like inspiration to most of them. To give you an idea of the man and the sort of heart he had, the last signal he made was such a one as would immortalize any man. He saw the Enemy were determined to see it out, and as if he had not already inspired every one with ardour and determination like himself, he made the following general signal by Sir Home Popham's, *viz.* 'England expects every officer and man will do their utmost duty.'¹ This of course was conveyed by general signals from the Ships, and the alacrity with which the individual ships answered it showed how entirely they entered into his feelings and ideas. Would to God he had lived to see his prizes, and the Admirals he has taken, three in all; among them the French Commander-in-Chief, who I am sorry to say is Villeneuve and not Decrès."

On the 23rd Blackwood again wrote to his wife a few lines, including: "I wish to God he had yielded to my entreaties to come on board my Ship. We all should have preserved a friend, and the Country the greatest Admiral ever was; but he would not listen to it."

Vice-Admiral Villeneuve says he never saw anything like the irresistible line of our ships; but that of

¹ The misquoting of the famous message is pardonable, as it was then no well-known by-word, but merely a signal passed along by the ships. Its effect, however, is shown by its mention in much correspondence closely following the action.

the *Victory*, supported by the *Neptune* and *Téméraire*, was what he could not have formed any judgment of.

Admiral Collingwood wrote of Admiral Villeneuve as a well-bred man, and he believed a very good officer, with nothing in his manners of the offensive vapourings and boasting which at that time was too often attributed to Frenchmen.

The fate of this gallant French officer was truly distressing. He was carried prisoner to England, and having obtained his parole, landed at Morlaix on April 22nd, 1806, and thence went to Rennes, where it is supposed he committed suicide—rather than face Bonaparte and his wrath and vengeance.

The death of Lord Nelson was avenged shortly after he was struck down, and he who fired the fatal shot probably passed out of life before him whom almost every man in the English fleet would have given his own existence to save. Some argument has gone on in later years as to who was the actual avenger. He who alone could claim the honour, Lieutenant Pollard of the *Victory*, was still living, and in a letter to a paper in his native Kent he sent the account of which the matter following is a copy :—

“ I feel myself at length called upon to come forward and state a few particulars which differ materially from a correspondent's extract. I was on the poop of the *Victory* from the time the men were beat to quarters before the action, till late in the evening. I was the first struck, as a splinter hit my right arm, and I was the only officer left alive of all who had been originally stationed on the poop. It is true my

old friend Collingwood¹ (who has now been dead some years) came on the poop some time after I had discovered the men in the tops of the *Redoubtable*; they were in a crouching position, and rose breast high to fire. I pointed them out to Collingwood as I made my aim. He took up a musket, fired once, and then left the poop, I concluded to return to the quarter-deck, which was his station during the Battle. I remained firing at the tops till not a man was to be seen. The last one I discovered coming down the mizzen rigging, and from my fire he also fell. King, the quarter-master, was killed while in the act of handing me a parcel of ball cartridge long after Collingwood had left the poop. I remained there till after the action was over, and assisted in superintending the rigging of the jury mast. Then I was ushered into the Award-room, where Sir Thomas Hardy and other officers were assembled, and was complimented by them on avenging Lord Nelson's death, which fact afterwards appeared in the *Gazette*. I did not go on board the *Redoubtable* with Mr. Collingwood at all, therefore I could not have discovered the man lying in the mizzen-top with one ball in his head and another in his breast. At the time of the action I was 19 years of age."

Lieutenant Pollard's statement is endorsed most fully in a letter from Commander Carslake and Mr. Thomas Goble, another Trafalgar hero.

There being no lead on board the *Victory* wherewith to shape a coffin to enclose the remains of Lord

¹ Midshipman Francis E. Collingwood.

Nelson, a cask was converted into a substitute, into which the body, clothed merely in the shirt, was placed ; for want of spirits of wine brandy was used for its preservation. The cask was then fastened down, placed on the middle deck, and guarded by a sentinel. When the *Victory* arrived at Gibraltar spirits of wine replaced the brandy.

Here the wounded were carried ashore to the Naval Hospital, and the ship repaired preparatory to her departure for England with the remains of Lord Nelson for interment—a tedious voyage to Spithead that took five weeks to accomplish.

Meanwhile Captains Hardy and Blackwood had gone forward with Admiral Collingwood's dispatches, and so the dream of Captain Blackwood before Trafalgar Battle was realised.

On December 11th the *Victory* arrived at the Nore, the body was removed from the leaden coffin into which it had been put at Gibraltar, and the ball extracted by Dr. Beattie. It had passed through the spine and lodged in the muscles of the back, carrying with it a quantity of gold lace, pad and lining of the epaulette, as firmly embedded as if inserted into the metal while in a state of fusion. The body was dressed in the uniform of the late Admiral and laid in the coffin made out of the wreck of *L'Orient*, so that he should be buried in one of his own trophies. This coffin was placed within another so richly ornamented that it was said to be the most superb ever seen in Europe.

Lady Hamilton was anxious to see the corpse

before it was finally closed from view. From this painful scene Captain Hardy endeavoured to dissuade her, as will be seen from a letter written to her by him on the *Victory* December 8th, 1805. The Chevalier referred to in it was a steward recommended to Nelson by his friend Mr. Davison, a splendid servant to him in the Mediterranean; but once he gave notice to leave—why, Lord Nelson could not conceive, as he was humoured to excess.

“MY DEAR LADY HAMILTON,—I am quite sorry to hear of Chevalier’s conduct, and what could induce him to request you not to mention to Earl Nelson his having given you my letter, I know not (for I had no idea of its being kept a secret). Such is his story to me, and as the Earl [Nelson] was not pleased with him for having detected him in something like a *falsehood*, he did not return to you. However, I shall keep a strict look-out over him and all the rest of the servants. I have requested [Captain] Sutton to speak to you on the subject, and write to me at Deal, where I expect to be on Wednesday next, as we sail for the Downs tomorrow evening. Everything shall be preserved for you that you can wish; and it shall be my constant study to meet your wishes, as it was our ever dear Lord’s last request to be kind to you, which I trust I shall never forget.

“As his dear body is in spirits I think it would be wrong for you to think of seeing him, and do let me beg of you to give up the idea; but should you still be determined, I certainly shall not oppose it; and I

would recommend you to consult Sutton on the subject. I have his hair, lockets, rings, breast-pin, and all your Ladyship's pictures in a box by themselves, and they shall be delivered to no one but yourself. Everything shall be done to meet Lord Nelson's wishes, and I have no doubt but he will be satisfied with my conduct. I beg of you, my dear Lady Hamilton, to keep up your spirits under this most melancholy and trying occasion, and you may be sure of always meeting a most sincere friend in

“ T. M. HARDY.”

On December 22nd the coffin was conveyed in a yacht to Greenwich, accompanied by a procession of boats, where on the 24th it was placed in the Board Room of Greenwich Hospital, which was closed until it was carried to the Painted Chamber, where it lay in state for three days;¹ thence it was removed to the Admiralty, where it also lay in state until January 9th, 1806, when it was interred in a crypt under the middle aisle of the Cathedral of St. Paul's immediately beneath the centre of the dome.

The ceremonies accompanying the interment were impressive in the extreme. The magnitude of the attendant procession may be judged from the fact that, although the first part entered the choir at two o'clock

¹ On January 6th Lord Samuel Hood found it necessary to write to Lord Hawkesbury that “ The mob assembled here is so very numerous and tumultuous that it is absolutely necessary that your Lordship should apply for a very *strong* party of Cavalry, to line the street on each side from Deptford Bridge to the Hospital . . . the mob consisted yesterday of upwards of 30,000.”

in the afternoon, the whole did not reach the choir until four.

Night cast its gloom over the solemn scene, and most of the service was conducted by torch-light ; the dome was illuminated for the first time, and the whole of this religious ceremony was grand and awe-inspiring.

The final anthem was singularly appropriate :

Verse : " His body is buried in peace."

Chorus : " But his name liveth evermore."

The flags of the *Victory* were being deposited in the grave, but with sudden impulse Nelson's old sailors snatched at a particular one and tore it into a thousand shreds to be carried off as relics. For similar sacred purpose the leaden coffin in which Nelson's remains had been brought to England was cut up into strips and distributed among the different ships that had taken part in the great engagement.

We have a most interesting account of the previous historical origin of the sarcophagus used as the tomb of Lord Nelson from the pen of one dear to the nation as the bequest of Nelson—his little Horatia, who while still in her teens married the Rev. Philip Ward, who in 1843 was Vicar of Tenterden.

The following letter dated that year, July 16th, was written to a son of the Rev. Dr. Scott, Nelson's Chaplain at sea :—

"MY DEAR SIR,¹—When are we to have the pleasure of seeing you and Mrs. Scott at our old Vicarage? I do hope you will soon write and fix the

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

day. The country is now looking so very pretty that I should like you to see it, and that Mrs. Scott should have favourable first impressions of our locality. I am writing with a pen which will hardly mark. I enclose you a curious fact regarding Lord Nelson's tomb in St. Paul's, which as you are fond of anecdotes respecting him I have transcribed for you. Mr. Ward and the bairns join with me in best regards, and believe

“Very truly,

“HORATIA N. WARD.

“I must get a fresh pen.”

THE ANECDOTE OF THE TOMB.

“Adjoining St. George's Chapel, Windsor, stands the Royal tomb House begun by Henry 7th as a Mausoleum, but abandoned for the Chapel in Westminster Abbey. This structure was granted by Henry 8th to Cardinal Wolsey, who intending it as a place of burial for himself erected within it a sumptuous monument of black and white marble, with 8 brazen columns placed round it, and 4 others in the form of candlesticks. At the time of the Cardinal's disgrace, when the building reverted to the Crown, the monument was far advanced towards completion; the vast sum of 4,280 ducats having been paid to Benedetto, a Florentine Sculptor, for work, and nearly £400 for gilding part of it. This tomb was stripped of its ornaments and destroyed by the Parliamentary Rebels in 1646;¹ but the

¹ The statues and figures of gilt-copper of exquisite workmanship made to ornament the tomb were sold to carry on the rebellion.

black marble Sarcophagus forming part of it, and intended as the receptacle of Wolsey's own remains, escaped destruction, and now covers the grave of Nelson in the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral."

The four vergers of St. Paul's Cathedral are said to have taken more than a thousand pounds a day by admissions to see the preparations for Lord Nelson's funeral, during which one of the workmen employed was unfortunately killed.

After the obsequies the public generally were admitted to an enclosed space directly over the body whence they could see the coffin, the charge being a shilling each person.

It is a sad reflection that when Lord Nelson had attended a Levee held at Buckingham House by King George III., after the attack on Boulogne, he had so much coldness shown to him by his Majesty as to cause Lord Nelson vexation of spirit. This was told to the King, who was wishful to atone for the slight, and prior to Nelson sailing for Cadiz a message was sent by his Majesty that he wished to see him; but the letter only reached him at Cadiz shortly before the last fight for the honour of the King and cuntry he loved so well.

Among the legion of regrets that were written about that national calamity, the death of Nelson, that which an old Liverpool man included when writing his life's recollections shows the deep sorrow that came to the town on receipt of the sad news. It is very touching.

He writes: "As a sailor and the chief of sailors,

he was a special favourite in this seaport town: his name was among our 'household words'; his life, a thousand romances in one reality, was the popular theme at every table and round every fire. Wellington



LORD NELSON.

Painted by F. L. Abbott.

was in the bud then, and all the talk was of Nelson, nothing but Nelson. When therefore the account of his death was received, there was not a man in Liverpool but wished with all his heart and soul the victory unwon, and the departed hero yet alive

and spared to us. It seemed, so intense was the feeling of regret, as if the destroying Angel had again passed through the land as of old through Egypt, and taken one from every house. Grief was in every family, lamentation in every circle, sorrow in every countenance. These feelings were the more intense in Liverpool inasmuch as the intelligence of the hero's death followed close upon a letter from himself in which he announced his intention, as he had never yet seen the 'good old town,' of paying it a visit as soon as he had 'settled his small account' with the French and Spanish Fleets, which he was then blockading in Cadiz. How uncertain are the events of this life! We wept the hero dead whom we hoped to welcome in all the pride and brilliancy of his glory! The envelope that contained this letter hung for many a year in a splendid frame in the dining-room of a leading Liverpool gentleman."

The same writer tells of a visit paid to a cottage outside Liverpool, in which he noticed the handwriting of Nelson framed and hung up. "When the owner came in he said, 'It is the greatest treasure I possess; nothing on earth could separate me from it while I live.' Yet the man seemed not to have one spark of enthusiasm in his composition upon any other subject; but talk of Nelson, and his whole soul out-poured in veneration for his memory."

We cannot wonder at the outburst of enthusiasm which echoed through the nation during life and at the death of one so popular; and what a subscription did Liverpool raise for a monument to the memory of

the dead hero ! What collections were made in the churches for the widows and orphans of the brave defenders of their country who fought and were killed on the same day with their glorious chief !

The monument is a fine conception of the terrible reality by which England was bereft of the noble director of daring deeds that placed his name first in the ranks of naval prowess. It stands in the centre of the Exchange Flags, was designed by M. C. Wyatt, and executed in bronze by Westmacott ; it represents Victory placing a fourth crown on Nelson's uplifted sword, while grim Death, partially veiled, places over the heart of the hero his outstretched skeleton hand. The attendant mourners, though only symbolical, carry sadness in their exquisite depth of grief. The cost was £9,000, towards which the Corporation contributed £1,000, the underwriters at Lloyd's £750, West India Association £500, and the rest by local subscription, all of which was obtained within a few days.

On June 16th, 1838, a meeting of subscribers in London was convened in connection with the proposed erection of a national monument in Trafalgar Square, to commemorate the noble deeds of Lord Nelson, towards which the young Queen Victoria contributed 500 guineas, the Queen Dowager £200, the Duke of Wellington £200. In proposing a resolution his Grace said it was a matter of astonishment that the subject under consideration had not been carried into effect at an earlier period.

When the Emperor of Russia was in London in 1844 he subscribed as departing presents £500 to

the Nelson memorial, and £500 to the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, which was then in progress at Mr. Wyatt's studio.

When the monument to Nelson was approaching completion a public subscription was made to provide a souvenir for the survivors of his naval triumphs. It was decided to give each veteran a specially struck medal and a gratuity. On April 2nd, 1845, the ceremony took place at Greenwich Hospital. Those who had actually served under Nelson (to the number of 377) were ranged in line on either side of the hall, while the boys of the school band played fine naval airs. Each man was then called by name in alphabetical order, and presented with a medal bearing on one side the portrait of Nelson and on the reverse a representation of the monument at Charing Cross, and ten shillings in cash.

Upon the tomb in St. Paul's Cathedral there lies one of the old-fashioned perforated cards, 6 in. × 10 in., in a plain black frame, the border worked in black silk vandyked, and the corners badly arranged, like the design of some one not expert. In the centre are the words

IN

LOVING MEMORY OF

DEAR LORD HORATIO NELSON.

THY WILL BE DONE.

It is not known who put it on the tomb, but it has always been there. Even the most trivial thing in

connection with the dead hero appeals to the better part of our nature. Some unknown testimony of love, which is touching when connected with the grand monument upon which, though humble, it lies respected.

In St. Paul's Cathedral a statue of Lord Nelson by Flaxman was placed. He is dressed in the costume of his rank, his left hand on a cable anchor. The want of the left arm is concealed by a cloak thrown over the shoulder and intended for the fur pelisse, the gift of the Grand Signior during the time of Nelson's service in the Mediterranean. The pedestal of noble dimensions is wrought with sea-gods in *relievo*, representing the North Sea, the German Ocean, the Nile, and the Mediterranean, and is flanked on one side by a lion couched, and on the other by a figure of Britannia directing the eyes of two naval scholars to Nelson as their great example. The allegory is poor, and there is nothing in the style in which it is executed to redeem it. The epitaph on the pedestal too is poor.

The City of London erected a beautiful sculptured monument to Nelson, by Smith, in the Guildhall, at a cost of over £4,000.

In front of Swarland Hall in Northumberland, and close to the road, Mr. Alexander Davison erected an obelisk-shaped monument to the memory of his dead friend Lord Nelson. On the body were the words, "England expects every man to do his duty"; and on the pedestal, "Not to commemorate the Public Virtue and the Achievements of Nelson, which is the

Duty of England, but to the Memory of Private Friendship, this erection is dedicated by Alexander Davison."

The trees near it are arranged to show the position of the fleet at the time of the Battle of Aboukir.

While those who possessed any things that in any way could be connected with Lord Nelson, laid them by as sacred relics, it seems strange that his wife is found parting with a lock of his hair, the sole thing she had belonging to her dead husband. She gave it to Mr. Marsh, the banker, who had been a good friend to Captain and Mrs. Nelson from the time when Nelson was but one in a crowd seeking employment, and his means were very small. The gift was accompanied by a letter, ladylike and pretty, which would have evoked sympathy if the relic had been spared from a rich store; but it was all that she then possessed—of her own free will, for Nelson would have hindered her in no way in taking as her own whatsoever she wished when she left his roof.

She was then residing at Clifton, and the letter is dated October 26th, 1806.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have complied with your request by enclosing a lock of My Lord Nelson's hair which was cut off in July '97—that very circumstance renders it of double value to me. It is all I have to give, and it would not be so well bestowed as on *you* who had proved a Friend in need when little known, living in obscurity and forgot by one or two who had *promised* and given *hopes of Notice*.

“Be assured your unremitting kindness’s and attentions will ever be remembered by your sincere

“FRANCES H. NELSON AND BRONTE.”

Addressed to William Marsh, Esq., Witley, near Farnham, Surrey.

The lock of hair is in possession of the Misses Marsh-Caldwell of Alsager, Staffordshire ; a small plait of light brown shade with the sheen of life on it. It is inserted below a waxen profile of the Admiral, after Flaxman, framed.

Friends could and would have intervened had it been desirable to bring together Lord Nelson and his wife, but it seems none thought it wise to do so. The letter contains somewhat of regret inspired by death’s separation, but the remembrance of wrongs unforgotten, though after many years, appears in the reference to those who had promised to assist, raised her hopes, and disappointed her. She could not rise to the greatness of the man who had hoped to spend the rest of his days in quietude and comfort in her company, nor did he desire aught else. Though the high spirit of Lady Nelson resented a grievance even after death had separated her from the partner who had shared with her the domestic pleasures of married life, there must have been moments when she regretted the disturbances which had broken the bonds of affection. That which is lost or passed away is always felt to have been of greater value than we realised when we possessed it. That lock of hair, so lightly given, was a relic to

have treasured in secret and wept over, though pride might never allow this to be confessed. How different was the conduct of her noble husband in leaving her so handsome a provision, after her cruel neglect of him at a period when he so seriously needed wifely attentions because of his shattered health! With the further insight into the disturbances that drew together Sir William Hamilton and Lord Nelson, shown by Sir William's own letters, which so volubly declaim his own attachment to the Admiral, how could Lord Nelson have retired from further acquaintance with Lady Hamilton?

Lady Hamilton's ultimate position in the Merton household was as the widow, with somewhat limited income, of his dead friend, grown familiar because of the events that had thrown them together abroad, and they were openly supported by true-hearted men and women. To Lady Hamilton they turned when he was gone, and they wrote their sympathy honestly, seeing no guile. Extracts from some of those letters will show the undoubted respect with which her Ladyship was then held.

FROM LADY ELIZABETH BENTINCK TO MISS
CHARLOTTE NELSON.

"Sunday, RAMSGATE.

"MY DEAR MISS NELSON,—Our anxiety to hear how my friend Lady Hamilton supports herself, must plead my excuse for troubling you at a time like this. I shall not say more of my feelings on this *great* but

truly lamentable occasion than that they are sincerely affected with adoration and regret, and that I have unceasingly thought of the sufferings poor Lady Hamilton must endure. Favour me then with one line just to say how she is, and tender her my best love and condolence. Lord Edward joins me in every kind sentiment of esteem to you and yours, and pray you to believe me very affectionately yours,

“ELIZABETH BENTINCK.”

FROM ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD GOODWIN KEATS
TO LADY HAMILTON.

“DEAR LADY HAMILTON,—I will not pretend to express to you the feelings I experienced on the news of the melancholy event which has caused you so much sorrow, and which occasions my returning to your Ladyship the accompanying letters. As well as your Ladyship I too have lost a friend I loved and adored, to whom I owe obligations that can never be effaced from my bosom. I will not dwell on a subject that has caused you such sincere grief, but I cannot conclude without expressing my hope that the Hero's last wishes may meet with their fullest accomplishment in a handsome provision for your Ladyship by Government, and that if my trifling but zealous services can anyhow prove convenient to your Ladyship or any of his family I should have sincere pleasure in being employed,” etc., etc.

FROM RICHARD BULKELEY, ESQ., TO LADY
HAMILTON.

“MY DEAR LADY HAMILTON,—From the moment that the much dreaded and ever to be lamented tidings reached me I have been overwhelmed by the deepest and sincerest grief, in which you have often recurred to my mind. The public has lost its greatest and favourite hero; society has lost a man endowed by nature with every quality the most endearing, and which no individual I ever knew possessed in an equal degree to my dear friend Nelson. You have lost what must be irreparable to you, that which any woman in any age and situation would have been proud to possess, a friend who in all his actions was governed by the purest feelings, and whose mind was incapable under any circumstances of forgetting those who had in the slightest degree shown marked kindness towards him. To you therefore who had served and *saved* him when no common exertions could have availed, it was quite natural that his attachment should have been (as it was) the most tender and unbounded. Such an attachment from such a man was a blessing which nothing in this world can ever equal, and I feel the magnitude of your misfortune,” etc., etc.¹

¹ Writing to Lady Hamilton from Ludlow, March 25th, 1804, Sir Richard Bulkeley says that, after seeing in the morning paper a paragraph that Mr. Davison had heard, February 10th, from Lord Nelson that he was in pursuit and sight of the French fleet, he hastened to write to her Ladyship, for “should this report be true, I am quite sure that your impatience and anxiety is not less than my own, and as we

FROM EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, ESQ.,¹
brother of one of the compilers of Clarke & McArthur's
Life of Nelson, TO LADY HAMILTON.

“ Will you recognise an old and sincere friend who after a long absence and many years of silence ventures to address you in the language of sincerity? When I lived at Naples I experienced many an act of kindness which I have not forgotten, and I waited on you at Merton with Lady Rush previous to the sad catastrophe which deprived England of its boast and glory. It was not to ask favours, but to testify that respect which I must ever entertain for you. I have not since intruded on those moments which I knew were sacred to deep regrets and the keenest anguish, but the Interests of my brother have now emboldened me to solicit the Patronage which you may bestow on his efforts to commemorate the actions and the fame of our illustrious Nelson. You may not perhaps be acquainted either with his principles or the zeal which from early Life led him to the study of Naval Literature. He has devoted all his time to those enquiries. From his numerous Naval Connexions as well as the ardour which has stimulated him in every undertaking of that kind, he now attempts the biography of the greatest Naval Commander that ever lived. You may render him the most important services ; at any rate you will be so much interested, and our feelings so alike alive to everything that concerns our dear Nelson, we are most fitted to commune with each other.” The wanton misreading by modern writers perishes in sight of sound investigation.

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq.

not be offended by a request which tends only to do justice to the cause in which he is engaged.

“Your ever faithful and obliged

“EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE.

“IBBETSON'S HOTEL, VERE STREET.

“Feb. 2, 1806. P. T. O.

“I am going to Jesus College, Cambridge, to-morrow to support the election of Lord Henry Petty. If you have already promised your assistance,¹ have the goodness not to allow the Documents you possess to supersede the Interests of a work which Lord Nelson countenanced by the very valuable communication he made of his own Life written by himself.”

To Hayley the poet, her friend of many years standing, Lady Hamilton had written that she was sorry she had promised Earl Nelson (for so the Rev. William had become) to give him all her letters from Lord Nelson. To which the poet made answer :

¹ Lady Hamilton did not assist, for she was about to publish a Life of Nelson herself, with the assistance of a man named Harrison, who with his family lived upon her for two years, and abstracted many of her papers.

The Rev. Earl Nelson, and Mr. Beattie, Lord Nelson's surgeon, both contemplated writing memoirs of the dead hero. The Rev. J. S. Clarke, Librarian and Chaplain to George, Prince of Wales, had been for some time engaged upon a similar work, which had received the countenance of Lord Nelson himself, who had written his autobiography for Mr. Clarke. Indeed, Nelson had been much distressed on hearing Mr. Beattie's intention, and wrote to ask him to desist from publishing separately the narrative he had prepared for Mr. Clarke's work. The Prince of Wales had already asked Earl Nelson to forgo his intention in favour of Messrs. Clarke & McArthur's elaborate work.



THE RIGHT HON. THE REV. WILLIAM EARL NELSON, DUKE OF BRONTE.

From a miniature by G. P. Harding, after Hoppner.

“You kindly say you are very sorry you have promised Earl Nelson *to give him your letters*; probably because you imagine I should wish them to be imparted to the biographer I mentioned; but as *your very sincere friend* I should advise you to retain those letters in your own custody, and not suffer *even me*, your old

and faithful friend, to persuade you to impart them to the public, except at some distant day *as a legacy to your country, from yourself.*"

In a later letter Hayley inserted a few lines meaning to console, and the true and beautiful thoughts might comfort many another troubled heart. He wrote: "In a pilgrimage of three score years on earth I have learnt that the most soothing and satisfactory of all human pleasures may be found in discharging our affectionate duties to the dead, and particularly in acting upon all occasions as the pure Spirits of the Just made perfect must wish their surviving friends to act. Now, dear Emma, you have abundance of such delightful occupation (as I have mentioned) to furnish you with the most animating occupation."

Not a line can be found but what contains some honest or beautifully expressed conception, all so different to the strain we have been taught to believe in.

FROM CAPTAIN SIR WILLIAM BOLTON

(married to one of his cousins, Miss Bolton, niece of Lord Nelson).

"H.M.S. *Eurydice*, November 3rd, GIBRALTAR.

"MY DEAR, HONOURED LADY HAMILTON,—Most sincerely do I hope this letter will not be ill-timed, for I should ever feel self-reproach did I for a moment delay writing to your Ladyship my feelings on our late so dreadful calamity.

"With a heart and mind deeply impressed with gratitude for your Ladyship's generous attention to me

and mine, still more so with the inestimable value of such a friend, I humbly request with a true heart you will not deprive me of the almost sole consolation left—your regard. In faithfulness none shall exceed me ; in attachment and esteem none ; if my ability equals not my will, I must indeed regret it, but it shall be a spur to incite me to the exertion of my abilities in the situation our saint has placed me. With fervent prayers to that good God (with whom he is) for your consolation and future peace of mind, I for ever subscribe myself your Ladyship's most faithful friend,
“W. BOLTON.”

Lady Hamilton, by thorough kindness of heart, had won the love and esteem of all ranks ; any one felt they could ask her to do anything if they were in need, and it would be willingly done. Sir Richard Bulkeley even wrote to ask if she would call at Prater's, the linen-drapers, Charing Cross, when out in her carriage and ask if he had a parcel made up for Mr. Bulkeley, his son, directed for Captain Hardy on board the *Victory*. When Sir Richard wrote to condole with Lady Hamilton upon the death of Lord Nelson he was most anxious about his son, who was a lieutenant on the *Victory*, and he dreaded the arrival of every post, fearing it would bring bad news. At last he heard that he had been wounded at Trafalgar and was in hospital.

The will of Lord Nelson devised a gift to Lady Nelson of £4,000 and an annuity of £1,000 for life. To Lady Hamilton he left Merton Place, its

shrubberies, pleasure grounds, canal, and moat (about seventy acres), and an annuity of £500. The £2,000 which it has been said Lord Nelson left to her was the greater part of the unpaid debt to him incurred at Naples and on the journey to England.

To Horatia Nelson Thompson he bequeathed £4,000, and desired that she should change the name of Thompson for that of Nelson, which she did henceforth till her marriage—her name being Horatia Nelson Nelson. He wished her to reside with Lady Hamilton until she was eighteen years of age, the interest of her money to be paid to Lady Hamilton for her maintenance and education. He also hoped that if Lady Hamilton considered that a marriage with his nephew Horatio, son of his brother William, would be likely to promote the girl's happiness, it might take place.

It had always been said by Lord Nelson during the lifetime of Sir William Hamilton that, whichever lived the longer, himself or his wife, should have "Merton." Considering Sir William's straitened means and their great attachment and respect for each other, there was nothing in the arrangement but the desire to see his friends comfortably settled. The husband died first, and so the house was willed to the wife. But in the disposition of his money Nelson was fair to the wife who had deserted him. His bequest of Merton Place to Lady Hamilton largely contributed to her financial ruin; for at the time of his death the house was undergoing extensive alterations, which even he saw he was scarcely justified in undertaking, and these

were not completed when came the sudden termination to his life. He had written to Lady Hamilton: "You will see I have wrote Davison to pay every bill relating to the alterations at Merton, and that nothing is to be touched on that business from the £100 a month." Which refers to the allowance made personally to Lady Hamilton by Lord Nelson. When Sir William Hamilton died his pension of £100 a month ceased, so to shame the Government Nelson undertook to continue the same amount to her; but from the time of his own death of course this allowance was discontinued.

It was Lord Nelson's intention that she should not pay anything for the alterations at Merton Place; he wrote: "The expenses of the alterations at Merton *you* are not to pay from the income. Let it be put to a separate amount, and I will provide a sum for the payment." In spite of this his brother the new Earl refused to allow the expenses; therefore how could she meet the bills?

When the recompense to relatives came under the consideration of Parliament, it was decided to award to the widow of the great Admiral an annuity of £2,000; to his brother the Rev. William Nelson, upon whom already an earldom had been conferred, the annual pension of £5,000, to be continued for ever to the person who might succeed to the earldom; £99,000, to be devoted to the purchase of an estate to be called "Trafalgar"; and £10,000 to each sister of the late Lord Nelson, Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Matcham. The Ministers now had the opportunity

of settling upon Lady Hamilton an annuity, if only on the grounds of the awful surroundings attending the final bequest to King and country. The King could only be reached after the decision of the Ministers, who proved themselves obstructionists; and as for Nelson's countrymen, they one and all were in favour of it.

The non-provision for the little child, his adopted daughter, living under his roof, was even a more scandalous omission than the neglect of Lady Hamilton. His whole heartfelt love was centred in the little one.

On June 11th, 1801, Nelson had written to Mr. Davison the following beautiful sentiment: "The dead cannot do any more kindness than repose confidence in the living."

The Rev. Earl Nelson was dining with Lady Hamilton in Clarges Street when he received the news of the handsome gifts he was to enjoy, which had been earned by his brother at the cost of his life. He drew from his pocket the touching codicil to the will that Lord Nelson had written in his memorandum book, and threw it across the table to Lady Hamilton, and in the full security of the man in possession told her to do what she liked with it. The Government was well aware of its existence, for it had been found open on the desk of Lord Nelson; the wickedness consisted in concealing from Lady Hamilton until after affairs were settled, that he had considered the advisability of placing the codicil before Parliament, and that in the unsettled

state of Europe it was deemed inexpedient to make public any reference to the Queen of Naples, which resolve was perfectly reasonable, for to act upon it would certainly have compromised Italy with France. In fact, the Queen of Naples did consider that she was compromised, and though up to this time she had supported Lady Hamilton in her endeavours to obtain a pension from the British Government, she withdrew from taking further part in any proposed measures to secure it, but she never disclaimed the share that Nelson had avowed in one of the last acts of his life.

To have presented the codicil for consideration before Parliament when the great meeting was over and the allotments made would have been a re-opening of the case. The Rev. Earl erred in not telling Lady Hamilton before what decision had been arrived at, so giving her an opportunity of consulting as to the best means of introducing the matter, and getting Nelson's will carried into effect. He acted unfairly, but this does not exonerate the Ministers from their share of blame, for they could have found ways to complete the dying desires of Nelson. Next day Lady Hamilton had the codicil registered at Doctors' Commons, and the following attestation of Lord Nelson's Chaplain, who was with him when he died, was placed with it :—

“THESE ARE THE ONLY FAVOURS I ASK OF MY KING AND COUNTRY, AT THIS MOMENT WHEN I AM GOING TO FIGHT THEIR BATTLE.¹”

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

Nelson's Friendships

“May God Bless my King and Country and all those I hold dear ! My relations it is needless to mention ; they will of course be amply provided for.

“NELSON AND BRONTE.

“Witness : HENRY BLACKWOOD.

T. M. HARDY.

“ ATTESTATION.

“ Appeared personally the Reverend Alexander John Scott of St. John’s College in the university of Cambridge, and Vicar of South Minster in the County of Essex, Doctor of Divinity ; and made oath that he, the deponent, on the 21st day of October in the year 1805, and for some time proceeding, was Chaplain on board his Majesty’s ship *Victory*, one of the Squadron under the command of the late Right Honourable Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson deceased ; and the deponent says that during an action on the day aforesaid between his Majesty’s Squadron and the Combined Fleets of France and Spain off Trafalgar, the said Lord Viscount Nelson having been mortally wounded in the said action, soon after the same happened, addressed himself to this deponent and said : ‘I am dying, Doctor ; remember me to Lady Hamilton, remember me to Horatia. Tell Lady Hamilton I have made a Will, and left her and Horatia a legacy to my Country.’ And this deponent says that the deceased several times in the course of the day made declarations in the hearing of and to this deponent to the same effect ; and having on the same day departed this life, he, the deponent, was present on

board the Ship with Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy, Bart., then Thomas Masterman Hardy, Esq., Captain of the said ship, when they found in the escritoire of the said deceased a book wherein, amongst other things, are the words following, to wit:—

“‘October the twenty-first, one thousand eight hundred and five, then in sight of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles.’ Also the words, ‘I leave Emma Lady Hamilton therefore a legacy to my King and Country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life. I also leave to the beneficence of my Country my Adopted Daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson.’ And ending, ‘My relations it is needless to mention; they will of course be amply provided for.’ And thus subscribed, ‘Nelson and Bronte.’

“And this deponent says that having viewed the book hereto annexed marked A, wherein the several words before related appear, the same is the identical book found in the escritoire aforesaid, in the handwriting of the said deceased; and was, as he believes, meant and referred to by the said deceased in his aforesaid declarations.

“A. J. SCOTT.

“Same day the said Alexander John Scott, Doctor in Divinity, aforesaid, was duly sworn in the truth hereof before me

“GEORGE OGILVIE, *Surrogate*.

“GEORGE SILK, N.P.”

Parliament voted £300,000 to the officers and men who had fought at Trafalgar. The amount paid to Lord Nelson's executors was £18,517 13s. 6d. Out of this amount surely the expenses of the work commenced by Lord Nelson, and *not* to be paid for by Lady Hamilton, could have been cleared off; for special Parliamentary grants to the family of the dead Admiral who had saved England from invasion were so handsome that she might have been relieved somewhat of her monetary anxieties.

The share that Captain Hardy received was £2,389 7s. 6d.

Lady Nelson was by no means satisfied with the distribution of effects made by her deceased husband, and seriously designed contesting the will in the Law Courts. The news passed round the family circle until Mrs. Bolton told it to Lady Hamilton, June 6th, 1806: "By a letter from my sister yesterday I find the Viscountess is going to law. What for? To enrich that son of hers, for depend on it she will not gain a sixpence, if so much income. What a vindictive woman she is! Disputes even the last words of the man she once pretended to love. She has changed her mourning, and is off to Cheltenham. I hope it will purge away all her sins. . . . Poor Mrs. Matcham seems very low; she has not left off her mourning yet." Eight months only from the death of her illustrious husband, and the first mourning cast aside already by the wife while the sister continued its depths!

Lady Nelson appears to have been eminently

disliked by her husband's relations, who observed to each other the best of feeling, with frequent interchanges of domestic gifts acceptable to housekeepers. They give every evidence of having been a united and affectionate family. But they were all in unison in their dislike for Lady Nelson, who at the end of the year 1804 visited Bath at the same time as the Matchams. As a matter of course the proximity was told to Lady Hamilton. Mrs. Bolton wrote of having heard from her sister Mrs. Matcham that a *certain* lady was at Bath, so *condescendingly humble* to those who formerly she would not *notice*, all to be thought amiable. Mrs. Matcham wrote to Lady Hamilton: "*The Lady* is, I believe, at Bath, but at too great a distance for us ever to see her. We have been to a ball, a concert, and to a play this week, but she was not at either. My only desire is that we shall not be in the same room, and circumstances are *now* so well understood by our *friends* that I don't think it likely we shall ever meet her."

A meeting, however, did take place in a public room, and Mrs. Matcham sent Lady Hamilton word of the awkward *rencontre* January 20th, 1805: "We were in the same room with Lady N. a few nights since, for the first time since she came to Bath. She had then an opportunity of showing her insolence as far as looks could express, so I was told by some friends of mine, who said she looked as I passed her in that *scornful way* which could not but be noticed by all who saw her. But be assured there is a strong party against my dear brother, whom we know to be all goodness and liberality.

Different tales are told in different partys, but I think a time must come when everything will appear in a true light."

The nickname for Lady Nelson in the family circle was "Tom Tit." Lady Bolton in March 1805 went to Bath, for she was in very delicate health. When writing to Lady Hamilton she told her: "I have seen Tom Tit once; she called in her carriage at Lady Charlotte Drummond's, who lives next door. The lady was not at home, but she got out of her carriage, walked as stiff as a poker about half a dozen steps, turned round and got in again. What this manœuvre was for I cannot tell unless to show herself. She need not have taken so much pains if nobody wanted to see her more than I do. She is stiffer than ever."

In July 1805 Lady Nelson was seriously ill at Bath, attended by two physicians. When able to get out Miss Bolton saw her and reported her as "now quite well; she looks shockingly really and very old. Mrs. Matcham often wishes she was in Heaven; we join and make no doubt we have your good wishes on this occasion. She is still at Bath." It is remarkable that all Nelson's relatives were unanimous in their dislike of Lady Nelson, whose treatment of them must have been very bad, for not one member of this kind-hearted family have a good word for her. Yet better-natured people it would be difficult to find, thoroughly domestic and attached to each other, whether sisters, aunts, nieces, or cousins; their little babies' ailments or growth were told as to those interested, and the young people's pleasures heartily entered into.

The stories of country life they tell read like Mrs. Gaskell's charming *Cranford*. They were one and all good women, and their unanimous combination and outspoken resentment is voluble. The gentlemen of the family took the same views.

In October 1805 Miss Bolton again wrote Lady



MRS. CATHERINE MATCHAM, SISTER OF LORD NELSON.

From a miniature lent by Mrs. Matcham.

Hamilton: "I saw Tom Tit yesterday in her carriage at the next door, come to take Lady Charlotte Drummond out with her. She looked then much as usual; had I seen only her hands *spreading about* I should have known her."

How differently Mrs. Matcham approached Lady Hamilton in accepting an invitation to Merton to meet

Lord Nelson, August 24th, 1805! "Some day next week we hope to meet you all at Merton. We should have set out immediately, but your little godson has been unwell, cutting teeth, and we hope in a day or two to leave him quite well again. I must say with what happiness I look forward to the day of seeing our dear friends."

The kindest communication was kept up with Lady Hamilton by the ladies of the Nelson family after the death of the great Admiral. From Bath, in November 1806, Mrs. Matcham wrote: "I was very happy, my dear Lady Hamilton, to receive a few lines from you. . . . I sometimes flatter myself that we shall see you at our little farm; all I can promise is *homely fare* and a hearty welcome, for be assur'd, my dear Lady Hamilton, I never can forget the many happy days we have spent together." As a postscript Mrs. Matcham adds what evidently is a reply to some remark from Lady Hamilton of annoyances to herself which were then commencing, and the opinion of such expressed by Lord Nelson's sister is important. "You guard us against malevolent tongues, but be assured we hear nothing of you but what is good. Knowing our attachment, even your enemies would not in our presence infringe the rules of civility by speaking anything derogatory of you—our associates are your admirers."

Mrs. Bolton in that same November wrote Lady Hamilton an adventure of her husband's regarding Lady Nelson. After assuring her Ladyship that she

would ever be loved and respected by her husband and self, she adds : “Mr. Bolton in some of his peregrinations met with a gentleman who is a great friend of the Viscountess. However, he gave him his opinion pretty freely, as you know he can do ; amongst others he said, ‘ You as a sensible man cannot have known her so long without knowing she is a —— ’ The gentleman gave an assenting nod.”

Mr. Robert Keen, writing to Lady Hamilton from Rye, Sussex, March 25th, 1806, commences with a paragraph which in a most decisive way shows that Lady Nelson was by no means sympathised with. He says : “ You will, I fear, think me ungrateful not to have written to thank you for your attention to my girls when in town. The sensibility and warmth of your heart I know receives pleasure whenever you have it in your power to extend the hand of benevolence to those labouring under affliction. Our dear departed hero knew well how to value its merit, and had it been the will of Providence to have blessed him with longer continuance in this world, your mutual influence would have been felt by thousands. What a blessing would it have been for him and his family had he escaped the union with that horrid-temper’d woman Lady Nelson ! My own situation teaches me how to feel for and pity him. Great God ! what he must have suffer’d from her horrid inventions and worst of dispositions ; he I trust in Heaven has his reward, and she I hope will receive her punishment.”

In May 1808 Mr. Matcham wrote to Lady Hamilton of misconduct on the part of the Rev. Earl

Nelson : "What you have written us in respect to the Earl has quite astonished me. I could never have conceiv'd he could have so betray'd Tom Bolton, but it is evident that he is as great an enemy to us as our dear lost friend was our patron. The extinction of the whole family would be a matter of the greatest exultation to him, with the exception of his own dear self and Lady Charlotte. God only knows what his shocking rancour will lead to, but while this man exists I can safely say there is one person with whom I would not exchange situation moral or worldly. God mend him and preserve his wife, a wish comprising his punishment and his restoration."

Miss Bolton a year or so before had regretted the conduct of Lady Charlotte towards her former benefactress. "What you write me of the Nelsons does not surprise me. I always foresaw how they would behave. Lady Charlotte is certainly good-tempered, but she has got no heart or she could not be unkind to you who have been so very kind to her ; but she is one of those characters that are always governed by the opinions of those they are with."

In October 1808 there was a rumour that Lady Nelson was about to enter matrimony, on which Mrs. Bolton remarked to Lady Hamilton : "Another piece of news will surprise you—that the Viscountess is going to be married to a Lynn gentleman, one of the merchants there ; but I do not credit it : she would never lower her dignity to marry a tradesman. What think you ? It may be that she is courting their favour for her son to marry their daughter, with a large fortune to

be given for the honour of their connection." Mrs. Bolton was right in her estimate of Lady Nelson's schemes, for it was a constant endeavour of her Ladyship to induce her son to enter matrimony with certain well-dowered ladies whom she would name, to which advice he gave no heed, but eventually made his own selection.

The simple style of living which was customary among the members of Lord Nelson's family is to be gleaned from the correspondence of the ladies chiefly, though the gentlemen were equally interested in country life. Miss Anne Bolton, a delicate daughter of Mrs. Bolton, was a chatty correspondent of Lady Hamilton. On April 16th, 1809, she, writing from Cranwich, told in a racy way of their making of home-made wine: "Susanna, Lady Bolton, [their sister Kate,] and myself have been alone this last three weeks: we have been very busy making orange wine, and have the raisons now in the house to make raison wine, for my father liked the currant wine that Susanna made so much that he is determined to have nothing but made wines; hope you will come and give us your opinion of them. I propose having a board put up before the house, 'Fine wines made here.'"

In their all-round correspondence there is naught but what is fresh and homely, yet newsy. We could wish for such innocent pleasures and revelry as theirs.

Upon another occasion the same writer told how the birthday of her sister Eliza was kept up. "We had great doings and a great deal of company. Amongst the fashionables were Mrs. Fuller, Mrs.

Geyex, Miss Fuller, and Miss G. The gentlemen were Tom, James, etc. Plumb pudding and plumb cake ; a cold plumb pudding we eat next day under a tree in the field. Some of them went in the carriage ; I went on MY horse, who, wishing to have a roll on the grass, lay down with me. We go out almost every day, and take a bottle of cider and harvest cake in a basket, and so sit down under some tree. We have got plenty of ketchup for Mrs. Cadogan, to whom pray give our best love. Hope we shall see her here."

Dear Anne Bolton ! After much delay, owing to limited means and no prospect of increase, this worthy niece of England's great defender, married the Rev. Henry Girdlestone of Colton St. Andrew, Norfolk, in 1811 ; concerning which engagement her mother, Mrs. Bolton, wrote to Lady Hamilton September 9th, 1810. If Nelson had lived the marriage would not have been delayed. Mrs. Bolton's letter to Lady Hamilton under such circumstances is most painful. "My companion Anne is at Brancaster. Henry came home yesterday ; all well. You ask me, my dear Lady Hamilton, when they will be married ? When they have anything to live on. A little will suffice, but that little they must have, and where to look for preferment I know not. My interest is buried in our dear and lamented friend and brother."

Next year, after the couple were married, Lady Hamilton went on a visit to Mrs. Bolton, and from there wrote the following sad and interesting letter to Mrs. Girdlestone, mother-in-law of the bride, accompanying the gift of a snuff-box which the Duke

of Sussex had presented to Mrs. Cadogan when he visited the Embassy at Naples. She had nursed him through an indisposition.

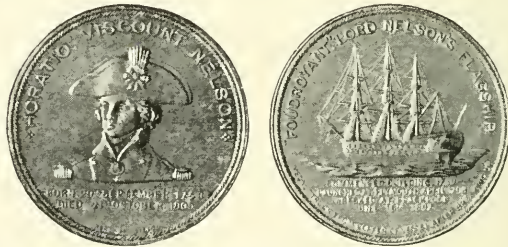
“CRANWICH, August 18, 1811.

“The snuff-box which I now send to my Dear good Friend Mrs. Girdlestone was a present from His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex to my Ever Dearly Beloved mother Mrs. Cadogan, for He Loved and Respected Her, having known her many years in Italy, when she was more than a mother to H.R.H., and he knew Her worth, Honor, and Truth, and even to her Death shew'd her every attention and kind Hearted affection; for his Royal Highness has the Best and Kindest of Hearts. He has been my Husband's, Sir William Hamilton's, and my Honor'd Friend for more than Twenty years. May God give him Health and Happiness. Accept, then, my Dear Friend, the Box. You that are so good a mother and have such good children will be pleased to take it as a Token of my Regard, for I have Lost the Best of Mothers, my wounded Heart, my Comfort all buried with Her. I can now not feel any pleasure But that of thinking and speaking of Her. But I will not Dwell on this melancholy object to you who have had so much to suffer yourself from Heart griefs. I hope to see you at Christmas when I shall be at Bradenham with this Dear family. I only wish it may be in my power to give Henry a letter to a good living. *But I will try all I can—and have.* But a lucky day may come. William has written to me a very nice letter, and I shall write Him soon and send Him more letters.

Pray say everything that's kind to Mrs. Pierson, whom I love with true affection. She has not written to me since I came to Cranwich. But I am not worth writing to, and am low-spirited and broken-hearted from the losses of so many dear objects. God bless you and spare to you all your Dear children, prays your very affectionate Friend,

“EMMA HAMILTON.

“Love to Ann. Horatia's love to all. The letters on the outside case A. F. are from Augustus Frederick Duke of Sussex.”



MEDAL MADE OF COPPER FROM THE WRECKED "FOUDROYANT,"
NELSON'S FLAGSHIP, 1898.

BOOK V.

The claims of Lady Hamilton on her country—Her petition to the Prince Regent—Her copy of the King of Spain's letter to the King of Naples—Policy—Appeal to Mr. Addington—Letter to Lord Abercorn—Quibbles! Quibbles!—Second appeal to the Prince Regent—The Rev. Earl Nelson explains—His Countess gives sound advice—The Bronte estate is made to pay—Lady Charlotte Nelson—Admiral and Mrs. Lutwidge—Miss Young—A relic from Trafalgar—Correspondence with the Rev. Dr. Scott, Nelson's devoted friend and chaplain—Lord Northwick invites Lady Hamilton to Harrow on Speech Day—Kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Matcham and the Boltons—Lady Hamilton appeals to her late husband's relative the Duke of Queensberry, who responds nobly, but forgets to legally execute the codicil to his will—Heron Court, Richmond—Alderman Smith—Death of the Hon. C. F. Greville—Merton Place is bought by Mr. Abraham Goldsmid—Nelson's Fields—Lady Hamilton visits the Marchioness of Abercorn—She receives an invitation from Lady Ferningham—Mrs. Billington—The Hon. Mrs. Damer—Busts of Nelson—Death of Mrs. Cadogan—Lady Hamilton visits Lord Nelson's relatives—The Rev. C. Este supplies a testimonial—The ungraceful Miss Sydney Owenson is envious—Leigh Cliffe makes a comparison—Queen Marie Amélie—Letter from Lady Plymouth to Lady Hamilton when the latter was at her zenith—Lord Mayor Smith and family—Mrs. Billington's kind hospitality—Lady Hamilton and Horatia in the King's Bench Prison—Continued kindness of the Nelson family—A dinner-party in prison—Alderman Smith assists the ladies to escape to Calais—Account of their life there—Income claimed by creditors—Letter to Sir W. Scott—The anonymous "Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton"—She appeals to the Hon. R. F. Greville—The

Rev. Earl Nelson refuses to advance part of income—Brotherly love—Death and funeral of Lady Hamilton—Kindness of Alderman Smith—Horatia comes to England disguised as a boy—Mr. Haslewood is true to his trust—Horatia engages to marry the Rev. Mr. Blake, but marries the Rev. Philip Ward—Mr. Haslewood dare not—Horatia Nisbet—A nameless grave—Lord Lytton on the letters of Lady Hamilton.

BOOK V.

FOLLOWING the death of Nelson came the urgent necessity for Lady Hamilton to appeal to the Government for an increase to the income which she had, and which was most certainly not sufficient for the widow of the Ambassador who had represented Great Britain at Naples, when that place was the headquarters of the British fleet during one of the most important epochs in naval history. If the different legacies left to her had been paid she would have been in a far different position, but from one cause and another they were never paid. The Duke of Queensberry's, for instance, was not legally attested, and therefore could not be paid.

A formal petition was therefore drawn up and laid before the Ministers in power, and though three times rejected by them, it was from no flaw they saw in the representations it contained. They were not disallowed absolutely while she lived. The objections were more of the legal type, such as unreasonableness, length of time since the events transpired.

Professor John Knox Laughton, R.N., in his *Nelson Memorial*, remarks to the detriment of Lady Hamilton on her making application for a pension when actual

necessity forced her to the step. He says: "It was noticed at the time, it has often been commented on since, that no attention was paid by the Government to the so-called codicil to Nelson's will, written and witnessed little more than two hours before his death.

"For this neglect Nelson's brother the first Earl has been unjustly blamed. It has been said that Hardy gave the paper to him as the executor—that he detained it until the Parliamentary grant to himself and his sisters had been secured, and then with an insulting sneer tossed it to Lady Hamilton, telling her to get what she could out of it. This is positively untrue except in the paper having been given to him. For the rest, it was duly laid before the First Lord of the Treasury and the Law Officers of the Crown. The reference in it to the Queen of Naples rendered it unadvisable to make it public; in law of course it was valueless; and when considered by the First Lord of the Treasury, it made no appeal for Lady Hamilton on sentimental grounds, but solely as one who had rendered important services to the State.

"Unluckily for her, the First Lord of the Treasury happened to be Lord Grenville, who as Foreign Secretary from 1794 to 1800 was the one man in England who could best appreciate her services, who knew that her claims—the claims stated in the codicil—were fictitious; that the statement about the King of Spain's letter was as entirely false as that relating to the Queen's letters to the Governor of Syracuse.

"All the correspondence of the time had passed through Grenville's hands; he knew exactly what had

taken place, and that Lady Hamilton's part in it was infinitesimal. On public grounds she had absolutely no claim on the Government, and Grenville could do nothing but refuse any assistance."

This statement is absolutely contradicted by a letter written on April 12th, 1803, by the Hon. Charles Fulke Greville to one of the Ministers when returning to the King the red ribbon which had been worn by Sir William Hamilton, then recently deceased. It will be seen that Lady Hamilton's claims were known and recorded in an incontestable manner.

"MY LORD,¹—I believe it to be consistent with propriety to take the earliest opportunity of returning to His Majesty the Red Ribbon which Sir W^m Hamilton wore, and I propose to do so to-morrow.

"I hope your lordship will not consider it otherwise than respectful in me on the occasion to refer you to my communication of Sir W^m Hamilton's feeling to Lord Grenville at the period Mr. Paget was sent to supersede him without previous notice. A few days before his death he said to me that the King's regard for him and his attachment to his Sovereign had been founded on the solid ground of unvaried attention, respect, and Truth, and he had never connected the slights of Ministers² with the direction of his Sovereign.

"He added that in a few days his death would bring

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

² When Sir W. Hamilton died, there was still due to him from the Treasury £450 unpaid salary as Minister at Naples.

to the consideration of Ministers whether the payment of one half the Debt incurred by Public convulsions, and the usual pension for the short period he could be expected to enjoy it, from the time it was granted as a Close of reward for 36 years' foreign service and the deterioration of his private fortune—that he had not reward, but left to the Ministers the suggestion I had made to Lord Grenville of his wishes on the Incidents which then occurred that a token of Respect to Lady Hamilton might be given by a reversion of a small part of the pension.

“It does not become me to withhold his dying conversation, and it cannot be for me to urge the propriety of your Lordship recommending such mark of his Majesty's kindness to the memory of my Dear departed Friend, when I know that the records of your office confirm the Testimony of their Sicilian Majesties, by Letter, as well as by their Ministers, of circumstances peculiarly distinguished and honourable to her, and at the same time of high importance to the public service.

“I am your Lordship's

“Most Obed^t Humble Ser^t,

“C. F. GREVILLE.

“April 12, 1803.”

This is a remarkable letter, containing as it does undeniable evidence that the services of Lady Hamilton were acknowledged by those who knew the most about them: “*When I know that the records of your office confirm the Testimony of their Sicilian Majesties, by*

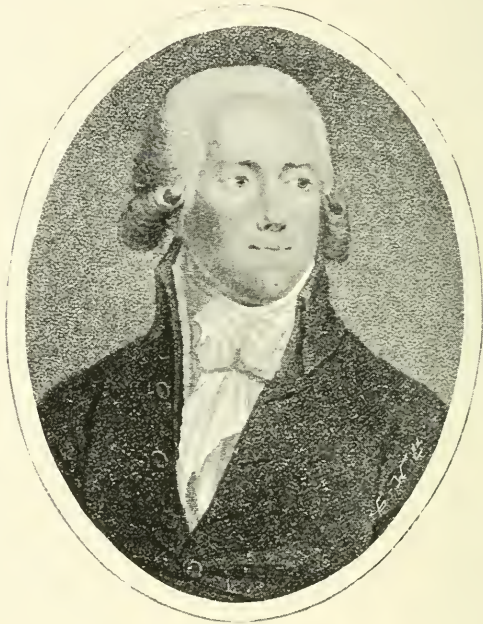
Letter as well as by their Ministers, of circumstances peculiarly distinguished and honourable to her, and at the same time of high importance to the public service."

Written when the assistance obtained for the fleet was but a recent transaction; when the Ministers could have at once silenced the pretensions of a false claimant, had the claims been what the biographer of to-day would have us believe, namely, the coinage of Lady Hamilton's imagination. Nelson knew and always maintained how he got first help; and their Sicilian Majesties were both alive, but never said that she claimed reward for deeds in which she had had no part. Her appeals were rejected, and no portion of the losses sustained was ever refunded either to Lady Hamilton or to Sir William's estate.

Has one story ever been told to the detriment of this high-minded gentleman, whose unlimited hospitality to British subjects must far have exceeded his stipend? Being in possession of Sir William Hamilton's regular correspondence to Lord Grenville,¹ we must one and all acknowledge his ability for the situation he held as our representative at a foreign Court under most disadvantageous circumstances. Was the pension of £1,200 a year, enjoyed only for two brief years, sufficient recompense after thirty-six years' absence from his native country, during which absence he was quite unable to effectively overlook his property at home? It is evident that no remuneration for

¹ And also to Lord Spencer, as instance Nelson on September 6th, 1799: "My dear Lord, I send you a copy of the Queen's letter to Lady Hamilton, as a postscript to that of General Acton."

destruction of valuable treasure or household gods was ever contemplated by the Ministers. When the matter is placed on the low basis of just remuneration for lost property, we find the common attributes of honesty and gratitude are shamefully absent. There was malignant



LORD GRENVILLE.

ignoring of righteous applications. Was it right that the widow under such conditions should have received no national recognition for services which had evidently been acknowledged by their Sicilian Majesties by correspondence with the English Home Ministers, and seconded by the Neapolitan Ministers, as from

Greville's letter we see was well known in official circles? That these powers had given evidence in favour of the services rendered by Emma Lady Hamilton is a fact practically unknown to-day.

As we at present understand the application for the refitting of the British fleet, it would seem to be a sudden movement quickly conceived, quickly executed. No such thing, however; for as far back as *two years* the matter had been under the consideration of Sir John Jervis. His design with Commodore Nelson was to take possession of the island of Elba; but before doing so the forethought of Sir John required that the provisioning of the fleet must be secured. To this end he addressed letters to the King of Naples, Sir William Hamilton, the Viceroy of Corsica, and Commodore Nelson. It has been stated in the most decided manner that the King of Naples was never consulted about the provisioning of the British fleet. But until there was some probability of the ships obtaining necessary supplies they could not be sent beyond reach of such requirements. The King's permission of course was necessary, as the treaty with France which protected the kingdom of Naples included that not more than four English ships should be in Italian waters at the same time. Therefore the King was fully cognisant of the applications, although he in no way gave them his countenance. Until the time arrived in July 1798 when the fleet was actually reprovisioned under an official mandate, their Sicilian Majesties had many opportunities of discussing the affair, and also in the moment of emergency the Queen,

as a thorough woman of business, would be keenly alive to the fatal results to their own kingdom if the British fleet must be withdrawn from want of subsistence. The prospective requirements of the fleet were first laid before the King of the Two Sicilies by Sir John Jervis as follows :—

“ Victory, IN SAN FIORENZO BAY, 19th October, 1796.

“SIRE,—The gracious condescension your Majesty has been pleased to show me in deprecating 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 ; and I have in consequence thereof, and conformably to the instructions I have received, concerted with the Viceroy of Corsica to take post in the island of Elba and to face the enemy so long as the subsistence of the fleet and army will admit. We are greatly in want of every species of provisions, and rely on your Majesty to supply us from your fruitful dominions, to enable me to fulfil the purity of my zeal and good intentions in support of the common cause ; to this effect I entreat your Majesty to cause the necessary orders to be given that the agents of the British army and navy may be permitted to make the requisite purchases, which will be paid for in the most ample manner.

“ Permit me, Sire, to express the high sense I enter-

tain of your Majesty's goodness to me, and to assure your Majesty that I shall be proud of every occasion to give proof of the profound respect and veneration with which I have the honour to be, Sire, your Majesty's most grateful and faithful humble servant,

“JOHN JERVIS.”

Upon the same day he addressed himself to the Viceroy of Corsica commenting upon the recently written epistle to his Majesty of Naples. “I have expressed the fullest confidence, in my letter to the King of the Two Sicilies, and to Sir William Hamilton, that we shall be plentifully supplied with every article of provisions from those fruitful dominions. In any event, the preservation of the fate of Italy for one little month may have the most important consequences.”

In requesting Sir William Hamilton (October 19th, 1796) to present his letter to King Ferdinand, Sir John Jervis says: “Great resources may be obtained from the dominions of his Sicilian Majesty if the forms of office can be dispensed with. I am very sensible of the exertions you have made to remove them, and I request that you will impress upon the Ministers of the Court of Naples the necessity there is for an ample supply of every species of provisions, without which our continuance in these seas cannot be long.” Thus it appears that Sir William could never have acted solely on his own authority in opening ports to the fleet.

To the Viceroy of Corsica Sir John Jervis had already stated that Naples as a resource would be most discouraging owing to the want of exertion of the

Executive Government, the delays through formalities, and the miserable poverty of the country, and that he would have been thoroughly discouraged and given it up long ago but for the active assistance of Sir William Hamilton.

The King seconded the proposals of Sir John Jervis, as he was in terror of what might befall his own kingdom owing to the evacuation of Corsica unless the British fleet were at hand to protect. At this time no treaty with France prevented the supplies; it was the men in office who threw the obstacles in the way, causing Sir John Jervis to make very strong representations to Sir William Hamilton, the British Envoy at Naples. These obstacles were overcome by the tact of Lady Hamilton, who made presents to these tardy Ministers, and so expedited the supplies. Nelson himself was the authority for this fact, so that not once but *twice* did Lady Hamilton succour the British fleet in the obtaining of stores. First, in 1796, before Naples made peace with France by the desire of England, and secondly, in 1798, when she obtained the order from the Queen.

Then came the ratification of the treaty with France, and the stores could no longer be purchased from the Neapolitans, causing the remark from Sir John Jervis that he "was glad they had obtained so much from Naples before the ratification of the treaty." The first supply of requirements was therefore procured from Naples, chiefly through the services of Lady Hamilton.

The claims of Lady Hamilton for national recognition of her services in assisting the British

fleet at Naples, in June 1798, have in modern times been repudiated to such an extent that any author who would assert that she *did* use influence in opening the Italian ports to the English vessels, so that they were enabled to obtain provisions at hand instead of sailing back to Gibraltar for them, must be prepared for a strong protest against his accuracy. Yet on attentively considering the transactions of that eventful period, and the conduct of the Home Ministers at a later date, it is all too evident that Lady Hamilton was greatly wronged, and had a right to expect a grateful return for deeds well done.

The Memorial to the Prince Regent presented by Lady Hamilton early in the year 1813 is explicit and comprehensive, therefore its insertion at length will aid the arguments in upholding it.

“THE PETITION OF EMMA LADY HAMILTON TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

“*The Memorial of EMMA, LADY HAMILTON, widow of the late Right Honourable SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, upwards of thirty-seven years Minister at the Court of Naples,*

“HUMBLY SHEWETH,—That Your Royal Highness’s Memorialist was about thirteen years resident with her said husband at the Court of Naples and Palermo, and during that time had the good fortune to conciliate the esteem of the Queen of Naples, which enabled her to effect services of the highest importance to her King and Country, as has in part been made

known to the world by the dying declaration of Lord Nelson, register'd as a Codicil to his last Will and Testament, an authenticated Copy of which is annexed, with a more detailed Narrative of services performed, and of expenditures made and losses sustained by Memorialist, as by reference thereto will more fully explain. And the facts therein stated being in Memorialist's power to sustain by numerous other Vouchers, all which will be found to embrace and prove—

“Memorialist's early discovery of the King of Spain's defection from the Coalition in 1796, and intention of joining the French, of which Memorialist gave prompt notice and proof to Government, obtained at a great hazard and forwarded at considerable expense to herself!

“Her enabling Sir Horatio Nelson to pursue and destroy the French Fleet in 1798, which neither wou'd or cou'd be attempted but for the aid Memorialist procured him!

“Her saving the Royal Family, Court, and Treasures, at Naples, from the French, and thereby the preservation of the two Sicilies!

“Her enabling Sir Alexander Ball to hold the Island of Malta, which he could not do but for the prompt supply of Grain provided by Memorialist at her own Expense!

“And to effect these important ends will show the necessary Expenses made, and the voluntary losses endured, to no less a Sum than £20,000 of her own, and Thirty Thousand Pounds of her Husband's

Property, for no part of which *Services, Expenditures,* and *Sacrifices,* hath Memorialist ever yet received any reward or remuneration whatever!

“That Memorialist’s Husband died in the Conviction that such *Services, Expenditures,* and *Sacrifices* for the public good would not be overlooked by His King and Country, and in proportion to that Conviction did he curtail the provision designed for her, dying satisfied that his Pension *at least* be continued to Memorialist for life.

“In like Sentiments of Conviction died her Friend Lord Nelson, as he testified in the Hour of Death and Victory, who, in committing to Memorialist’s care the Chief Object of his Heart, would have made a Suitable Provision if not certain that his only and last invocation to His King and Country at that Awful and Glorious Moment would have full effect.

“Memorialist now humbly trusts her Situation and Case to Your Royal Consideration and Justice. Having now lived many years in the just expectancy of remuneration, she has sunk into Embarrassments without a Single Extravagance, which she trusts the beloved and benign Prince of a great, just, and generous nation will not delay to have removed as to Your Royal Highness shall seem most suited to the occasion.

“And Memorialist will in duty pray.

“In September 1791 I went with my Husband thro’ France to Naples. At Paris I waited on the Queen, then at the Thuilleries, who entrusted me

with the last Letter she wrote to her Sister, the Queen of Naples. This led to an ascendancy in her Majesty's Esteem that I never after failed to exert in favour of every British Interest.

“In the Year 1793, when Lord Hood had taken possession of Toulon, and Sir John Jervis was employed upon the reduction of Corsica, the latter kept writing to me for everything he wanted, which I procured to be promptly provided him, and, as his Letters to me prove, had considerably facilitated the reduction of that Island.

“I had by this time the King induced, thro' my influence with the Queen, to become so zealous in the good Cause that both would often say, ‘I had *de-Bourbonized them and made them all English.*’ By unceasing cultivation of this influence, and no less watchfulness to turn it to my Country's good, it happen'd that I discover'd a Courier had brought the King of Naples a private Letter from the King of Spain. I prevailed on the Queen to take it from his Pocket unseen. We found it to contain the King of Spain's resolution to withdraw from the Coalition, and join the French against England. My Husband at this time lay dangerously ill. I prevailed on the Queen to allow my taking a copy, with which I immediately dispatch'd a messenger to my Lord Grenville, taking all the necessary precautions for his safe arrival, then become very difficult, and altogether cost me about £400, paid out of my private purse.¹ I

¹ The copy of this letter, made by Lady Hamilton, is in the Morrison Collection.

shall not detain further by detailing the many less important, altho' useful matters, to which my influence and exertions had given effect from this time until 1798, but merely observe that no exertion of mine was wanting to forward every Object sought, and in which I was always successful, particularly in providing for the Wants of our brave Fleets in those Seas, although at this Period French ascendancy and revolutionary ideas had arrived at such a height in Naples as made it dangerous for the British Minister to go to Court.

“It was at this Awful Period, in June 1798, about three days after the French fleet pass'd by for Malta, Sir William and myself were awaken'd at 6 O'Clock in the Morning by Captain Troubridge, with a Letter from Sir Horatio Nelson, then with his Fleet lying off the Bay, near to Capree, 'requesting that the Ambassador would procure him permission to enter with his Fleet into Naples, or any of the Sicilian Ports, to Provision, Water, etc., as otherwise he must run for Gibraltar, being in urgent want, and that consequently he wou'd be obliged to give over all further pursuit of the French Fleet, which he miss'd at Egypt on account of their having put into Malta.'

“At this time Naples had made peace with France by desire of our Court (Le Comte La Michelle was French Ambassador); one of the stipulations was that no more than two English ships of war shou'd enter into any of the Neapolitan or Sicilian Ports. However, Sir William call'd up General Acton the Minister, who immediately conven'd a Council, the King present. This was about half-past six. I went to the Queen,

who received me in her Bed. I told Her Majesty that now depended on her the safety of the two Sicilies, should the Council decide on negative or half measures, as I fear'd they must do. I told her the Sicilies must be lost if Nelson was not supplied, and thereby enabled to follow the Great French Force that had gone by in that direction but a few days before. Nothing could exceed the alarm with which this Communication inspired her. She said the King was in Council, and wou'd decide with His Ministers. I pray'd and implor'd her on my Knees ; she could not withstand my entreaties and arguments. I brought her Pen, Ink, and Paper to the Bed ; I dictated and she wrote a positive Order, 'directed to all Governors of the two Sicilies, to receive with hospitality the British Fleet, to Water, Victual, and aid them.' In every way this Order, I was well aware, as was the fact, would be more respected than even that of the King. At eight o'Clock the Council broke up. I was called to attend Captain Troubridge and my Husband to our House ; the faces of the King, of Acton, and Sir William too plainly told the determination that they could not then break with France. On our way Home I said I had anticipated the *result*, and *provided* against it ; that while they were in Council I had been with the Queen, and had not implored her in vain, producing the Order to their astonishment and delight. They embraced me with patriotic Joy. 'It will,' said the gallant Troubridge, 'cheer to ecstasy your valiant friend Nelson ; we shall now be able to pursue and conquer, otherwise we must have gone



ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS TROUBRIDGE, BART.

T. Troubridge

Painted by Sir W. Beechey, R.A.

for Gibraltar.' Sir William wrote to Nelson the decision of the Council, but said, 'You will receive from Emma herself what will do the business and procure all your Wants!' I enclosed the Order to the Admiral, praying that the Queen may be as little committed in the use of it as the glory and Service of the Country wou'd admit of.

'The Admiral's reply, in my hands, says that 'he received the precious order, and that if he gain'd a Battle it shou'd be call'd *Mine* and the *Queen's*, for to you I will owe my success; without this, our returning to Gibraltar was decided on, but I will now come back to you cover'd with Laurel or Crowned with Cypress.' The former I had the Glory to witness after his destruction of the French Fleet at Aboukir, where he found them after his having been Water'd, provisioned, and refresh'd by virtue of the order I had so procured. Here I may be allowed to ask, what sum wou'd this Country or its Government have given before that Battle for its attainment, and what less shou'd be given for that instrument which led to it, and without which all hope, all opportunity of success, must have been abandoned? On the 20th September Nelson return'd to Naples after his glorious victory. I had then inspir'd the Queen with such devotion to our Cause that every desire was granted for the repair of the Ships, taking care of the wounded, and general supply of the Fleet, and I appeal to every Officer, nay, every Seaman of that conquering Fleet, to testify what they witness'd of my unceasing solicitude and indefatigable exertions to reward their valour by every Comfort I

could procure them ; and, above all, my attentions to their beloved Sick and Wounded Chief, whose invaluable Friendship I ever after had, who to the Hour of his Death did always say he could not have survived but for the manner I cheer'd, nurs'd, and attended him at this time.

“The sore evidence that Nelson had now given the French of my influence at the Neapolitan Court urged their Ambassador to sharp complaints for a breach of bad Faith in supplying the British Fleet at *Syracuse*, contrary to Treaty.

“At this juncture, while I found the Court flushed with our Victory of the Nile, I suggested to the Queen the benefits and honour that would result by breaking boldly with the French, and to dismiss their Ambassador altogether, and then raise an Army to oppose their threats of invasion.

“The Queen, delighted with the proposal, opened it to the King, as I did to Sir William and to Nelson ; the Minister Acton was brought into the Measure, and it was resolv'd on in Council accordingly. In consequence, and totally unexpected to himself, the French Ambassador and his suite were sent off at 24 Hours' notice.

“An army of 35,000 men was raised in nearly a month. They marched from St. Germain, under command of General Mack, the King himself in the ranks, on the 21st of November, against a scatter'd and inferior French force, yet so rapidly was this Army destroy'd as to oblige our embarkation at Naples by that Day Month.

“The point of policy with the Court was then, ‘whether they shou’d put themselves entirely under the French or fly to Sicily under our protection.’ The many difficulties of getting away, and the uncertainty how a flying Court would be received there, were strong inducements to abide all consequences at Naples. I urged and pleaded the necessity and safety of their coming away. The Queen was almost always with me, and as the French advanced, I placed the Horror of their approach full before her Eyes, and at length prevailed in deciding this important measure, for the King was soon brought over to our side. The difficulties were yet many, and of the most dangerous Complexion; the growth of French principles and rapid march of their Army upon the Capital made it too hazardous to trust the Neapolitans with the plan of getting away the Royal Family, the Court, and Treasures.

“I, however, began the work myself, and gradually removed all the Jewels, and then 36 Barrels of Gold to our House. These I mark’d as *Stores for Nelson*, being obliged to use every device to prevent the Attendants having any Idea of our proceedings. By many such Stratagems I got those Treasures embarked, and this point gain’d, the King’s resolution of coming off was strengthen’d—the Queen I was sure of. The immortal Nelson testifies that all this wou’d never have been effected but for my management and exertions. In his letter to Lord St. Vincent or Lord Spencer, he says on this occasion, ‘Lady Hamilton seemed to be an Angel dropt from Heaven for the preservation of the Royal Family.’

“ They were indeed unquestionably dear to me, but made entirely so by their perpetual acquiescence to all my wishes in favour of my Country.

“ Here I humbly submit, if it is not to my Efforts in thus getting away this Royal Family, Court, and Treasures from the French grasp, that Sicily has been preserved from that power.

“ When the many, I may say the innumerable, hair-breadth risks we ran in our escape are consider'd, it must be obvious that to Cover or Colour our proceedings that we were compell'd to abandon our Houses and all our Valuables as *they stood*, without venturing to remove a single article. My own Private Property thus voluntarily left to effect this great purpose was little, if any, short of £9,000, and Sir William's not less than £30,000, which sum, had he to bequeath, might naturally have been will'd to me in whole or in part!

“ To shew the caution and secrecy that was necessarily used in thus getting away, I had, on the Night of our Embarkation, to attend the Party given by the Kilem Effendi, who was sent by the Grand Seignior to Naples to present Nelson with the Shahlauh, or Plume of Triumph! I had to steal from the Party, leaving our Carriages and Equipage waiting at his House, and in about fifteen minutes to be at my post, where it was my task to conduct the Royal Family through the Subterraneous Passage to Nelson's Boats by that *moment* awaiting for us on the Shore! The Season for this Voyage was extremely hazardous, and our miraculous preser-

vation is recorded by the Admiral upon our arrival at Palermo.

“When in 1799 Lord Keith missed the French Squadron, and Nelson sail'd in quest of them from Palermo, he left me directions to open all Letters and Dispatches for him, and to act in his behalf to the best of my power, governing myself by Events.

“Sir Alexander Ball was at this time in possession of a part of the Island of Malta, residing at St. Antonio. The French possessed La Valeta.

“Sir Alexander sent six natives of Malta Deputies to Nelson at Palermo for a Supply of Grain, their necessity being so great for Provisions that the inhabitants were ready to join any Sortie the French may attempt in the hope of getting reliev'd.

“I receiv'd the Deputies, open'd their Dispatches, and without hesitation I went down to the Port to try what could be done. I found lying there several Vessels loaded with Corn for Ragusa. I immediately purchased their cargoes, and engaged the Vessels to go with their loading and the Deputies to Malta. This Service, Sir Alex^r Ball in his Letters to me, as well as to Lord Nelson, plainly states to be ‘the means whereby he was enabled to preserve that important Island.’ I had to borrow a considerable Sum on this occasion, which I since repaid, and with my own private money thus expended was nothing short of £5,000, a shilling of which, nor yet the Interest, have I ever yet receiv'd.

“The Emperor Paul, the Grand Master, on hearing of this affair, wrote me a letter in his own hand,

conferring on me the Cross of the Order, saying that 'I not only saved the Island, but that I was also the Link that kept together the Opponents of the Common Foe!' And I was accordingly invested with the Order with the usual Ceremonies along with Sir Alexander Ball. The Emperor, to show yet further the Value of this service, sent to Lord Whitworth, then Ambassador at Petersburg, requesting that 'this honour might be register'd in the King's College of Arms in my Native Country.'

"Upon the re-taking of Naples in 1799, Nelson brought us back there, except the Queen; Sir William was yet so ill and feeble as to be unfit for business, and yet less for the active bustle that those times required. From the beginning of June until the middle of August, I was not only Interpreter but Secretary, both to his Secretary and to Nelson. I wrote for them from Morning until Night, translating whole Papers and Documents in various Languages that they neither could do themselves, or procure any one proper to be entrusted with Documents of so secret and Confidential a nature. I had also to manage and control the two Households we were obliged to maintain at Palermo and Naples. And the numerous Letters of Her Majesty to me at this period will prove the manner in which I conducted all these Occupations, and the favorable light in which my attentions to the public Cause was then considered. At this time in particular, but, in fact, for the fourteen years that I was Ambassador's Wife at this Court, I might have exercised an Æconomy that wou'd have secured me

provision for life ; but such Calculations I would have thought a criminal Prudence under the Circumstances in which I was placed. My Sole View was to maintain the dignity of our Royal and beloved Master, to advance His Interests and Wishes, and to soothe and alleviate the toils of His brave loyal Seamen in a distant Clime. In place of hoarding at such times and occasions, it was my Sole Pride, my Glory, my Ambition, thus to have expended what Private Friendship had bestow'd for my own immediate Comforts and use, as I have already shewn ; or, if further Proof be needed, I appeal to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, to all the Nobility, Commanders, to every Briton that witness'd my unceasing Zeal and Efforts for their Comfort and the public good while at the Courts of Naples and Palermo.

“ When Sir William was recall'd from his Embassy at Palermo in 1800, the Queen determined to travel with us as far as Vienna to see her daughter, then Empress of Germany. Nelson also accompanied us. His Lordship and Sir William were present at my parting with the Queen. At that affecting moment Her Majesty put into my hands a Paper, saying it was the Conveyance of a thousand Pounds a Year that she had fix'd to invest for me in the hands of Friez, the Government Bank at Vienna, THIS, she said, ‘ lest by any possibility I should not be suitably compensated for the Services I had render'd, the Monies I generously expended, and the Losses I had so voluntarily sustained for the benefit of her Nation and my own ! ’

“ As I then stood I thought the Acceptance of such

a Reward from the Queen, *circumstanc'd* as she was, unworthy a British Heart ; with every expression of respect and gratitude to Her Majesty, I destroy'd the Instrument, *saying*, England was ever just, and to her faithful servants *generous* ! and that I would feel it insulting to my own beloved Magnanimous Sovereign to accept of meed or reward from any other hand.

“On our arrival in England I did not cease my efforts to serve the Country, and I trust effectually. It was in consequence of my earnest entreaties that Lord Nelson consented, in 1801, to go to the attack of Copenhagen, second in command under Admiral Parker. Had he not been there Government must be sensible how very different wou'd have been the result of that memorable Engagement. Again, in 1805, by my representations and entreaties, somewhat against his own notions and presentiments, I prevail'd on him to offer himself to command the Fleet then equipping to go against the combin'd Fleets at Cadiz, which terminated in his last glorious but fatal Victory of Trafalgar. If either or both those Battles were gained by his Superior Zeal, Vigilance, Skill, and Valour, I *have proof* that he wou'd never have been at the one or the other but at my instance.

“It was long after our return to England that Sir William was paid by Government, in which time I sold my Jewels at a heavy loss for his Support. He went on to the end of his life in the full conviction that his Pension would be continued to me, *to a Person* who had gained so many points for the Country and for her Fleets, which he wou'd say was impossible

for him or any other man to have gained. In this expectation he was yet more confirmed by the language of his inseparable friend, Nelson, who wou'd ever keep telling him, and indeed all the world, that the Battle of the Nile was *Emma's*, and not his, and also assuring Sir William that he had Mr. Pitt's solemn unequivocal pledge of honor that suitable provision shou'd be made for me, and in corroboration of this fact 'I appeal to *the living testimony of Sir Walter Farquar*, to whom that great Statesman, on his Dying Bed, confirmed those promises he had made Lord Nelson on my behalf, with his dying request that they may be fulfill'd by his Successors."

"And I also appeal to Messrs. Canning and Rose to state if on behalf of Government they had not reassured his Lordship, on their taking leave of him on board the *Victory* at Portsmouth, the 14th day of September, 1805, upon his last sailing, that the promises made by Mr. Pitt in my favour shou'd be fully Realized.

"A disposition more avaricious, and of less love of Country than has been evinced by mine, might well have been buoy'd up by so many flattering pretensions and assurances of publick remuneration with gratitude; and in proportion as Sir William felt their force, as well as his unalterable faith in the justice of the country, so in proportion was his Provision for me lessen'd, so that my title to Publick Reward has thus caused me the loss of private fortune, that without such claim wou'd have been left me by my Husband, who, in his latter moments in deputing Mr. Greville to deliver the

order of the Bath to the King, desired he wou'd tell his Majesty that he died in the confident hope that his Pension wou'd be continued for my Zeal and Services.

“Time has gone on; thinking that my case could not be overlooked I have felt easy, but the curtailed provision left me by Sir William, under the conviction of its being made an ample one by the Country, has diminished without a semblance of extravagance, and I now find myself in Embarrassments, which imperiously press on me to look for Remuneration for those Services, Expenditures, and losses that I have *recited*, and not alone for immediate Support, but as well for payment of that Support for the time past that I have been waiting in just expectation.

“In that expectation being liberally realized I can have nothing but implicit confidence, ‘as our August Prince was well acquainted with it by Lord Nelson himself, and fully coincided in its Justice.’

“It may be here expected of me to state why the Codicil to Lord Nelson's Will, bequeathing my Services to the Justice of the Country, was not produced with the will itself.

“When Captain Blackwood brought it home he gave it to the present Earl Nelson, who, with his Wife and Family, were then with me, and had indeed been living with me many Months. To their Son I was a Mother, and their Daughter, Lady Charlotte, had been exclusively under my care for Six Years. The Earl, afraid I should be provided for in the Sum that Parliament was expected to grant to uphold the Hero's Name and Family, kept the Codicil in his Pocket until



VISCOUNT TRAFALGAR.

*From a portrait by Hoppner, lent by Viscount Bridport,
Duke of Bronte, K.C.B.*

the Day £200,000 was voted for that purpose. *On that day* he dined with me in Clarges Street. Hearing at table what was done, he took the Codicil out, threw it at me, and said, with a very Coarse expression, that 'I might now do as I pleased with it.' I had it registered next day at Doctors' Commons, where it rests for the National Redemption," etc., etc., etc.

Slight reference need be made to the discovery of the defection of the King of Spain, and Lady Hamilton's giving private information to Lord Grenville. A line of Sir John Jervis off Toulon, October 2nd, 1796, shows he received orders in consequence of advice from England to attack the Spanish ships. "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 got it last night."

The copy made by Lady Hamilton of the letter of the King of Spain to the King of Naples was in the possession of the late Mr. Alfred Morrison, and was exhibited at the Guelph Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery.

Taking into consideration the account written by Sir William Hamilton to Lord Grenville on June 18th, 1798, of the order to supply the fleet with provisions at first appearance, it seems at variance with the statement of Lady Hamilton: "Yesterday morning the Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet commanded by Rear Ad^l Sir Hor. Nelson appeared at a distance in this Bay. Captain Troubridge and Captain Hardy came

ashore from the Fleet in the *Lutine* [*Mutine*] Sloop of War with Dispatches to me from Sir Hor. Nelson. The Admiral was desirous of information respecting the position of the Enemy's Fleet, and to know particularly from me if the Ports of the Two Sicilies were perfectly open for his Majesty's Ships of War, and whether they could depend upon supplies of fresh provisions, stores, etc., in those Ports. As Sir Horatio in his letter to me said that his friend Captain Troubridge knew his mind and wou'd explain, I thought the shortest way wou'd be to carry him to Gen^l Acton, and we did more business in half an hour than we shou'd have done in a week in the usual official way here. Capt. Troubridge went straight to the point and put strong Questions to the Gen^l, who answered them fairly and to his satisfaction, as no time was to be lost. The Admiral being informed of the position and strength of the Enemy, and desirous of attacking them as soon as possible, I prevail'd over Gen^l Acton to write himself an Order in the name of his Sicilian Majesty, directed to the Governors of every Port in Sicily to supply the King's Ships with all sorts of Provisions, and in case of an Action to permit the British Seamen Sick or wounded to be landed and taken proper care of in those Ports. When Captain Troubridge received this order from the General and put it in his pocket his face brightened and he seemed perfectly happy. I gave him likewise a copy of the Marquis de Gallo's dispatch, the same as the inclosed, to carry on board to Sir Hor. Nelson, and which fully explains the delicate situation of His Sicilian Majesty

at this moment. Captain Troubridge did not stay two hours on shore, and went off perfectly contented with Gen^l Acton, who was as he said a true man of business rarely to be met with."

Writing the day after the transaction, Sir William Hamilton would not be likely to inform Lord Grenville of any part taken either by the Queen of Naples, or his wife, in so dangerous a breach of treaty as it might prove before many days, with the chances of war against the correspondence reaching Lord Grenville and falling into the hands of the enemy. Writing but once a month it was impossible to note every detail, and the reports of Sir William can only be looked upon as a summary of passing principal events, which is evident in his using the word "letter" in the singular, whereas on the showing of Nelson it should have been "letters." We can trace two visits paid to Naples by Captain Troubridge, who was dispatched on June 15th and 17th, 1798. What transpired upon the first visit would be the incidents as told by Lady Hamilton in her narrative, and upon the second visit the two Ministers would, under the directions of Lord Nelson (who had privately instructed his Captain and so avoided mischance by writing), put the roughly drawn out order of the Queen of Naples into official form. By doing so in their own names (having already the Queen's mandate, consultation with her Majesty was not necessary) it might even have frustrated their scheme and caused the withdrawal of the order.

The next point to consider is the accuracy of the statement that Troubridge went twice to Naples, of

which the proofs are found in letters written by Nelson, who more than once communicated with Sir W. Hamilton prior to the eventful 17th of June. From Elba on the *Vanguard*, June 12th, he wrote: "As I am not quite clear from General Acton's Letters to you of April 3rd and 9th what co-operation is intended by the Court of Naples, I wish to know perfectly what is to be expected, that I may regulate my movements accordingly, and beg clear answers to the following questions and requisitions:—

"Are the Ports of Naples and Sicily open to his Majesty's Fleet? Have the Governors orders for our free admission and for us to be supplied with whatever we may want?"

June 14th to Sir William Hamilton from the *Vanguard* off Civita Vecchia: "I am sending Captain Troubridge to communicate with your Excellency, and as Captain Troubridge is in full possession of my confidence I beg that whatever he says may be considered as coming from me. Captain Troubridge is my honoured acquaintance of twenty-five years, and the very best Sea-Officer in His Majesty's Service."

June 15th to Lord St. Vincent from off the Ponza Islands: "Not finding a Cruiser I shall send Troubridge into Naples in the *Mutine* to talk with Sir William Hamilton and General Acton." Want of a cruiser delayed the dispatch until the 15th.

June 15th to Earl Spencer: "I shall send Captain Troubridge on shore to talk with General Acton, and I hope the King of Naples will send me some Frigates," etc.

The King therefore was to be included in the consultation as a matter of course; the monarch's sanction was necessary in giving the replies, so important when the protection of his own country was materially concerned by the action taken.

Thus we see the design to send Captain Troubridge ashore upon Friday, June 15th, and the log of the *Vanguard*¹ has for the same date "50 min. p. 7. M. Sig. for Captains of *Culloden*, *Mutine*," the said Captains being Troubridge and Hardy.

There are so many letters bearing date June 15th, in which Nelson says "I am sending Troubridge" or "I shall send Troubridge," that it must have been late in the day when the *Mutine* set off; therefore it is quite consistent with the narrative of Lady Hamilton that the Captain arrived at the Embassy at six in the morning. The passage would be made in the night, and in those slow-sailing days it took ten hours to go from Ponza to Naples.

That Sir William Hamilton had had a communication from Sir Horatio before June 17th appears in a few lines written in Nelson's Journal: "Sunday, 17th June. At 8 A. M. hove to in the Bay of Naples. At 11 received a letter from Sir William Hamilton by a boat from Naples; returned an answer by the same boat." This was not the *Mutine*, which at 11 o'clock

¹ The log of the *Vanguard* records under same date: "Punished Henry Field, Thos. Haws, Seamen 10th, 2 Dozen lashes each for Drunkenness; Thomas Browning, Marine 10th, 1 Dozen lashes for insolence; and Edward Williams, Marine 10th, 2 Dozen lashes for Theft. Washed lower Decks."

was in company with the *Transfer* some distance away. The boat referred to was a Sparanara, a boat peculiar to Italian waters, sent by Sir William on June 16th to meet the approaching fleet, which it failed to find, and so returned to Naples with the letter undelivered. Sir William, not knowing that Sir Horatio was sending a messenger to him, dispatched the same small boat again early in the morning of Sunday, June 17th, after seeing the masts of the fleet in the offing. Meanwhile the *Mutine* conveyed to Naples Captains Troubridge and Hardy; the latter had not landed on the first occasion, but had remained with his vessel.

In the letter carried by Troubridge this time to Sir William, it is important to note that no application is made for provisions or stores, merely for frigates, so the difficulty so far as provisioning was concerned is evidently smoothed. Again, the commencement shows that Sir William had written to Nelson upon the 16th, though it was only delivered on the 17th, failing the messenger finding the fleet.

FROM SIR HORATIO NELSON TO SIR W. HAMILTON.

“ *Vanguard*, BAY OF NAPLES,

“ *Eleven o'clock 17th, June.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,—Your Letter by the Boat yesterday did not come to me, but I am just favoured with yours of yesterday. Captain Troubridge will say everything I could put in a ream of paper. I have only to observe in my present state, if I meet the Enemy at Sea, the Convoy will get off for want of Frigates. I submit this to you to urge General

Acton upon. If the Enemy have Malta it is only as a safe harbour for their Fleet, and Sicily will fall the moment the King's Fleet withdraws from the Coast of Sicily; therefore we must have free use of Sicily to enable us to starve the French in Malta. I need not say more on this very important subject. The King of Naples may now have part of the glory in destroying these pests of the human race, and the opportunity once lost may never be regained. God bless you. Depend on my exertions.

“I am, etc.,

“HORATIO NELSON.”

Writing under date June 17th, the reference plainly was to a letter written and dispatched to Lord Nelson by Sir William Hamilton on June 16th, and therefore it was an impossibility that it could contain any matter similar to that reported to Lord Grenville as having taken place on June 17th. That great Minister was evidently not admitted into their confidence by means of a courier, and we can but admire the tact which withheld the secret which might never require to be revealed.

The movements of the *Mutine* on the 17th are perfectly consistent with the preceding statements. Her own log has been lost, but we can trace her through the *Transfer* sloop, which Lord St. Vincent had sent to the Bay of Naples to join the fleet when it should arrive. She had been lying there some days. At eight o'clock on the morning of Sunday, June 17th, the masts were seen in the offing—the weather was

stormy, for we find for a day or two "Storm Anchor overside," "Lightening." On rejoining the fleet on the 17th the *Mutine* picked up the *Transfer*, and they sailed in company. The *Transfer* log has: "A.M. Arrived H.M. brig *Le Mutine* with account of Admiral Nelson and the Fleet off the Island of Capri. At half-past 10 unmoored and hove short, at 11 weighed and made sail in company with the *Mutine*."

The interviews were but brief with Sir William Hamilton and General Acton, for in truth the chief business had been well considered on the previous day. Neither the King nor the Queen of Naples was at the conference, for the conclave were perfectly capable of acting on their behalf with fidelity to their interests.

This time a short note from Sir William Hamilton was all that Troubridge carried back, the date of which, June 17th, certainly was that of "yesterday," which necessitated Troubridge's second visit to Naples.

"June 17, 1798.

"MY DEAR NELSON,—I have just received your letter from Captain Troubridge. I went with him directly to Gen. Acton, and Captain Troubridge has an order to the Commanders of the Sicilian Ports that will fully answer your purpose."

There is distinct evidence of letters from Nelson to Sir William Hamilton dated June 15th and 17th, and from Sir William to the Admiral June 16th and 17th. Two replies! Until it is known what occurred upon the first visit of Captain Troubridge to the Neapolitan

Embassy it is premature to denounce Lady Hamilton as a liar, or Nelson as a dupe!

It might be thought that all correspondence bearing different dates was carried on one journey by Troubridge, but although we have, so far, satisfactory evidence of his being twice in Naples, the proofs are strengthened by Nelson's own report to Lord St. Vincent June 29th, 1798, which will further show that the *Mutine* and the boat that contained Sir William's first letter were not the same. "On the 15th I made the Ponza Islands, where not finding a Cruiser I sent Captain Troubridge in the *Mutine* to talk with Sir William Hamilton and General Acton, and to state my distress for Frigates. On the 17th I received my first letter from Sir William Hamilton, and in two hours Captain Troubridge returned with information," etc. So that two trips ashore are so far amply proved. But more convincing evidence is yet forthcoming in a letter written by Lady Hamilton to Sir Horatio Nelson. It is at present among the additional Nelson MSS. in the British Museum,¹ and when analysed several points at issue may be successfully set at rest.

"MY DEAR ADMIRAL,—I write in a hurry, as Capt. T. cannot stay a moment. God bless you and send you victorious! Oh that I may see you bring back Buonaparte with you! Pray send Capt. Hardy out to us, for I shall have a fever with anxiety. The Queen desires me to say everything that's kind, and

bids me say with her whole heart and soul she wishes you victory. God bless you, my dear Sir. I will not say how glad I will be to see you, indeed I cannot describe to you my feelings on your being so near us. Ever, ever, dear Sir, your obliged and gratefull

“EMMA HAMILTON.”

It will be noted that *Captain Hardy was not ashore with Captain Troubridge*, and Lady Hamilton asks Nelson to send him to see them. Sir William writing to Lord Grenville on June 18th says “Captain Troubridge and Capt. Hardy came ashore from the Fleet in the *Lutine* [*Mutine*] Sloop of War with Dispatches to me from Sir Hor. Nelson,” etc.—so that Troubridge had been at Sir William’s without Hardy and with Hardy. *Two visits!*

On June 17th (misdated May 17th) Nelson wrote to Lady Hamilton :—

“MY DEAR LADY HAMILTON,—I have kissed the Queen’s letter. Pray say I hope for the honour of kissing her hand when no fears will intervene. Assure her Majesty that no person has her felicity more at heart than myself, and that the sufferings of her family will be a tower of strength on the day of Battle. Fear not the event. God is with us,” etc.

On the back of this Lady Hamilton has written : “This letter I received after I had sent the Queen’s letter for receiving their ships into their ports ; for the Queen had decided to act in opposition to the King, who could not then break with France, and our

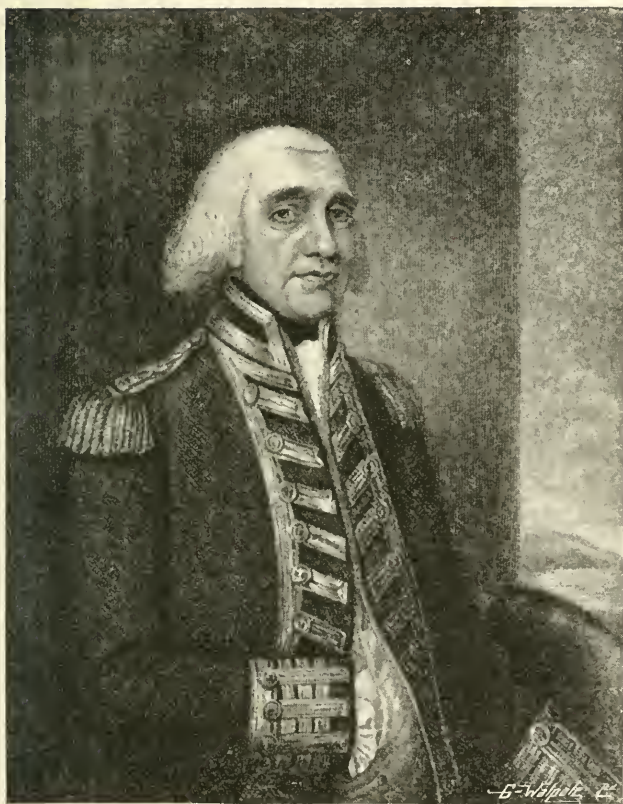
Fleet must have gone to Gibraltar to have watered, and the Battle of the Nile would not have been fought, for the French fleet would have got back to Toulon."

It is nigh upon one hundred years since Nelson sent those brave messengers to Naples. The true story of what took place has been so perverted, and the fabrication has been recited so often by writers who have followed each other, who repeat that the aiding the fleet at this important juncture was but the coinage of the imagination of Lady Hamilton, who deluded Nelson into the belief that she had personally used her influence with the Queen of Naples, and obtained from her a written mandate, that each year has increased the difficulty of unravelling the fabrication. It would be impossible thus to cajole a man of the high intellectual standing of Admiral Nelson. Would he have appealed so frequently to Ministers in power in England, and by personal application to them have craved a pension for Lady Hamilton, unless he knew that her story was true? Would our high-minded Nelson be accessory to a fraud?

The Ministers raised no doubting questions, but simply postponed the matter. Application to the Queen of Naples for affirmative evidence would have been impolitic, but Troubridge and Hardy might have been questioned. To simplify the conception of progressive events their sequence may be worked out with advantage.

On June 15th, 1798, Lord Nelson's correspondence shows his *immediate* intention to dispatch Captain Troubridge to Sir William Hamilton: "I am *now*

sending Troubridge ashore." The log of the *Vanguard* records that the Captains of the *Mutine* (Hardy) and *Culloden* (Troubridge) were signalled for on that day at 50 minutes past 7. Sailing away with the dispatches late in the day of the 15th, they would arrive at the hour stated by Lady Hamilton in her narrative laid before the Prince Regent—namely, six in the morning of June 16th. Then would take place the interview in the bedchamber of the Queen of Naples. The arrival of the envoy is perfectly consistent with the time of leaving the fleet at the Ponza Islands the evening before. Captain Hardy did not go ashore upon this occasion, but in the letter which Troubridge carried to Lord Nelson from Lady Hamilton the distinct request was made, "Pray send Captain Hardy out to us, for I shall have a fever with anxiety." Writing to Lord Grenville June 18th, Sir William Hamilton says: "Captain Troubridge and Captain Hardy came ashore from the Fleet in the *Mutine* Sloop of War with Dispatches to me from Lord Nelson," which is conclusive proof of two visits to Naples, for Sir William wrote of what had transpired on the 17th only. He was no novice in diplomacy, and was not for a moment likely to confide a secret to Home Ministers for whom he had not much respect, when the divulging of the secret breaking of the treaty might have brought destruction on the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and for all he knew the necessity to use the permission to obtain provisions from their kingdom might never arise, therefore why risk the kingdom by premature disclosure? That



ADMIRAL RICHARD HOWE, EARL HOWE.

Howe

Painted by Gainsborough.

visit of Captain Hardy is one of the mysterious workings designed for great ends—its necessity lying concealed until its centenary anniversary is approaching, and the singular coincidence that Nelson responded to the request of Lady Hamilton that their good friend Hardy (who apparently had remained on his vessel the *Mutine* the first time she went to Naples) should be allowed to go and see them. Strange fatality!

The explanation is found in the codicil to the will of Lord Nelson written upon the day of his death, October 21st, 1805, in which he made his final appeal to his King and country to reward the services of Lady Hamilton by pensioning her with an allowance suitable to the rank of ex-Ambadress mainly on these grounds: "Secondly, the British Fleet under my command could never have returned the second time to Egypt had not Lady Hamilton's influence with the Queen of Naples caused letters to be wrote to the Governor of Syracuse, that he was to encourage the Fleet being supplied with everything should they put into any port in Sicily. We put into Syracuse and received every supply, went to Egypt and destroyed the French Fleet," etc. *Signed* NELSON AND BRONTE.

"Witness: HENRY BLACKWOOD.

T. M. HARDY."

The signature of Thomas Masterman Hardy attached as witness to that solemn document must be all-convincing that Lady Hamilton had true and just cause to hope for some return, which in her case must take the form of a pension, owing to the crippled

state of her finances, and the unpaid debts by which she was unexpectedly overwhelmed.

Captain Hardy had accompanied Troubridge on his mission to Naples, and therefore knew the history of actual occurrences equally well with Troubridge or Nelson. Was he a man likely to be won over by fascination? No! Honest outspoken Hardy may be thoroughly relied upon, and the countenance of none could more strengthen belief in the statement than the signature of that upright seaman. He brought home the codicil and gave it into the custody of Nelson's brother the Rev. William Nelson.

The further support of the whole narrative is found in Lady Hamilton's letter to Admiral Nelson, in the message of the Queen of Naples to him, *whom Lady Hamilton therefore must have seen while Troubridge was ashore*. Thus nothing seems wanting to complete the connecting links in this great chain of evidence, and investigation brings forward matter which is entirely in support of Lady Hamilton's story.

Writing to Lord St. Vincent October 1798 Nelson says, "Lady Hamilton is an Angel. She has honoured me by being my Ambassadress to the Queen, therefore she has my implicit confidence."

The inferences to be deduced from the evidence submitted are chiefly that too much reliance has been placed upon the monthly report written by Sir William Hamilton to Lord Grenville, on June 18th, 1798, as containing the full account of all that transpired, whereas he has omitted all mention of the first visit of Troubridge, ostensibly because the least said is

soonest mended. And no rational thinker would ever expect a diplomatic Minister to unnecessarily divulge a State secret which had every chance of being intercepted by the enemy, and would inevitably lead to war for breach of the existing treaty. Such a secret is not likely to be found in correspondence. In fact, if the sentences wherein Sir William describes the visit of Troubridge to General Acton are attentively considered, it will be found that they savour somewhat of unnatural constraint under assumed openness, the cause of which can be found in the withholding of part of his recital.

Upon the first visit to Naples Troubridge would bear away the rough draft written by the Queen of Naples; upon the second he, acting upon the instructions of Admiral Nelson, given verbally so as to avoid accidental betrayal, would get the two Ministers, Hamilton and Acton, to write out an order in their own names, and so exclude the Queen of Naples from consequent dangers. Nelson does not say he used the order of the Queen to enter Syracuse, nor did he; he says Lady Hamilton's influence with the Queen *caused letters to be wrote*. The Queen's command already in hand would render consultation with the King unnecessary; indeed, the two Ministers would prefer that his Majesty had no voice in the matter, as he was personally averse to any act that could offend French powers.¹

¹ There is a letter written in Italian to Lady Hamilton, who on the occasion of the second visit wished to present Troubridge to the Queen, but her Majesty feared under the circumstances it might offend the French to receive him openly.

It is not credible that two Ministers, both Englishmen, should have dared to send forth an open avowal of a breach of treaty on their sole responsibility, unless backed by superior power. The perils to themselves were too serious.

Upon hearing of the refitting of the fleet at Syracuse the French Chargé des Affaires at Naples made a spirited protest. The King and Queen became alarmed. General Acton writing to Sir William Hamilton August 1st, 1798, advises him that they are exposed to a war owing to Nelson's breaking the treaty. "Both their Majesties" he says, "are in the greatest uneasiness for their own situation at this moment."

Now if the two Ministers alone had been responsible for issuing the instructions they certainly would have felt the Royal lash at this juncture, whereas we find them merely confidentially detailing their Majesties' dilemma, revealing no anxiety about their own position.

Who then was responsible? It certainly was not the King, so there only remains the Queen, who was to be committed as little as possible.

For two years the refitting of the squadron had been under consideration in the event of coasting Italy, and the Queen and Lady Hamilton would both be fully alive to the hour of need having arrived, and that with the refusal to supply would follow the retirement of the British fleet, leaving the Neapolitans to protect themselves if the French should advance upon their territory. The consent of the ruler would be imperative in the first instance, after which the Ministers could shape the order as seemed best for

the safety of the kingdom. Their signatures appearing would to some extent exonerate the monarch of Naples and Sicily, while Sir William Hamilton would make things no worse for the English, for they were already at war with the French. It was policy therefore to keep the Queen out of it, and Nelson saw the way to do it.

Again, another letter demonstrates that Lady Hamilton had had a share in the assistance, and deserved thanks, for on July 22nd, Nelson wrote a joint letter to Sir William and Lady Hamilton: "Thanks to your exertions, we have victualled and watered, and surely watering at the fountain of Arethusa we must have victory." Because a certain writer was unaware of the existence of the fountain of Arethusa in Syracuse, he at once repudiated the letter as a fraud, giving as reason that the classical allusion was in no way Nelsonian. But actually it was only a plain statement of facts, for the spring whence the fleet obtained fresh stores of water on this auspicious occasion, had for centuries been called "the fountain of Arethusa." And the forecast came true.

On the same day Nelson wrote to Sir William a letter, to mislead the French in case it was intercepted, wherein, in tone of ill-temper, he stated that he would have to go to Gibraltar if they were refused supplies; while writing thus the squadron had in reality been refitted two days previously, and it is somewhat difficult to divide true from false. The letter was written to set the enemy on a wrong track.

In forwarding to Lord Grenville (August 4th, 1798) a letter of Nelson's which was almost inexplicable from seeming ill-humour, Sir William Hamilton explains away the apparent dissatisfaction of the Admiral: "The whole mystery was that the Court of Naples could not throw off the mask until it had received the ratified treaty with the Emperor of Germany." The treaty did not arrive until July 30th, after all requisites were obtained.

The whole transaction of procuring necessities for the fleet was a diplomatic secret, and what is diplomacy but the gaining of ends by subterfuge, with polite deception all round!

The importance of the intervention of Lady Hamilton was fully realised when the victory of the Nile was obtained. Nelson talked of it and bequeathed her to her country in a deed signed by Captain Hardy, an upright, sterling character, and Nelson's signal mate, Lieutenant Parsons, wrote of it in his *Reminiscences*. Proofs support their statements, as proofs will be found wherever there is truth. Actually to suggest that Nelson allowed himself to be *talked into* the belief that Lady Hamilton intervened is one line adopted in order to circumvent Lady Hamilton's statement. A man of Nelson's probity, clear and accurate in matters of conscience, must have held strong proofs ere he would have bestirred himself. His own reputation was at stake. Was not Maria Carolina of Naples alive when he exerted himself in the endeavour to move the British Ministers to bestow a pension on Lady Hamilton on the grounds that through her intercession with that

regal lady she had cleared the way to the winning of Aboukir's fight? And were not Troubridge and Hardy at hand to disclaim error and proclaim truth?

Their Sicilian Majesties had written in conjunction with their Ministers in terms of praise of Lady Hamilton under circumstances peculiarly distinguished and honourable to her, and at the same time important to the public service. Of this Mr. Charles Greville reminded the Minister to whom he delivered the Bath Ribbon worn by Sir William Hamilton.

Evidently the Queen of Naples considered it more politic to refrain from outspoken sympathy with the English, or to avow openly the help she had given them in such an emergency. Perhaps also, bearing this recent experience in mind, she with judgment observed an incognito in bestowing presents on those who brought to Naples the first news of victory. Lady Hamilton wrote Nelson September 8th, 1798: "The Queen has this moment sent a diamond ring to Captain Hoste, six butts of wine and two calves for each officer, and every man on board a guinea each. Her letter is in English and comes as from an unknown person, but a well-wisher to our country and an admirer of the gallant Admiral."

On August 4th Sir William wrote Lord Grenville: "There can be no doubt the French will resent the King's Fleet having been admitted into the Port of Syracuse." A mild form of admission for a man to make if he had been mainly responsible for involving two nations in war!

The codicil witnessed by Captains Blackwood and

Hardy was shown to the Ministers by the Rev. Earl Nelson when Captain Hardy handed it to him, but it was deemed wise not to bring it forward on account of the mention of the name of the Queen of Naples. If it were inexpedient to make public that the Queen had assisted the British fleet, it does not mean it was doubted ; and the Queen lived and could have been appealed to. Nothing so daring as the bringing forward of the claim of Lady Hamilton would have been ventured, unless it were founded on the soundest authority.

A curious support exists written upon an application made by Lady Hamilton to the Lords of the Admiralty on behalf of an old Italian who had lived as man-servant with both Nelson and the Hamiltons :—

“The bearer of this, Gaetano Spedillo, lived with the late Sir William Hamilton thirty years, and with the late Lamented Glorious Nelson $5\frac{1}{2}$ years, and was with Him on the 21st of October. He was a favourite servant about the person of that great man, and very much esteemed and beloved by Him. He wishes to return to Sicily to his Family, and if the Lords of the Admiralty will permit him to go out in any Ship of War that is going on that Station Lady Hamilton will be much obliged to them.

“MERTON PLACE, *May fourth*, 1807.”

On the last sheet of this letter a gentleman signing himself W^m Pearce has written the following testimony of the exemplary conduct of Lady Hamilton as Ambassador's wife at Naples. This endorsement,

written three years and four months after the death of Lady Hamilton, is strangely appropriate on the fly leaf of her endeavour to get a faithful servant back to his Italian home!

“The strong affection Lady Hamilton bore to her Country was manifested on every occasion within her command: no opportunity while at the Court of Naples was ever neglected. This conduct has a claim to grateful recollection. I have heard Lord Nelson say, in the presence of several of his most regarded friends, that the succours Lady Hamilton procured by her influence with the Queen of Naples, and her presents to Persons of weight in Sicily, insured the refitting of his Squadron and most essentially led to the splendours of the Nile.

“W^M PEARCE.

“20 *May*, 1818.”

The appeal to Mr. Addington (afterwards Lord Sidmouth) on April 13th, 1803, when Lady Hamilton was newly widowed, has a genuine ring in its earnestness:—

“SIR,—May I trouble you and but for a moment, in consequence of my irreparable loss, my ever honoured husband Sir William Hamilton being no more? I cannot avoid it, I am forced to petition for a portion of his pension, such a portion as in your wisdom and noble nature may be approved, and so represented to our most gracious Sovereign as being right. For, Sir, I am most sadly bereaved; I am now in circumstances far below those in which the goodness of my dear

Sir William allowed me to move for so many years, and below those becoming the relict of such a public minister who was proved so very long—no less than thirty-six years, and all his life honoured so very much by the constant friendly kindness of the King and Queen themselves; and may I mention—what is well known to the then administration at home—how I too strove to do all that I could towards the service of our King and Country? The fleet itself I can truly say could not have got into *Sicily* but for what I was able to do with the Queen of Naples, and through her secret instructions so obtained, on which depended the refitting of the fleet in Sicily, and with that all which followed so gloriously at the Nile.

“These few words, though seemingly much at large, are not extravagant at all. They are indeed true. I wish them to be heard only as they can be proved, and being proved, may I hope for what I have now desired? I am, Sir, with respect more than I can well utter,

“Your obedient Servant,

“EMMA HAMILTON.”

The pension of Sir William Hamilton had died with him: he only lived two years to enjoy it. A mere £2,400 the sole return he had for loss of property, and retiring pension, after thirty-six years acting as Minister in Naples inclusive!

The Ministry in Lady Hamilton's own day shabbily ignored but never disputed her rights. In the Diaries of the Right Hon. George Rose we can trace the

progress and collapse of various petitions, until the ruined and almost destitute patriot gave up the effort, and sank under her poverty.

Being on the subject of the pension it is as well to carry its history along until its final rejection, so as not to interfere with the telling of other incidents of her latter years.

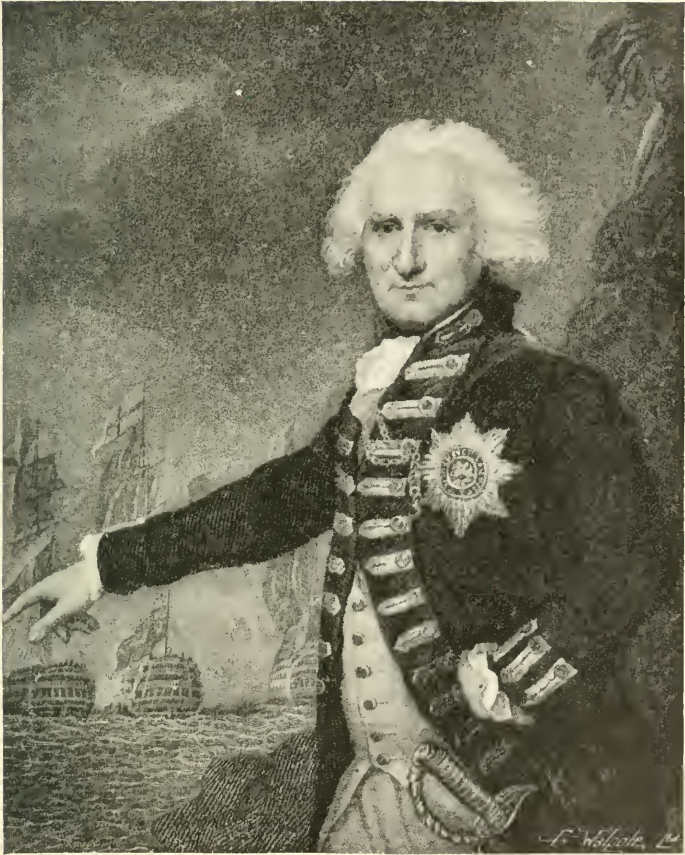
In a letter to Lord Abercorn, August 9th, 1808, Mr. Rose relates how Lord Nelson personally solicited him to support Lady Hamilton's exertions to obtain a pension as remuneration for her endeavours to assist the fleet in June 1798. He writes: "The first mention of those claims was made to me by Lord Nelson on his return from the West Indies in the summer of 1805, when he requested me with great earnestness, to submit the consideration of them to Mr. Pitt accompanied by the strong assurance that it was, through her interposition exclusively that he obtained provisions and water for the English Ships at Syracuse; by which he was enabled to return to Egypt in quest of the Enemy's Fleet, to which therefore the success of his brilliant action of the Nile was owing, as he must otherwise have gone down to Gibraltar to refit, and the Enemy would have escaped.

"A few weeks subsequent to that interview he was again appointed to the Mediterranean command, and previous to his sailing for that station I met him at Portsmouth at his earnest request, Mr. Canning, who was then in my neighbourhood in Hampstead, accompanying me, when his Lordship repeated his entreaties that I would recommend Lady Hamilton's case to Mr.

Pitt's early consideration, an opportunity for which occurred a few days later on, Mr. Pitt's coming to me at Cuffnells." He further states that Mr. Pitt listened favourably and promised to discuss the subject conclusively in London. On Captain Hardy's return to England in charge of the corpse of his dead friend Nelson, he at once sought Mr. Rose, going a journey of thirty miles to deliver the dying message of his Chief on behalf of Lady Hamilton. Mr. Pitt was then very ill, and declined so rapidly that he was unable to be further consulted, as his death followed.

Mr. Rose proposed to Mr. Canning (Foreign Secretary) that he should give her £6,000 or £7,000 out of the Foreign Secret Service Fund as the most proper mode of rewarding her. With every good disposition on the part of Mr. Canning, that failed. Mr. Rose then with his own hand drew up a memorial on her behalf which she delivered to Mr. Germaine Lavie, one of her Ladyship's trustees. It commenced:—

“The ground on which I found my claim for some remuneration from Government is a positive and most important service which I rendered to my country in obtaining orders from the Court of Naples for the British Fleet to be victualled and watered at Syracuse in the summer of 1798, contrary to the direct instructions that had been before given to furnish them with nothing. If I had not prevailed in that respect, which was attended with very great difficulty, and could have been effected only by the influence I had with the Queen, the British Fleet must have gone down to Gibraltar for provisions and water, in



THE RIGHT HON. ALEXANDER HOOD, VISCOUNT BRIDPORT.

Bridport

Painted by F. L. Abbott. Engraved by S. Freeman.

which case the French fleet that was destroyed at Aboukir must inevitably have escaped. This is a plain statement most incontrovertibly true. It has been attested by Lord Nelson repeatedly under his hand, and in frequent conversations confirmed by a solemn declaration almost in the hour of death. . . . If I had bargained beforehand, there can be no doubt it would have been given, and *liberally*. I hoped then not to want it. I do now stand in *the utmost need of it*, and surely it will not be refused to me."

Mr. Lavie acknowledged receipt of this document in a letter to Mr. Rose dated April 1st, 1809:—

" (*Private.*)

" SIR,—Lady Hamilton has handed to me a most excellent paper, of which myself and the rest of her trustees will immediately avail ourselves. But we have some doubt whether any and which Department of Government should be applied to previous to going to Parliament. Lady Hamilton gave me some time ago a copy of a memorial to the King (not in Council), but I cannot learn that it was ever presented. I believe I could get half the City of London to sign a recommendatory paper if it would be of any use."

Mr. Rose next day made reply: "I promised Lord Nelson on my last parting from him to give furtherance to his recommendation to the case of Lady Hamilton, conceiving it from his Lordship's statement to be entitled to favourable consideration."

He then informed Mr. Lavie that Mr. Canning

was agreeable to entertain the application, but as it was made after so long a lapse of time, and different persons having filled the office he held, he reasonably objected to the responsibility of giving the reward.

The Hon. George Rose was related to Lady Nelson, and the unremitting perseverance with which he urged Lady Hamilton's claims is singular, considering the relationship. Nelson had known him from the time when he was in the West Indies suppressing illegal trading. In Clarke & McArthur's *Life of Nelson* the letters written by him to Mrs. Nisbet before marriage were lent to the editors by Mr. Rose, but access to the originals was refused, by his son, to Sir Harris Nicolas in 1845, and he was forced to copy from the aforementioned work. Mr. George Rose was a gentleman of great practical experience on all commercial, financial, and official subjects. He was a native of the Mearns in Kincardineshire, and was first a Steward and then a Purser in the Royal Navy. His income from appointments held by self and sons was immense, and his opportunities to make money by other ways was great, but, restrained by scrupulous honour, he refrained from availing himself of them and did not die rich.

Lord Grenville was appealed to as to the advisability of remunerating Lady Hamilton out of the Foreign Secret Service Fund, and *he* intimated that, *though Lady Hamilton's services deserved reward*, yet the Foreign Secret Service Fund was not the proper fund out of which that reward ought to come.

This is a most important admission in support of

Lady Hamilton's representations, insomuch as it is upon the letter from Sir William Hamilton to Lord Grenville, telling of the visit of Captain Troubridge to Naples June 17th, 1798 (and that day only), that the evidence chiefly depends to confute Lady Hamilton's statements. It is not, as stated by a recent writer, that Lord Grenville refused to acknowledge her claims as he too well knew she had none. He *did* admit them, and was in the fullest possession of every real transaction as it occurred, and was cognisant of more than appeared on the surface of Sir William Hamilton's letter, written when no one could feel sure that correspondence would reach its destination without being intercepted by the enemy. Even Bonaparte used mysterious terms for similar reasons, and wrote of his country as "Ma Mère."

Mr. Canning agreed with him that the Foreign Secret Service Fund was not the right channel out of which to bestow a grant, giving the following reasons : "I confess I am myself of this opinion. I do think that a pension might be well bestowed on Lady Hamilton, but I do not think that *even at the time* the influence of a Foreign Minister's wife with the Court where her husband resides is a fit subject for compensation by secret service money." Here Mr. Canning plainly admits the fact that she *had* brought influence to bear. He continues : "There is still, however, another consideration more embarrassing, particularly in the times in which we are acting. The Secret Service Fund is by express designation for *secret* services, services that *cannot* be explained or avowed.

Now here is a service published not only in Lady Hamilton's memorials, and known to every person whom she has solicited, but printed in extracts of a will registered in Doctors' Commons, and accessible to all men. What reason upon earth is there, it will be said, that if this service be remunerated *at all*, it should be remunerated *secretly*, or how can it be remunerated secretly in fact?"

Quibbles! Quibbles! What stumbling-blocks were laid in the way of pensions to Mary and Maria Hunn, mother and sister of George Canning, Esq., President of the Board of Control, or the emoluments to self and Stratford Canning?¹

It must have been most galling to Lady Hamilton to see those receiving handsome pensions who had been commended to her kindness when she herself was in power. It is resented by her Ladyship in a letter to Earl St. Vincent, wherein she urged him to move a Parliamentary consideration of her claims. She mentions the case of Mrs. Lock, daughter of the Duchess of Leinster by Mr. Ogilvie, whom it will be remembered went supplied with credentials to the Hamiltons at Naples from the Earl himself, and also

¹ Mary and Maria Hunn (mother and sister) per annum	£	s	d
	500	0	0
Mary and Maria Hunn (his half-sisters) per annum	500	0	0
Stratford Canning, Ambassador to Switzerland, per annum	4,276	0	0
Himself, George Canning, Receiver-General of the Alienation Office, by deputy, per annum .	466	7	0
Also as President of the Board of Control, per annum	4,000	0	0

from the Duke of Richmond. Mr. Lock died in Egypt, of the plague, after a somewhat unsatisfactory Consulship at Palermo of two years, justifying the feeling of injustice which Lady Hamilton expressed to Lord St. Vincent: "Even the widow of Mr. Lock, only about two years Consul at Palermo, a man not remarkable either for great loyalty or the most correct attention to his public duties, had a pension assigned her almost immediately on his death of £800 a year, while I who have been seven years the widow of such a man as Sir William Hamilton, the foster-brother of our Sovereign, and have constantly done all in my power to benefit my Country, continue to be totally neglected. The widow of Mr. Fox, whose *services* to his country are at best very problematical, had instantly a grant of £1,200 per annum; and even his natural daughter Miss Willoughby obtained a pension of £800 a year. Yet this *man of the people* did not shed his blood for his King and country, and neither asked nor could have expected from them when dying, as did noble and confiding Nelson, any such post-humous national support, as has humanely been extended to those who had thus lost their only protector."

Our chief Ministers, with full cognisance of all the circumstances of the claim, unanimously agreed that Lady Hamilton *did* render service to the British fleet. Could a mythological feat have obtained the attention of exalted powers? Lady Hamilton, by her initiative intercession with the Queen of Naples, broke the ice (figuratively speaking) and cleared the difficulties that

obstructed the fleet. This would perfectly justify Admiral Nelson in his assurances that without her assistance he could not have obtained stores. Because the working out of the problem was one of the secrets of war, never disputed by those in power, it is reprehensible to denounce the great Commander as blinded by infatuation. Into his own hands came every missive at the date in question, and if bodily sight was defective his mental vision was clear and he was incapable of being talked over.

The petitions were dallied with until in sheer desperation Lady Hamilton solicited the Prince Regent and laid the subjoined letter before his Royal Highness, her "friend" as she called him in the earlier days of her distresses :—

*"Feb. 28th, 1813."*¹

"SIR,—Most humbly do I beseech forgiveness for my again intruding on your Royal Highness, but my necessity is such, and so peculiar is my immediate situation, that no other mode of seeking Relief appears to me left. I have no doubt but that your Royal Highness's Ministers have been directed to pay attention to my Memorial. God knows they cannot say I have been troublesome, as ever since the death of Sir William and Lord Nelson I never urged the consideration of my case before *now* that I am harassed by extreme embarrassments in consequence of the expenses and services that I set forth to your Royal Highness as my claim to remuneration, in the conviction of their not being overlooked. Sir William left

¹ In possession of C. Luson Prince, Esq.

me but little to what he otherwise would have done. Lord Nelson left me Merton, which I was obliged to sell to pay the Debts incurred upon it and thrown on me to discharge, thus not being productive of one shilling to me, nor yet his annuity on Bronte having till now been paid regularly, and God knows how soon that may go.¹ The Duke of Queensberry, who in a former will left me a respectable provision, afterwards, resting upon the idea that my Claims on the Country would produce me a sufficiency, curtailed the Bequest in a subsequent codicil to one half of what he had left me, and of which I have not received a farthing," etc.²

The final dismissal of the case was received by Lady Hamilton six days after this appeal, at the hand of Lord Sidmouth :—

"WHITEHALL, *March y 6th*, 1813.

"MADAM,—It is very painful to me to acquaint your Ladyship that after full communication with Lord Liverpool on the subject of your memorial to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, I am unable to encourage your hopes that the object of it can be accomplished. His Lordship sincerely regrets the embarrassments which you have described, but on comparing them with representations now before him of difficulty and distress in many other quarters, and upon View of the circumstances with which they are

¹ Lady Hamilton means that the annuity was paid very irregularly, and might cease on account of the unsatisfactory returns from the estate.

² The Duke of Queensberry wrote several codicils to his will, but they were not attested and were consequently void.

attended, he finds it impossible so to administer the Scanty means of relief and assistance which under the authority of the Prince Regent are at his disposal as to satisfy his own sense of justice to others and at the same time give effect to your Ladyship's application. I have the honor to be, Madam,

“ Your Ladyship's obedient Servant,
“ SIDMOUTH.”

The Rev. Earl Nelson's own version of the consideration by the Ministers of the entry written by Lord Nelson in his pocket-book prior to Trafalgar is in his own handwriting, the grounds for not laying it before Parliament being that it would commit the Queen of Naples, and thus Lady Hamilton's statement is verified. He writes: “ Before Mr. Pitt's death it was determined that the Memorandum Book should be given or sent to him; after that took place, as soon as conveniently could be, after Lord Grenville was fixed in his office of Prime Minister, it was the opinion of many persons of consequence that as the said memorial contained secret matters relative to the part the Queen of Naples privately took in assisting our Fleet at Syracuse before the Battle of the Nile, that no other person ought to have it but the Minister. Accordingly the Rev. Earl Nelson [himself] took it from Sir William Scott and gave it to Lord Grenville on the 15th of February last, and at the same time he read it to his Lordship, and strongly pointed out to him the parts relative to Lady Hamilton and the child, and in doing this Earl Nelson observed to



BARONESS BRIDPORT, DUCHESS OF BRONTE (LADY CHARLOTTE NELSON).

*Painted by Hoptner. Lent by her son Viscount Bridport,
Duke of Bronte, K.C.B.*

Lord Grenville that he thought he was most effectually promoting the interest of Lady Hamilton and doing his duty, in which Lord Grenville acquiesced."

The Rev. Earl Nelson's own family looked askance at him for his conduct over the codicil. Mrs. Bolton wrote Lady Hamilton when his position was assured, "What use is the Codicil to him? He cannot fear it should be any *detriment* to him *now*."

On May 9th, 1805, by some singular prevision Lord Nelson protected the Codicils to his will relating to Lady Hamilton and Horatia: "I have sent two Codicils in which you are deeply interested to Mr. Haslewood to be placed with my will and other Codicils, for if I kept them on board ship they might be lost, and then you and my Horatia would not get what I intend, which would embitter my last moments." Had they been left among Lord Nelson's papers which were handed to the Rev. Earl Nelson, there seems little doubt but that he would have done his best to upset his brother's intentions.

The story of Nelson's legacy and of his brother's keeping back the decision which the Ministers had arrived at—that it was not advisable to lay it before Parliament—the efforts to obtain a pension, and the ultimate rejection of those efforts, having been fully considered, the thread of the story will be resumed from the time the award was made to Earl Nelson. No need for him now to cringe to her Ladyship or ask her co-operation in any little scheme that would be advantageous to himself. He removed his daughter, now Lady Charlotte Nelson, to his own home.

His amiable wife, an affectionate lady who would have been glad to see Lady Hamilton better situated, wisely advised her to curtail her expenses. Lady Hamilton might in time have got on the right side of her income by observing economy and excluding the great singers with whom she loved to consort, the entertainment of whom made great inroads into funds already required for the payment of the alterations at Merton, which, though commenced by the direction of Lord Nelson himself, were hers to pay.

The hopes that Parliament would allow her a pension caused tradesmen to press credit upon her, but the day came when their claims must be met, and moneys borrowed only increased the difficulty of extricating herself.

In August 1806 Lady Hamilton was staying with the Rev. William Bolton at Brancaster, near Burnham, where Countess Nelson sent her the following kind letter, which was franked by the new Earl and sealed with the impression that had belonged to the late Lord Nelson :—

“MY DEAR FRIEND,¹—I received your letter last night by Mr. T. Bolton. I had been expecting one from you all the week, as you promised you would write me a long one, and as I did not, I was fearful you was ill. If anything can give you spirits *I hope* what I have to communicate *will*. In the first place, my dear Friend, there will be no difficulty in paying all the Legacies in the manner our ever to be lamented Lord

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

Nelson wished, and from Mr. Gibbs' letter, which I shall transcribe for you, you will be sure to have your five hundred a year, and that if you have not a larger Family to take care of, I am sure you will be as comfortable as can be, and, I should hope, do everything your heart can wish, and only, my dear Friend, make a plan, and let Miss Connor¹ keep EVERY expense you are at, and then you will see what you can afford and who imposes on you.

“Early in October we shall meet in Town, as Mr. Davison will have a house ready for us at that time. Monday we dine at the Daltons and go to Mr. Mott's play that evening, and not return back from Swaffham, but go from thence to Yarmouth, for we are quite tired of Hillborough. We spent a pleasant day last Tuesday with Gen^l and Mrs. Whyte; she would have been very glad to have seen you had you been with us. Charlotte has been very good, and has not wished to leave us. She begs her kind love and will write to you from Yarmouth.”

The letter which the Rev. Earl Nelson had received from Mr. Gibbs about the Bronte estate was copied by the Countess, and sent to Lady Hamilton; only now, and that through the good management of Mr. Gibbs the agent, was the property in a fair way to yield a good return.

“PALERMO, *June 7th*, 1806.

“MY LORD,—Yesterday I was honoured with your Lordship's letter 1st March, together with a subsequent

¹ Miss Cecilia Connor, a governess to Horatia.

one of 19th. Do. from W^m Haslewood, Esq., enclosing one of the original Wills of the late great and good Lord Viscount Nelson, with your Memorial to the King of Sicily which has been presented to his Majesty by the British Ambassador Hugh Elliot, Esq.

“I have also received your Lordship’s power of Attorney for the future Administration of the Bronte Estate in my name and that of Chevalier Foriella, which with the above-mentioned document are fully sufficient to have your Lordship acknowledged as successor to the Estate, and to enable us to continue the management of it in the same manner as during the late Lord Nelson’s lifetime.

“The Chevalier Foriella sincerely joins me in condoling with your Lordship on the loss of your most worthy Brother, that great and illustrious Hero, to whom I had numberless obligations known to Lady Hamilton, and his goodness to me upon every occasion renders it difficult to say when I shall shed my last grateful tear to his memory.

“I have but a few minutes to write by this opportunity, and entreat the favour of your Lordship to make my excuses to Lady Hamilton and Mr. Haslewood for not answering their kind letters, but I shall profit by the next opportunity. Enclosed I remit your Lordship a Bill for £900.” After copying so far Countess Nelson wrote from herself: “Which Bill my Lord has sent to town to be placed to the Executor’s account.

“You will remember us kindly to all your party. I have only time to add, ever yours affectionately,

“S. NELSON.”

Lady Hamilton, as was only likely, felt keenly the separation from Lady Charlotte Nelson and fretted in consequence, for the Countess having said that she "has been very good and has not wished to leave us" was a heart-sore to one of so affectionate a nature as Lady Hamilton. She wrote somewhat to this effect, to which Lady Charlotte replied in a very nice tone that must quite have satisfied the lady to whom she owed the splendid education she had received during the five years that she resided under the care of Lady Hamilton.

"MY DEAR LADY HAMILTON,¹—I can assure you I am truly grieved at my ill-behaviour, and I am really *very* unhappy that you should be so displeased with me. If I do not always express how grateful I am to you, and how much I owe to you for your unremitting kindness to me, I assure you I always feel it, and it is never my intention to offend you in anything. Pray be so kind as to pardon your ever grateful and attached

"C. M. NELSON."

Also on May 4th, 1806, Sunday morning, from Canterbury, Lady Charlotte wrote: "I was extremely hurt to find by your letter that you had been so ill, and particularly as your illness proceeded from me. I cannot help again saying, my dear Lady Hamilton, our feelings have been mutual. I endeavour to console myself with the idea we shall soon meet again." The young lady describes a musical party she had been

¹ These letters in possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

to, where she had sung an Italian aria and taken part in a duet with a young lady.

In November 1802 Sir Alexander Ball wrote to Lady Hamilton: "Miss Charlotte Nelson, I dare say, is fully sensible of the great and very rare advantages she has in the tuition of so accomplished a patroness."

On Good Friday, 1810, Lady Jerningham writing to her only daughter Lady Bedingfield says: "Lady Charlotte Nelson is going to be married to a younger son of Lord Hood, and the old Peer proposes giving her £20,000."

Lady Charlotte Nelson was married at Marylebone Church in July 1810 to the Hon. Samuel Hood, afterwards Lord Bridport; the Bishop of Salisbury performed the ceremony.

The Baroness Bridport, Duchess of Bronte in her own right, after the death of her father, in 1835, died (as Dowager) on January 29th, 1873, at Cricket St. Thomas. She left one son and five daughters. The dukedom of Bronte bestowed upon Lord Nelson by the King of Naples descended to her Ladyship's only son, the present Viscount Bridport, K.C.B.

We have the pleasure of giving, through the courtesy of Viscount Bridport, portraits—copied exclusively for this work—of his mother, Baroness Bridport, and his uncle, Viscount Trafalgar, from paintings by Hoppner. The Baroness (Lady Charlotte Nelson) is represented as a very charming young lady, elegantly dressed in white and pink. Viscount Trafalgar is in the dress of an Esquire of the Bath. It was usual for a Knight of the Bath to appoint an Esquire, and Lord Nelson

naturally conferred the honour upon his nephew, who wears a pink dress, with a white satin sleeveless garment over it, upon the right breast of which is embroidered the three crowns of the Order of the Bath. The right hand of the Esquire is on his sword; in his left hand he holds a velvet cap of ancient cut. In the background is seen Henry VII.'s Chapel, and over his head is hung the banner of the Knight whom he serves. The portraits are fine examples of Hoppner's style, the colouring being so delicate and transparent that the most perfect photographs fail to give any idea of their beauty.

The only correspondent of Lady Hamilton who seems frivolous and unnaturally plausible is Mrs. Lutwidge, wife of the Admiral under whom Nelson made his expedition, as a boy, to the North Pole on the *Carcass*, of which ship Captain Skeffington Lutwidge was then in command; the accompanying vessel, the *Racehorse*, being under the command of Commodore Phipps, the leader of the voyage of discovery. Boys were not allowed to join these explorations, but young Nelson begged so hard that Captain Lutwidge was persuaded to take him. The incident of Horatio shooting the bear that he might take the skin to his father is well known. For going off without leave, he was confined below deck for twenty-four hours. With the Admiral, who was Commander in the Downs, Lord Nelson always observed very friendly relations, but until the time of the illness of Captain Parker, when the Admiral and his wife were living at Deal and showed the young man kindness, Nelson had

not known much of Mrs. Lutwidge. She invariably wrote of her husband as "My Admiral."

The father of Admiral Lutwidge, having lost his money in a rebellion in Ireland, came to England and settled at Whitehaven. The original spelling of the name was *Lutwyche*, but the Admiral's father Thomas changed it to the more English *Lutwidge*. Being High Sheriff for the County of Cumberland he signed several papers which had to go before the King "Thomas Lutwidge," and his descendants have ever since spelt the name in the same way. He was twice married. His second wife Lucy, daughter of Sir Charles Hoghton, Bart., of Hoghton Towers, had seven sons and three daughters, the second son Henry being the only one who left any descendants. The seventh son was Skeffington Lutwidge, Admiral of the Red,¹ who married Miss Catherine Harvey, sister of Sir Robert Bateson-Harvey, Bart, of Langley, co. Bucks. Lady Hamilton was in no hurry to answer her letters, which were brimful of open flattery. At the time of Lord Nelson's death the Admiral was living at Holm Rook, Whitehaven, which he had purchased from a nephew who had married an Irish lady. She imbued her husband with the idea that if he sold the property to the Admiral it would most probably be willed back to them, as the Admiral had no children of his own. The uncle bought Holm Rook, lived there, but devised it otherwise than

¹ Admiral Lutwidge was born in 1737 and died in 1814. The Misses Poole, Alsager (his great nieces) have the wedding dress of the Admiral's mother, *née* Miss Lucy Hoghton, of pale blue and silver.

his nephew had hoped for. There, then, he and his wife were when the news arrived that Lord Nelson was dead, and thence on January 10th, 1806,¹ Mrs. Lutwidge wrote her condolences to Lady Hamilton: "I cannot yet hear the loved name of Nelson without Torrents of tears, and *entre nous*, my Dear Friend, most truly regret that any one should bear the same Title; we have all here mourned both in Hearts and Habit, and the House of Muncaster as well as ourselves put their family in deep mourning. . . . Tell me, my beloved Emma, that you will take care of yourself for the sake of the Interesting little being consigned to your care, and with such a public Testimony of *His* high sense of all those great and good qualities you immediately possess. I own, my dear Emma, I have no small curiosity to know who this dear little being is who is so distinguished."²

Here is plain evidence that no idea was entertained by those most intimate with the Nelson household that little Horatia was the child of either Lord Nelson or Lady Hamilton. Who would put such a question as that of Mrs. Lutwidge if even a surmise had been entertained detrimental to their honour? Not until a few years later was the slander founded, and then so indignant was Lady Hamilton that she said she would appeal to the British public. At all times *Vox Populi* will support what is right—Nelson felt this. He said, "John Bull has faith in me, and I am glad of it."

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

² Mrs. Lutwidge died at Holm Rook in February 1810.

So long a time as three weeks had elapsed and Lady Hamilton had not replied, so on January 29th Mrs. Lutwidge sought a mutual friend, a Miss Young, residing at 18, St. James's Street, London; and following the one to Lady Hamilton it could only be written to satisfy prying curiosity: "I ventured to write her a few lines after the Awful and Heartrending ceremony that consigned the remains of the Immortal Hero to the



SEAL OF THE HEAD OF LADY
HAMILTON.

*Given by Lord Nelson to Admiral
Lutwidge. Lent by the Misses
Poole, Ealing.*

Grave. My heart was so full of grief at the soul-rending details in the paper that I was almost afraid to trust myself to write, and there was a constraint in my letter that very little corresponded with my feelings. Now, my dear Miss Young, what I want you to do is, that the first leisure moment you have you will take up your pen and inform me how my beloved Emma is; how she beguiles

her time; who principally form her society; who are her Inmates; whether Lady Charlotte is still with her? Tell me also who is that Interesting little being consigned to her care; in short, tell me everything relative to her; the most trifling details cannot fail to being interesting to us."

The letter is sealed with one of the pretty profile impressions of Lady Hamilton that she freely bestowed

on her friends.¹ Lady Hamilton gave the Admiral a piece of the woollen drawers which Nelson had on when fatally wounded at Trafalgar. The marks of Nelson's life-blood are as bright as if but recent. This relic remains with the relatives of the Admiral, the Misses Poole, Alsager.

When Skeffington Lutwidge was a Lieutenant fighting in the war with Spain, he received a shot in the elbow and was made prisoner. The wound was so severe, and the difficulty of attending properly to it so great, that amputation was resolved upon. But one young practitioner thought he could save it, which he did, but at the expense of so much suffering that it was felt it would have been better to have parted with the arm. The ball had lodged between the bones of the arm, and kept working its way down to the wrist; the pain was so excessive that for a long time he was unable to sleep unless the arm was placed in hot grains. For three years he was kindly treated in the Spanish prison. On being exchanged for a Spanish prisoner of war he returned to his father's house at Whitehaven. After seven years' suffering, the surgeon was dressing the arm, when suddenly the ball fell out at the wrist, and with it a piece of blue cloth of his uniform which had been the cause of the greater part of his suffering.

Admiral and Mrs. Lutwidge lived at Merton Abbey, nearly opposite Nelson's house, Merton Place, and were very friendly with Lady Hamilton, whose acquaintance

¹ See Illustration. The Greek inscription is the name of the celebrated Neapolitan seal cutter who cut the intaglio.

they made when at Deal in August 1801. When Sir William and Lady Hamilton and Mrs. Nelson went there to see Lord Nelson, who was in trouble over the sufferings of Captain Parker, Nelson wrote to Lady Hamilton that if they reached Deal before his arrival, and cared to make themselves known to the Lutwidges, he, the Admiral, was as good a man as ever lived, but he knew very little of the wife—he said she was a very good woman, but her figure extraordinary.

After the death of Lord Nelson Lady Hamilton made a round of visits among his relatives, who, with only the one exception of the new Earl Nelson, treated her with the greatest attention to the end of her life. Her situation had been perfectly understood, and if they, ladies and gentlemen of the best reputation, found no fault, how can we? The only conclusion to be arrived at is—that we do not understand.

The Rev. Dr. Scott, who had been so faithful to the remains of his dead Chief—accompanied them home, watched day and night beside them, and when they were placed in Greenwich Hospital, to lie in state, watched by Admirals until the state funeral, and he was forced to leave them, he took lodgings right opposite to the Hospital—to him wrote Lady Hamilton on September 7th, 1806 :—

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—I did not get your letter till the other day, for I have been with Mrs. Bolton to visit an old respectable Aunt of my lord Nelson's. I shall be in town, that is at Merton, the end of the

week, and I hope you will come there Saturday and pass Sunday with me. I want much to see you about my affairs. How hard it is, how cruel their treatment of me and Horatia! That angel's last wishes all neglected, not to speak of the fraud that was acted to keep back the codicil. But enough! when we meet we will speak about it. God bless you for all your attentions and love you showed to our virtuous Nelson and his dear remains, but it seems those that truly loved him are to be victims of hatred, jealousy, and spite. However, we have innocency on our sides, and we have and had what they that persecuted us never had, that was, his unbounded love and esteem, his confidence and affection. I know well how he valued you, and what he would have done for you had he lived. You know the great and virtuous affection he had for me, the love he bore my husband, and if I had any influence over him I used it for the good of my country. Did I ever keep him at home? Did I not share in his glory? Even this last fatal Victory it was I bid him go forth. Did he not pat me on the back, call me brave Emma, and said, 'If there were more Emmas there would be more Nelsons'? Did he not in his last moments do me justice, and request at the moment of his glorious death that the King and Nation will do me justice? And I have got all his letters, and near eight hundred of the Queen of Naples' letters, to show what I did for my King and Country, and prettily I am rewarded. Psha! I am above them, I despise them, for thank God I feel that having lived with honour and glory,

glory they cannot take from me. I despise them," etc.

Dr. Scott had settled at Burnham Vicarage near Southminster, Essex, and his account to Lady Hamilton of the homely existence he was shaping is quite in keeping with the letters she received from every other of her correspondents, each knowing the interest she would feel in their individual affairs.

"October 22, 1806.

"MY DEAR LADY HAMILTON,—It was my intention always to spend this day and yesterday¹ in London, and under that idea, supposing we should soon meet, I did not write to you. My dear Lady Hamilton, I am settled here, having no house of my own at Southminster. I have undertaken the additional duty of Burnham, which gives me a good house and five acres of ground with a garden besides. I have already got a Cow, a horse, a Cat, and a dog. I have furnished two bedrooms and two sitting-rooms, but the house is big enough for a large family. My establishment consists of a man and his wife who do everything for me. I bake at home and make my my own butter, etc., etc.; in fact, for the first time in my life I am enjoying all the Comforts, agonies, and miseries of housekeeping. I am employed every day, both Parishes being Populous; but on Sunday I preach three Sermons, besides Churchings and Christenings, which abound here. Some of my furniture is of the best, and if I remain I shall improve

¹ October 21st, the anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar.

my establishment by degrees. I am situated about ten miles from South End, but there is a Ferry to cross. I understand, however, that Carriages usually pass it; as yet I have not had time to go there myself. . . . I prepare myself for remaining here; my books are placed to the tune of eleven thousand and odd volumes, and to say the truth I am not uncomfortable. If the Ministry notice me I shall not mind the expense of settling in this place; and if they do not, it is lucky I have fixed myself. What I most earnestly desire is a stall at St. Paul's—unfortunately it is not worth more than Canterbury, but the *esprit de calcul* does not enter my brain in this case. You, dear Lady Hamilton, would believe me though the world would not.¹ What is thought of for you? I repeat it, you cannot be forgotten, but you tell me nothing of your prospects. Most truly I can say that as fast as the memory of dear Lord Nelson evaporates from the minds of others, it sinks deeper into that of mine, in which I know you join me."

In 1817 the King presented the Rev. Dr. Scott with the Vicarage of Catterick in Yorkshire. He died at Ecclesfield Vicarage in Yorkshire on July 25th, 1840, aged seventy-two years.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Matcham, and headed *Victory*, December 7th, 1803, Lord Nelson says of his Chaplain Dr. Scott: "How easy people's characters are blasted! What can poor Dr. Scott have done to

¹ Dr. Scott wished for the stall in St. Paul's, with its lesser pay than Canterbury, so that he could constantly be near the remains of Lord Nelson.

injure any one? Instead of the character you have heard of him, hear mine. He is a very sober, unassuming man; Very learned, very religious, and very sickly; and he reads, which is more, I daresay, than any of our own proud Churchmen, the lessons for the day in German, Latin, Greek, and English every day; and even was he disposed to be irregular in his conduct, it is not catching, and although I am good friends with all, I am intimate with none beyond the cheerful hours of meals, as you may judge from Dr. Scott's letter. Poor fellow, once or twice every moon his head is gone; at this moment he is abed, not scarcely knowing any one, owing to the dreadful stroke of Lightning."

The Rev. A. J. Scott never recovered the shock of the awful storm in the West Indies when the lightning penetrated his cabin.

We, who know how scandalously and wrongfully Nelson's name has been connected for many years with that of his friend, Lady Hamilton, echo feelingly Nelson's words, "How easy people's characters are blasted!"

A singular omission on the part of biographers of Lady Hamilton has been any evidence of her social status among visiting acquaintance of good and respectable position in life; there were many indeed who sought her society who would not have allowed themselves to be in any way connected with a person of condemned reputation. Her position at Merton was perfectly understood by those who would have discountenanced wrong.

It has been stated that after the death of Lord Nelson Lady Hamilton was scouted in respectable society, of which there is no evidence whatever—quite the reverse, and it may come as a matter of surprise that the presence of Lady Hamilton at the great school of Harrow on July 6th, 1809, was considered by Lord Northwick¹ (who gave her the invitation to be present on Speech Day) to be a strong incentive to the students to exert their best powers to deserve her approbation. We have it from Lord Northwick's own hand, June 28th, 1809: "I hope it will not be too great an effort to be here by *one o'clock* in time for the speeches. I am sure your presence w^d be the greatest possible incitement to our juvenile orators to use their utmost endeavours to be deserving of your commendation."

From Professor Laughton's *Nelson Memorial* we learn that the reasons why Lord Nelson's sisters were included in the monetary recompense awarded by Government for the loss of their brother was that "Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Matcham were in comparatively narrow circumstances." As regards Mrs. Matcham this certainly was not the case, for Mr. Matcham was possessed of considerable means. Whenever Lord Nelson was ashore Mr. and Mrs. Matcham spent much of their time in their great brother's company—in fact, Mrs. Matcham was his favourite sister.

As we have seen, the career of Mr. Matcham was no ordinary one; and that a man of his standing should

¹ John Rushout, 2nd Baron Northwick, a great patron of the Fine Arts.

countenance Lady Hamilton is an important testimony in her favour. Through the whole of his life the greatest respect was entertained for his character. There was no reason why Mr. and Mrs. Matcham should have accepted the situation, and that they did so was from purely voluntary desire on their part, seeing no wrong in it. How thoroughly happy the Merton household was we find in a postscript appended by Lady Hamilton to a letter written by the Admiral to Mr. Matcham December 23rd, 1802, from Merton:—

“ I hope, my dear Mrs. Matcham, you will not think me neglectful, but really I have not had anything particularly interesting, and I told our dear Mr. Matcham all I knew. You cannot think how happy we were to see him, and how sorry we were to lose him ; however, his heart and mind were at Bath. Here we are as happy as kings and much more so ; we have 3 Boltons, 2 Nelsons, and only want 2 or 3 little Matchams to be quite *en famille*, happy and comfortable, for the greatest of all *Joys* to our excellent Nelson is when he has his sisters or their children with him, for sure no brother was ever so much attached as he is.”
What a bright Christmas for those young people !

Truly it was written that the happiness of his sisters and their children were his first joys. He himself wrote to Mr. Matcham on November 15th, 1804, from the *Victory* : “ I am now for the first time in my life likely to pick up some money, which shall make all those *we* hold dear comfortable ; if I had it many of my near Relations should have benefitted by it.”

This talented, fine-hearted, worthy brother-in-law of Lord Nelson kept up his friendship with Lady Hamilton as long as she lived, and whenever his family went to town they stayed at Lady Hamilton's town house in Clarges Street.

In the summer following the year which brought her financial matters to a crisis, Mr. and Mrs. Matcham sent a most kind invitation that she, her mother, and Horatia would reside with them, and two years later Mr. Matcham made her a present of one hundred pounds, for she was then absolutely, from one cause and another, without funds for current outlay.

Mrs. Bolton was equally attached. In May 1809 she had been to pay a wedding visit, about which (the lady being a mutual friend) she wrote to Lady Hamilton, telling her that Mr. Bolton was in London, and, if she had not already seen him, advising her to send a line to *the Bedford*, adding, "When I returned I found Mrs. W^m Bolton here. Anne went to Brancaster last Saturday : if Mr. Bolton permits we are all going for a week, as I am recommended to make short excursions ; but I shall go nowhere but a few lines from you to say you are coming will bring me back with much pleasure to receive *You*."

It must be apparent to readers of some of the later Lives of Lord Nelson that the best efforts of their authors are directed to show the relations between Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton in the worst possible light, lowering in the extreme to the hero, who, on the brink of the eternal shore, reviewing the life that was ebbing away, consoled himself with the happy reflection whis-

pered to his Chaplain, "Doctor, I have not been a very great sinner." Had the foul charges of craft cloaking immorality any connection with the character and life of Lord Nelson, he could not possibly retain his hold on the affections of the English people. The worthless moral character would tarnish the naval grandeur of his seaman's capacity to win great victories. But each of these writers has left a singular redeeming feature in his work to counterbalance his bias—*i.e.* an expressed opinion that persons better conversant with facts had held different opinions to his own and decidedly favourable to the attacked parties. Lord St. Vincent, Dr. Scott, Mr. Haslewood, and Southey saw no reason to believe the frankly admitted attachment between Nelson and Lady Hamilton was criminal. Their firm friendship was the outcome of circumstances, and this was recognised and perfectly understood by their numerous true friends. Captain Mahan, U.S.N., after proving himself an apt pupil in the school of Professor Laughton, undermines his own edifice with these remarks: "The sisters of Nelson, women of mature years and irreproachable character, maintained a correspondence with Lady Hamilton during their lives, long after his death and the departure of his influence removed any interested motive for courting her friendship. Between them and Lady Nelson the breach was final. Their occasional mention of her is unfriendly and upon the whole contemptuous; while she, as far as may be judged from their letters, returned to them an equal measure of disdain."

Always hoping for an increased income by means



MRS. BILLINGTON, AS ST. CECILIA.

Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

of a Government pension, Lady Hamilton in no way reduced her expenses, but kept open house to musical persons, all of whom were beings of the most gifted order, the entertainments were of the highest class, and the cost to the hostess fatal. One friend was so distressed to see her lavish expenditure when he paid a visit to Merton that he seriously gave her his opinions when walking in the grounds, and seeing some desire on her part to extricate herself from her difficulties by retrenchment, he promised to do his best to relieve her ; and within a few days he brought a friend who had retired from business, but was well skilled in matters of finance, who undertook to investigate her affairs on certain conditions. He found that if she retired into Wales and lived very quietly for a few years, things could be set right. Into Wales therefore she went, but was soon tired of the dulness of country life. She returned to Bond Street, taking lodgings, and still living beyond her means. But when her affairs were at their worst she made the following appeal to the Duke of Queensberry, a relative of her late husband. His Grace she knew had left her in his will £2,000 and a handsome annuity, but he was not to be depended on, being very changeable in disposition—so much so as to cause Mrs. Bolton to write to her Ladyship that her hope was that she would be in favour when he died, as she believed he made a new will every week. As it eventually proved, Lady Hamilton was in favour, and was remembered ; but as the codicils were not attested the money was never paid to her.

"RICHMOND, *September 4th*, 1808.

"MY DEAR LORD AND FRIEND,—May I hope you will read this, for you are the only hope I have in this world to assist and protect me in this moment of unhappiness and distress? To you therefore I appeal. I do not wish to have more than what I have. I can live on that at Richmond, only that I may live free from fear—that everything may be paid. I think and hope that £15,000 will do everything. For my sake, for Nelson's sake, for the good I have done my country, purchase it [Merton], take it, only giving me the portraits of Sir William, Nelson, and the Queen. All the rest shall go. I shall be free and at liberty. I can live at Richmond on what I have. You will be doing a deed that will make me happy, for lawyers will only involve me every day more and more. Debts will increase new debts. I beseech you, my dear Duke, to imagine that I only wish for you to do this, not to lose by it; but I see that I am lost and most miserable if *you* do not help me. My mind is made up to live on what I have. If I could but be free from Merton, all paid, and only one hundred pounds in my pocket, you will live to see me blessing you, my mother blessing you, Horatia blessing you. If you would not wish to keep Merton, perhaps it will sell in the spring better; only let me pass my winter without the idea of a prison. 'Tis true my imprudence has brought it on me, and villany and ingratitude has helped to involve me, but the sin be upon them. Do not let my enemies trample on me.

For God's sake then, dear Duke, good friend, think 'tis Nelson who asks you to befriend

“EMMA HAMILTON.”

The Duke refused to take Merton, but he furnished a house for her at Richmond, Heron Court, into which she moved. His Grace also allowed her sufficient income to enable her to live in comfort and keep an equipage.

The residence of Lady Hamilton at Heron Court brings on the scene an old friend of Lord Nelson, one who to the very utmost of his power assisted her at the worst phases of her ruinous downfall, and his latest kindness was to defray the whole of her funeral expenses. This was Alderman Joshua Jonathan Smith. His acquaintance with Lord Nelson dated as far back as the days when the *Boreas* was in the West Indies, as far back as 1786, when the business of President Herbert embraced with other things the sending to England of five hundred casks of sugar every year. Alderman Smith was born in 1765, and became senior partner in the great sugar factory of Smith & Seiffe at 17, Benet's Hill, London. He had sugar plantations in Jamaica, and thus commenced the lifelong friendship between Mr. Smith and Captain Nelson.

From time immemorial there had been a heronry in Richmond Park, and this gave the name to the house occupied by Lady Hamilton, which, during her tenure and for many a year before, had been called “Heron Court.” When the Duke of Queensberry

died and Lady Hamilton's resources were again cut off, Alderman Smith took the house and its contents in exchange for certain advances of money. All portable effects were packed most carefully in boxes, and an inventory enclosed with each. Some were not reopened for more than thirty years, when an accidental disclosure revealed that one contained the coat worn by Lord Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar, which, through the medium of Sir Harris Nicolas, was purchased by the late Prince Consort and presented to Greenwich Hospital.

When Mr. Smith took over the house he altered the name to Herring House, in consequence of a lucky venture he had had with a herring vessel named the *Friend's Endeavour*, which was broken up in 1834.¹ In some deeds it was called *Herring House*, but the older name was *Heron Court*. It was on the right-hand side of Hill Street. There was another house close to it with a heron in effigy on either side of the gateway.

After a time it was converted into a hotel, called the "Duke of York"; then four houses were erected with terraces and gardens to the towing path. One house was occupied by Mr. Maw (Maw, Son, & Thompson, surgical and medical sundrymen, 712, Aldersgate Street, E.C.). William Hunt, the celebrated fruit, flower, and bird's-nest painter, used to stay with Mr. Maw, and while with him painted many of his pictures.

Heron Court certainly maintained its respectability

¹ Then belonging to William Danby Palmer, Esq.

even in altered circumstances ; not so with Merton Place, the ideal "happy home" of England's darling hero.

Alderman Smith used strenuous exertions in bringing about a better state of affairs for Lady Hamilton ; he and some of his City intimates managed to find a purchaser for Merton, and for the time being she was comfortable, and, save for the expenses incurred in visiting and receiving some highly respectable and well-connected acquaintances, the extravagant living was curtailed.

How satisfactory was her social status is seen in a letter to the Hon. Charles Greville, written in the latter part of 1808, and how full of good intent she was to live within her income, which at this time, from one source and another, was large enough to enable her to live in comfortable style for a widow lady. She writes : "At a moment of desperation, when I thought they neglected me, Goldschmid¹ and my City friends came forward and rescued me from destruction—destruction brought on by Earl Nelson's having thrown on me all the Bills for finishing Merton—Nelson, who attested in his dying moments that I had well served my Country. All these things and papers of my services and my ill-treatment I have laid before my trustees ; they are paying my debts. I live in retirement, and the City are going to bring forward my claims ; in short, I have put myself under their

¹ To meet her immediate necessities Mr. Goldsmid and Mr. Davison each advanced £1,000, Sir John Gooch and Mr. Wilson £500, and Sir John Perrin £200.

protection, and nothing, *no power on earth*, shall make me *deviate* from my present system. On Friday next I come to Finsbury Square to Mrs. Goldschmid, and Monday I shall be in Broad Street with Sir John and Lady Perrin for a week, and one of those days I will come to you for a horse, for I have not my horses at present ; but I do not want them, friends are so good to me. You will be pleased to hear my mother is well and delighted with my small establishment. Horatia is well, and you will, I think, be pleased with her education. Goldschmid has been and is an angel to me, and his bounty shall never be abused. I hope you will mend as the Spring advances, and if you shou'd ever come to Richmond, pray call and see me, and pray believe me, yours affectionately,

“EMMA HAMILTON.”

Mr. Greville died next year on April 23rd at his house on Paddington Green. He was buried in the family vault of the Earls of Warwick at St. Mary's Church, Warwick, and was succeeded in the inheritance by his brother, the Hon. R. Fulke Greville, subject to the payment to Lady Hamilton of Sir William Hamilton's charge on the estate of £800 annually.

Lady Hamilton was not alone in receiving assistance under monetary pressure from Mr. Abraham Goldsmid ; we find Georgina Spencer, Duchess of Devonshire, had availed herself of his favours, but the precise date is not named on her note to him, now in the Morrison Collection, formerly in the Addington Collection :—

“I feel and see all your delicacy, and cannot hesitate

in having the diamonds placed in such good hands and on such generous terms. I shall profit, with your leave, by the offer of placing more diamonds with you for the other £300."

The obligation spoken of by Lady Hamilton was that he had purchased Merton, and had thus relieved her from the encumbrance that was destroying her peace of mind. He went to reside on his new property, but troubles came upon him and unhinged his mind. First he lost a beloved brother, then the large sum of £200,000, and before his nervous system recovered its tone he was attacked in Lombard Street by an over-driven ox. One morning his coachman followed him to a part of the grounds at Merton called the "Wilderness" to make an inquiry, and he found that his master had shot himself in the head. His funeral was singular, for the jury on the necessary inquest having adjudged the death as a *suicide*, night burial was compulsory; but its horror, as far as possible, was lessened by the attendance of many whose respect and gratitude he had earned by untold acts of kindness. The hearse was followed by thirteen mourning coaches, containing the Chief Rabbi, the elders of the Synagogue (for the deceased gentleman had been of the Jewish religion), and members of his own family, except his brothers, who were too distressed to be present. The remains were interred in the Jews' burying-place at Mile End, at half-past one in the morning. The Chief Rabbi and elders paid every mark of distinction to the remains of the deceased gentleman possible under the circumstances of his death, but were forced to

conform to the Mosaic law which withheld funeral customs. Mr. Abraham Goldsmid was a man of many virtues and uncommon philanthropy, his personal appearance beamed with genial kindness.

Mr. Goldsmid died on September 28th, 1810.

Merton Place was next disposed of to an enterprising builder, who speedily dismantled it and covered the ground with third-rate residences. The district is still called *Nelson's Fields*. Ruin, destruction, and oblivion overwhelmed all he held most dear, and the sole monument of his cherished home is a public-house!

That Lady Hamilton continued to move in good society, irrespective of her well-known monetary troubles, further evidence can be adduced, and letters of invitation quoted from being from persons whose names are familiar to biographical readers, will be of interest. On her return from a visit to the Marchioness of Abercorn she found an invitation awaiting her and her guests from the sister-in-law of Dr. William Compton, who was married in the Bay of Naples on board the *Foudroyant*, which she accepted, and to which he made reply:—

“DEAR LADY HAMILTON,—I am glad you received Mr. and Mrs. Gonzaler’s invitation, and that your Ladyship accepted it ; we, for greater certainty, wrote also to Merton, as your servant told Mrs. Compton you were there. We are extremely glad to hear you spent a week so pleasantly and cheerfully ; indeed, you could not do otherwise with the agreeable charming

Marchioness of Abercorn, whose sweetness of manner, as well as great personal attractions, every one admired abroad, and I myself among the rest, tho' as an Ancient at a reverential distance. No Lady deserves, nor will do more honour to her present elevated Rank and ample fortune. My good wishes attend her, and I am honoured by her mere mention of me to your Ladyship.

“Mrs. Compton is now writing to her sister to make her happy in saying that y^r Ladyship will wait on her to Dinner at 5 O'Clock, and having (our good) Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Pearson on a visit to your Ladyship, you will carry them with you instead of *Miss Bolton* and *little dear Horatia*. As to their going after dinner, it is about 3 or 4 miles to Dalby's Terrace, and it seems not worth their fatigue and the trouble of your Coach going twice for the distance, and staying till probably Eleven at night. *The soonest* would be too much for the Dear little Horatia's strength, and she would be sleepy long before.

“*We* go to Dalby's Terrace up Great Portland Street, so along to the New Road through the Turnpike. But if you please our coachman shall speak to your Ladyship's coachman and give him full directions.

“Of this your Ladyship may be sure, that the hospitable Mr. and Mrs. Gonzaler will heartily welcome not only your Ladyship, but also Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Pearson, your Norfolk guests. It is a very pleasant and a good house. Adieu, dear Lady Hamilton. Pray present my dear Mrs. Compton's

and my best Comp^{ts}, etc., to all under your roof, and we remain, with every kind wish, Dear Lady Hamilton,

“Your Ladyship’s most obedient humble Servants,

“W. AND A. COMPTON.

“33, HARLEY STREET, *Monday, 25th April, 1808.*

“Lady Jerningham is still a little lame with the gout, and Sir William is rather an invalid ; but they told Mrs. Compton they should be very happy to see Lady Hamilton with the little Horatia,¹ when her Ladyship has a leisure hour to call at 13, Bolton Row, just facing Mrs. Billington’s.”

(Addressed to Clarges Street, Piccadilly.)

With the mention of Mrs. Billington an episode in her own career connected with Naples during the time the Hamiltons were in office can appropriately be introduced. In 1793 Mrs. Billington, who had been singing for six years at Covent Garden Theatre, the Lenten Oratorios included, and at many fashionable entertainments, was asked to sing at Naples by the Neapolitan Musical Management, and on January 30th, 1794, she appeared at the Grand Theatre of San Carlo, where she astonished even the Italian audience, long accustomed to listen to the first singers of Europe. The applause of the King, Queen, Court, and people of Naples was unbounded ; but as it is so often the case that happiness in its acme is robbed of its perfection by some untoward incident, so it happened

¹ Lady Jerningham was evidently of the Hamilton faction, as we find her writing that Lady Nelson called on her, but she did not see her.

to Mrs. Billington in the sudden death of her husband on the day following her first appearance. He had been apparently in the best of health during dinner, after which he went downstairs for his hat, as he was about to accompany his wife to the theatre. He fell down motionless at the foot of the stairs and died almost immediately.

Upon recovering from the shock of the startling occurrence Mrs. Billington resumed her performances. During her time of grief Sir William and Lady Hamilton showed her much kindness, as did the British resident nobility at Naples, for they were proud to find the palm conceded to one of their own countrywomen in the very land where music predominated. Through the good offices of Lady Hamilton she had a public presentation at Court, which was accompanied by the gift of magnificent jewels. The female singers in Italy were warm in praise of Mrs. Billington's voice, but were astonished at her personal contradistinctions of light hair and black eyebrows. She remarried with a French officer named Fellessent.

The next lady intimate of Lady Hamilton brought forward is the Hon. Mrs. Anne S. Damer, legatee of Horace Walpole, and then residing at Strawberry Hill, whence she dated her doubly interesting letter October 31st, 1809 :—

“MY DEAR LADY HAMILTON,¹—I much regret you cannot come to me to-day, but as soon as your cold will allow you to go out, pray let me know, and I

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.



[Autotype.]

LADY BETTY FOSTER.

Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

will propose some other day for the pleasure of seeing you here. You would have seen or heard from me before this had I known that you were settled at Richmond, which I really did not know till two days before I called upon you.

“ You will not find Mrs. Bullar, I fear, with me after to-day, but I hope Miss Berrys will come to me next week, and they, as you know, will be as much pleased to see you as you will be to see them.

“ I am glad indeed that our friend Lady Elizabeth¹ is no longer in the awkward situation she was, and am convinced that for every reason it is much better as it is.

“ I must not forget one thing on which I wished to speak to you—that is, that as I understand a fine Edition of Lord Nelson's Life is coming out soon (I conclude under the direction of the present Earl and his friends), I have the greatest desire that in some way or other, no matter how shortly or how simply said, either in a note or otherwise, my having had the honour I prize so much of that immortal Hero's having sat to me, and to me alone, for a Sculptural Bust, should be mentioned. To you, my dear Lady Hamilton, and to my kind friend Sir William, you know I owe this favour, and you will not wonder at my Ambition nor my anxiety that such a circumstance, which I know so well how to value, should be recorded in a manner never to be forgotten, and that my name should thus be (if I may so term it) joined to the most brilliant name England has ever given birth to. I think it probable that you may be able to assist me in this, and I am *sure* you will if it be in your power.

“ Believe me, my dear Lady Hamilton,

“ Your sincere and affectionate

“ ANNE S. DAMER.

¹ Lady Betty Foster, recently married to the Duke of Devonshire.

“ P.S.—You will remember that the Bust executed by me in marble was by me presented to the City of London, and is now placed in the Guildhall. I have been writing in a hurry, but I think you will understand me.”

It is curious that the only busts of Lord Nelson were those executed by the Hon. Mrs. Damer. Besides the one at the Guildhall she did a replica of it and presented it to the King of Tanjore, at the instigation of her relative Sir Alexander Johnstone, with a view to aid the encouragement of European art in India. When the great dispersion by auction of the Strawberry Hill treasures took place, a bust of Lord Nelson in terra-cotta, the work of Mrs. Damer, was sold.

When Mrs. Damer died, there were buried with her by her desire, her apron and tools and the bones of a favourite dog that died before her.

In the *Belle Assemblée* (New Series), 1810, the initial advertisement mentions, under musical items to appear in the work, that “ Each number will contain peculiar attractions in this refined pleasure of the elegant and accomplished Female : the songs hereafter to be given, set for the Harp or Piano Forte, will be procured from the choice private Collections of Mrs. Billington, Mrs. Dickons, Lady Hamilton, Mrs. Mountain, and Mme. Catalani, whose desire to gratify the British Fair will induce them to assist in the present plan. The Department will be further en-

riched by the assistance of Dr. Busby and other musical friends."

On January 14th, 1810, Lady Hamilton experienced a sad trial in the death of her mother, Mrs. Cadogan. The highest encomiums only can be passed on the filial devotion displayed by her Ladyship. Mrs. Cadogan unquestionably deserved the kind words spoken of her by all with whom she came in contact, by her homely consideration for each one's comfort, and by her own unpretentious conduct. She was a most capable domestic manager, yet retained the respect and affection of persons high in social position, many of whom in their correspondence expressed the kindest regard for and gratitude to her. Her supervision of Merton was admirable. Her letters show she was not an ignorant woman. To her daughter their chief import is household matter, such as the following from Merton, July 18th, 1805, where she acted as housekeeper :—

"MY DEAR EMMA,—Cribb [the gardener] is quite distrest for money, would be glad if you could bring him the £13 he paid for the taxes to pay the mowers. My dear Emma, I have got the baker's and butcher's bills cast up; they come to 1 hundred pounds, seventeen shillings. God Almighty bless you, my dear Emma, and grant us good news from our dear Lord. My dear Emma, bring me a bottle of ink and a box of wafers."

Mrs. Cadogan was buried on January 20th, 1810, in a vault under St. Mary's Church, Paddington.

Upon the occasion of a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Bolton at Cranwich, in Norfolk, Lady Hamilton being a great favourite was the centre of attraction, and invitations were sent to all relatives within reach to meet her, among them being Mr. King of Ipswich, his wife being sister of Mr. Bolton. Mr. King refused to allow either his wife or daughters to go where Lady Hamilton was, but Mrs. King holding a better opinion, urged her husband to go himself, while she and their daughters in accordance with his wishes remained at home.

He went to the dinner-party, and on his return Mrs. King at once asked him what he thought of Lady Hamilton. Greatly was she surprised to hear that he admired her so much that he had invited her to spend a week with them !

By every person with whom she came in contact were her merits recognised, for all felt in some way or other under material obligation to her for some great favour conferred upon them by her personal exertions ; as, for instance, when Mr. Lambton Este was going out as secretary and physician to join Mr. Lock at Constantinople, his father, the Rev. C. Este, wrote to Lord Nelson, sad at heart that this beloved son was going from him to the risks of war, and asking if time ever brought his Lordship and his son together would he notice him, he would vouch for his manly conduct and the faithfulness of his heart ; concluding that his spirits failed him to say more, for the order for going to Portsmouth had come with such abruptness but a few hours back, and that Lady Hamilton,

“the most noble creature living, had been writing for them ever since.” The meaning of which was that, with all expedition, Lady Hamilton had sat down to supply the clergyman’s son with letters of introduction to the strangers among whom his lot was about to be cast, and whom she knew. No act of kindness came amiss to her, for every opportunity was promptly seized to do good. In the sadness of the brief hours before parting with his beloved son the good minister recognised her industrious efforts to make comfortable the professional labours in the far-away land, and acknowledged his obligations. He, a clergyman of repute, supplied the testimonial that she was “the most noble creature living.” Truly her endowments of heart and mind were exceptional, and beyond the appreciation of many who have sought to tarnish her reputation and failed to mention the golden goodness of heart which compassed so many acts of kindness and charity during her wondrous career.

Detractors did exist in her own time, but prejudice, jealousy, or absence of power to sympathise is generally traceable in such opinions. Take, for instance, that written by Lady Morgan in her *Book of the Boudoir* :—

“The egotism of Lord Nelson went far beyond that of any of his ‘Great Competitors.’ Not that he talked much of his feats (for ‘little would he have graced his tale in speaking of himself’); but he listened with the frankest approbation to the verse or song that celebrated his exploits; assisting at his own apotheosis with as

much devotion as any of the votarists who brought incense to his altar.

“There was nothing so characteristic or amusing as the scenes in which he and Lady Hamilton exhibited together, adoring and adored, during that short epoch of their fashion, which policy or caprice granted them, in spite of the frailty and the vulgarity of the one and the very obvious intellectual mediocrity of the other. The stage was generally some saloon of supreme *bon ton* ; the audience, the members of the exclusive circles ; and the prima donna, Lady H., whose ample person seemed to dilate before the pianoforte, while her fine full eyes were turned languidly on the hero of her theme and inspiration, and she sang, at the top of her Poll of Plymouth voice, the adulating ode, or the deifying cavatina. Meantime, the conquering hero ‘leaned over her enamoured,’ bearing chorus, beating time, and echoing every pæan raised to his own glory by London lyrists and Neapolitan laureates.”

In 1830 Leigh Cliffe, Esq., published some anecdotal reminiscences of interest, among which were some about Lady Hamilton, whom he had met at the Priory, the seat of the Marquis of Abercorn. He dedicated his work to his Imperial Majesty Nicolas, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, in gratitude for the kindness of his Majesty and his brother the Grand Duke Michael to a member of his—Mr. Cliffe’s—family. Lady Hamilton he described as a really sensible and elegant as well as lovely woman. He tells how the cicerone at Romney’s studio observed

to Mr. Murphy the engraver, "If you had seen her, sir, and heard her speak, you would have forgotten her faults." This, to rebut Lady Morgan (then living), who said she had a "Poll of Plymouth voice." Gallini did not think so when he offered her £1,000 a year and a benefit to sing in his Opera Company. Leigh Cliffe compares the two ladies: "Lady Hamilton was the reverse of vulgar: she was vain—so is Lady Morgan; she was clever—so is Lady Morgan. Here the two ladies were on a point of equality. Lady Hamilton was lovely as an angel, with a figure as near perfection as it was possible to conceive." Lady Morgan was not so well favoured. When Lady Campbell was invited to the Priory to meet the ladies she expressed herself delighted with Lady Hamilton, but Miss Owenson (afterwards Lady Morgan) talked too much. Leigh Cliffe remarks that to humour the folly of Lord Nelson she certainly did chant those poetical abortions which in the excitability of the times were allowed a temporary popularity, but in other society a more charming woman than Lady Hamilton could not be met with, and that she had virtues also which should not be passed over in silence.

He believed the attachment between Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton to be purely platonic—mere vanity on both sides; both liked to be the talk of the world, and both were gratified at exciting public attention.

Mr. Coutts, the banker, used to say that he had seen all the beauties for the last sixty years, and had never met with her equal.

Leigh Cliffe says that, though elevated to a rank in society which her birth never gave her the slightest pretensions to aspire to, she never gave herself unnecessary airs ; she was always very conciliating and unaffected in her manners.

Previous to concluding, he remarks that if she had not possessed greater qualifications than mere beauty she could not have gained the love and respect of all who knew her, and she would not have been a person likely to have been received by the Duchess of Devonshire and the other leaders of the *ton*.

On November 25th, 1809, the Princess Marie Amélie, second daughter of the King and Queen of Sicily, was married to Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans and Chartres (afterwards King Louis Philippe of France). He had been residing at Palermo at the same time as Ferdinand VII. of Sicily, 1808, who lived temporarily under the protection of the British flag while Murat occupied his throne of Naples. In 1830 the Duke was elected King of the French, and after a day's deliberation he accepted the Crown with its attendant anxieties and responsibilities in that revolutionary period. In 1848, in order to sustain his throne, it would have been necessary to attack the populace with the sword, which his heart forbade, and so his kingdom fell. He and his amiable Queen escaped in disguise from France, crossing from Normandy to Newhaven in a small sailing vessel, reaching England on March 3rd. Our own gracious Queen at once offered the royal refugees the use of Claremont House, near Esher, as a residence.

The gentle Queen Marie Amélie, so eminently good, could have told reminiscences of the days when Sir William and Lady Hamilton represented Great Britain at her father's Court. She had been the constant companion of Lady Hamilton, and in several letters from her mother to her Ladyship anxious parental solicitude is expressed as to the future fate of her daughters.

In the gay Neapolitan days, before they were enveloped in war and its attendant dangers, Lady Hamilton moved in the best English society, and the importance of her post is seen even in the one specimen letter selected, written by the Countess of Plymouth, who was in Naples within a year or so of Sir William's marriage to his second wife :—

"NAPLES, *Sunday Night,*
After the Opera.

"MY DEAR LADY HAMILTON,—I cannot resist sending you a line, though at the risk of your thinking me very troublesome ; but I hope it will plead its own excuse, as I am extremely anxious to hear how Sir William is. I never heard of his being ill till the Prince and Princess Pietra Pergia returned from Caserta yesterday Evening. I was rejoiced when I found you had sent for Nudi, and hope he will find him less ill than I was told he was. I had thoughts of paying you a visit, but shall certainly not intrude myself till he is recover'd, though I think it a great while since I saw you. I had the Comfort of receiving two letters this Morning from Lord Plymouth, one from Florence, and the other dated Bologna ; he begs his kindest

Compliments to Sir W^m and you, and deliver'd Sir W^m's letter to Vanini with a particular charge. His journey had thus far been very prosperous except that he felt the cold severely, and that poor Sani being taken ill he was oblig'd to take him in the Carriage and to give up for the present travelling all night, which will delay him greatly; the latter I am glad to find he is prevented doing. He met the Duchess of Devonshire at Bologna, who was in the same Hotel with him and Lady E. Foster. The Duncannons and Lady Spencer are coming on slower. The Cholmondeleys and the Duchess of Ancaster arriv'd at Florence the day before he left it. He also saw the Corbets, Kers, and Miss Bowdler (astonishingly recover'd); the Palmerstons and dear delightful Molly Carter are gone to Leghorn, but only for a few days, and then proceed on hither. L^y Templeton and her daughters spend the winter at Rome, which I am very sorry for, as everybody tells me she is charming. S^r John and Lady Throckmorton were also at Florence, and are very pleasant, good sort of people. She is niece to Lord Petre. They pass the winter here. You have probably before this heard of the sudden departure of the Talleyrand Family to Rome. I never heard one word of it till this morn^g Prince Clary at breakfast at Lady Dunmore's told me of it, and as I believed it to be only an Idle Report did not give much credit to it; however, I went immediately, and saw a truly distressing scene indeed. I think them quite right in adopting this measure, as they do it out of delicacy to the Court, who, if press'd by the French

fleet to give them and all other emigrants up, would be in an awkward predicament. I went after the Opera to take leave of them, and they intend setting off early to-morrow morn^g with Mme. de Calonne, who has been several years on the point of coming to see them at Naples, and now that she is at length arriv'd is oblig'd to fly from it. Mme. de Talleyrand says she lent you a rare piece of music which she has no other copy of, and will be glad of having it returned; but I think she told me she had left y^e particulars with Paesiello.¹ They intend returning as soon as the *Panic* of y^e French has subsided; the consternation seems general, and that they *will come* seems certain, but as friends or foes is yet to be determined. I shall, as soon as I descry a glimpse of them, *creep under the shadow of your wings* most certainly, as my House is just in front to receive Bombs or anything else they may choose to throw into the town. However, I don't mean, my dear Lady Hamilton, to be a troublesome *protégée* neither, as I hope to find some small House or *Hole* of some sort that I could take for a little time near you at Caserta. Perhaps you will laugh at my fears, but notwithstanding I pique myself on having a great deal of courage, and am *entre nous* quite as apprehensive of our friends the Lazzeroni, who, by the by, are all arm'd, as of the Maladetta Francesco.²

“Poor Prince Pietra Pergia is ill; they drank tea yesterday Evening at their return with some others at my House. He complain'd much, and is, I hear,

¹ The singing master.

² Francesco Caracciolo.

to-day confin'd to his Bed. I have written you a strange Jumble, but my babe is supported by one arm while I scribble with y^e other ; he is very busy with his supper. I hope Mrs. Cadogan is well. Pray remember me kindly to her, and believe me very sincerely yours,

“S. PLYMOUTH.”

It is incredible that modern biographical writers should so persistently stamp Lady Hamilton as little better than a woman of the shadiest reputation, for every effort to get at the truth reveals that her Ladyship was highly respected by the English people of education and position who visited Naples during her *régime*. On July 25th, 1792, Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq., on a tour in Italy, wrote to Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, that “at the house of Sir William Hamilton I enjoyed a great deal of mental pleasure. Sir William possesses a large fund of deep and elegant information, and Lady Hamilton is a being of a superior order.”

At one time alone there would be at the Embassy at Naples the Duchess of Ancaster, the Devonshire family, Lord and Lady Palmerston, the Cholmondeleys, Lady Spencer, and many others : well might it be likened to an inn ! This suffices to show the social status of Lady Hamilton in Italy. We know the high estimation in which she was held while in London and at Merton.

In 1810 Alderman Joshua Jonathan Smith, who had convened the meetings of influential London citizens to assist Lady Hamilton out of her financial distresses,



SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S PALACE AT NAPLES. HEADQUARTERS OF NELSON
IN 1798.

was elected Lord Mayor of London. Owing to the recent death of the Princess Amelia, daughter of King George III., there was no water procession to inaugurate his induction, nor were any of the civic festivities observed at the Guildhall, or by any of the different companies of liverymen.

Before November was out a hoax was played at the expense of a Mrs. Tottenham, a lady of means residing in Berners Street, in which Lord Mayor Smith played a part, though sinning in ignorance. The lady's house was beset by a hundred tradespeople at the same time with their various commodities, causing so great a confusion that the street became impassable—waggons laden with coal from Paddington Wharf, cartloads of upholsterers' goods, cases of wine, organs, pianos, a coffin, linen, jewellery—and the anxious tradesmen were surrounded by a laughing mob. But the climax was reached when Lord Mayor Smith drove up in his carriage to accept an invitation he had received. Upon perceiving that he had been victimised he drove to Marlborough Street Office and sent constables to prevent the arrival of any more goods and to scatter the people. He held many influential appointments and was a Lieutenant-Colonel in H.M.C. of Lieutenancy for London and Middlesex. He purchased his freedom of the City in 1803, was Sheriff in 1808, Lord Mayor in 1810. For many years he was magistrate at the Town Hall, Southwark, which situation he only resigned in consequence of the infirmities with which he became afflicted. He represented Castle Baynard Ward for twenty-eight

years before his retirement in 1831. He died July 19th, 1834, at Richmond, aged sixty-nine years, leaving a handsome fortune to each member of his family, who also retained much of the property that he had taken over from Lady Hamilton when he advanced money to assist her. Some of this was very recently sold.

One of the daughters of Mr. Smith (Georgiana Laura) in 1850 married an Italian Prince resident in London, H.S.H. the Prince of Gonzaga and Castiglione, Duke of Mantua, etc.

The other, Frances Amelia, was engaged to be married to an artist named Brett, who, however, died on the wedding morning, and the desolate bride never again went into society. He had painted their portraits life-size as Romeo and Juliet: the picture is now in the possession of the friend to whom (failing any descendants) they bequeathed their interesting collections and Nelsonian relics.

Among the obituary notices for March 1848 may be found: "In King's Road, Chelsea, aged 34, Mr. Joseph William Brett, son of the Rev^d Joseph Brett, Clergyman of the Church of England. He was one of the unsuccessful competitors for the prizes offered to embellish the New Houses of Parliament. The incident he took for his subject was *King Richard forgiving the soldier who had shot him*. He was found dead with his throat cut, it was supposed by his own act, but there was not sufficient evidence before the jury to show the state of his mind at the time." A merciful verdict!

After receiving Lord Sidmouth's final rejection of her petition for a small pension Lady Hamilton knew not whither to turn, for she was so harassed and impoverished that no longer could she sustain the expenses of her respectable apartments in Bond Street. Seeing this, Mrs. Billington the singer took her and Horatia to her house in Fulham—kindly meant, but by no means a desirable course for Lady Hamilton to have taken, and from this date her deterioration takes place. The creditors who had pressed their wares upon her, never doubting but that eventually they would be paid for, now pressed her, pursued and worried her, until at length she was placed in the King's Bench Prison, where for some months she was detained. After undergoing these severe measures she received permission to live "within the Rules," and took up residence at 12, Temple Place, which relaxation was due to the intervention of Alderman Joshua J. Smith, who came forward and paid off her most persistent creditors.

Miss Horatia Nelson was Lady Hamilton's companion in this confinement. It was a scandalous thing that this growing girl of thirteen years of age should be detained in such a place—the child whom the nation's brave defender in the goodness of his grand heart had adopted and meant to rear. The child was an acknowledged member of his household, whom he valued so highly as to design her for the wife of his nephew, the future inheritor of his honours. It was a shameful return for the victory of Trafalgar that the conqueror's adopted daughter should know the

discomfort of detention for debt in the King's Bench Prison, when the sacrifice of his life had saved England from invasion.

Mr. Bolton was a gentleman farmer at Cranwich in Norfolk, and when geese and turkeys were in season he made presents to his relatives, and always included Lady Hamilton among those whom he thus acceptably remembered, sending her hampers of game, and offering to supply the same to any of her acquaintance if names were furnished. When Lady Hamilton's means were impoverished Mr. Matcham kept her in winter supply of potatoes, etc. In 1813 (November 21st) this estimable gentleman wrote to her Ladyship in a post-script to what had been written by his daughter, promising any farm produce she might desire, and forwarding a hat for Horatia: "Pray let us know the carrier's name of the waggon which passes your house. We will supply you with potatoes all the winter, and send you a turkey by the first opportunity. If you find it impossible to pay us a visit, Mrs. M. and I shall be tempted to go to Temple Place before the close of the winter and pass a day with you."

In the following April Mr. Matcham was anxious to see her and Horatia at their beautiful home, Ashfold. "The summons to Mrs. M. and myself to escort you and dear Horatia to this place would be most grateful to us. When our house is free of visitors Mrs. M. and myself purpose going as far as your house and staying with you a few hours. We shall not go into London; our only object will be to see you and talk over our future destination. The dear

beautiful Ashfold is offered for sale. My other planted property I shall not dispose of, as it will be of no further expense to me, and may in time prove an advantage to my family."

Poor Lady Hamilton was meanwhile lying very ill at 12, Temple Place. "I have been now nine months in Temple Place, and almost all the time I have been very ill with a bilious complaint brought on by fretting and anxiety, and lately I have kept my bed for near twelve weeks, nor have I seen any person except Dr. Watson and Mr. Tegart, who have attended me with kindness and attention, and to whose care I owe my life."

Lady Hamilton's difficulties had been increased by her paying certain annuities that Lord Nelson had allowed—such as £100 a year to one, and other amounts to others—and she would not discontinue them for his sake. Extravagant she has been called because overwhelmed with debt; but there is no proof that on herself she spent lavishly. Acts of charity with reckless want of forethought as to the consequences to herself were her chief faults, and whatever allowance Government might have given her would only have increased the list of this class of debtor to the generous-hearted woman.

W. Jerdan, the journalist, was taken by Mr. (Sir F.) Freeling to see her Ladyship in the prison, and he came away full of thought which he entered in his *Autobiography* in these words: "The deep conviction I that day received of the stern inflexibility with which official form can perpetrate and adhere to a wrong has

never yet been removed by acquaintance with not a few other cases, nor by reparation given for humanity's sake and the honour of the country on which the treatment of those whom its Nelson loved is still a shameful stain. Men in their private transactions would shrink from acts of such ignominious ingratitude ; but state departments like corporate bodies or numerous partnerships have neither feelings nor a nice sense of truth or justice."

While living in the ignominious quarters to which debtors in bygone times were committed, Lady Hamilton invited an old friend, Mr. Thomas Lewis, to dine with her on the anniversary of the Battle of the Nile. "Do come," she wrote ; "it is a day to me glorious, for I largely contributed to its success ; at the same time it gives me great pain and grief thinking on the dear Immortal Chief who so bravely won the day, and if you come we will drink to his Immortal Memory. He could never have thought that his Child and myself should pass the Anniversary of that Victorious day where we shall pass it ; but I shall be with a few sincere and valuable friends—all hearts of Gold, not Pinchbeck—and that will be consoling to the heart of your affectionate

"EMMA."

Fearing rearrest from the claims of her former coachmaker (which turned out to be fictitious), Lady Hamilton accompanied by Horatia contrived to escape from Temple Place by the assistance of Alderman Smith. They managed to obtain a passage in a small

sailing vessel bound for Calais which was moored alongside the Tower. With what humid eyes must not the hunted fugitive have gazed on the shores of the land that should have held her in honour. The passage to Calais was prolonged three days, and was unusually bad ; owing to the roughness of the sea the ladies suffered severely. The flight took place early in 1814, and on arriving at Calais she put up at the far-famed hotel of M. Dessin, whence she wrote her movements to Mr. Rose.¹

To the Hon. George Rose Lady Hamilton had written in self-reproach and open confidence that her chief attachment to Nelson was founded on *ambition*. Close students of her history can detect as much.

“HÔTEL DESSIN, CALAIS.

“We arrived here safe, dear Sir, after three days' sickness at sea, as for precaution we embarked at the Tower. Mr. Smith got me the discharge from Lord Ellenborough. I then begged Mr. Smith to withdraw his bail, for I would have died in prison sooner than that good man should have suffered for me, and I managed so well with Horatia alone that I was at Calais before any new writs could be issued out against me. I feel so much better from change of climate, food, air, large rooms, and liberty that there is a chance I may live to see Horatia brought up. I am looking out for a lodging. I have an excellent Frenchwoman who is good at everything ; for Horatia and myself,

¹ From the Diaries of the Right Hon. George Rose, edited by L. V. Harcourt.

and my old dame who is coming will be my establishment. Near me is an English lady who has resided here for twenty-five years who has a day school, but not for eating or sleeping. At eight in the morning I take Horatia ; fetch her at one ; at three we dine, and then in the evening we walk. She learns everything—piano, harp, languages grammatically. She knows French and Italian well, but she will still improve. Not any girls but those of the first families go there. Last evening we walked two miles to a *fête champêtre pour les bourgeois*. Everybody is pleased with Horatia. The General and his good old wife are very good to us, but our world of happiness is in ourselves. If, my dear Sir, Lord Sidmouth would do something for dear Horatia, so that I can be enabled to give her an education, and also for her dress, it would ease me and make me very happy. Surely he owes this to Nelson. For God's sake do try for me, for you do not know how limited [I am]. I have left everything to be sold for the creditors, who do not deserve anything, for I have been the victim of artful mercenary wretches, and my too great liberality and open heart has been the dupe of villains. To you, Sir, I trust for my dearest Horatia to exert yourself for me."

Taking the girl to school, calling for her when lessons were over, accompanying her in her walks, and superintending her education—these were the daily occupations of the reduced lady ; living with one servant only to perform domestic duties, and content that it should be so. How different to the days when

Mr. William George Matcham, nephew of the late Lord Nelson, visited Lady Hamilton at Richmond October 12th, 1808. "A plan of economy has been most laudably laid down by her Ladyship," he wrote in his private memoranda; "but I could have wished that the crowd of obsequious attendants had been entirely dismissed, instead of being partially diminished." They were all gone now, and the establishment reduced to the maid-of-all-work!

Lady Hamilton was suffering from the complaint that ended fatally in January of the next year, 1815; her own annual income which her husband had left her was claimed by creditors, and for some time had not been paid to any one, and she therefore cannot reasonably be blamed for the bulk of her debts when she had no income to meet daily expenses with. May not most of her disasters be credited to the Right Hon. and Rev. Earl Nelson? for he certainly should have seen the estate of his brother cleared of debts incurred to his order. The Government awards of handsome proportions from which he now derived a good income would have amply permitted it.

The poor woman who was left to contend with worry that he might have relieved, is defamed and blamed for her recklessness, but she never had a fair chance or clear start. The debts went with the legacy of Merton, and largely helped to cause her ruin. In no way does the Rev. Earl Nelson seem to have helped either her or Horatia, and in her letter to Sir William Scott her situation is perfectly understood; and his cruel neglect of them, and his not

making an effort even to pay her money from the Bronte estate at times more convenient for her, was most heartless, in the face, as she rightly says, of her having been the means of getting the whole estate for his brother, which estate he himself now enjoyed.

TO SIR WILLIAM SCOTT.¹

"COMMON OF ST. PETER'S, TWO MILES FROM CALAIS,
"Sept. 12, 1814.

"But pray direct for me, if you do me so much honour and happiness as to write, chez Dessin, Calais.

"Many thanks, my dear Sir William, for your kind letter. If my dear Horatia was provided for I should dye happy; and if I could only now be enabled to make her more comfortable and finish her education, oh God, how I would bless them that enabled me to do it!

"She allready reads, writes, and speaks Italian, French, and English, and I am teaching her German and Spanish. Music she knows, but all must yet be cultivated to perfection, and then our own language, geography, arithmetic, etc., etc., she knows. We read English, Roman, and Grecian History, but it is a great fatigue to me, as I have been ill eight months and am now in a state of convalescence; I must be very quiet.

"I have been at this farmhouse six weeks; a fine garden, common, large rooms. The ladies of the house lost four and twenty thousand francs a year because their sons would not serve the Emperor.

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

“ I have an ass for Horatia, as she wants, now she is fourteen, exercise. I go in a cart for my health. The Jaundice is leaving me, but my Broken Heart does not leave me. I have seen enough of grandeur not to regret it, but comfort and what would make Horatia and myself live like gentlewomen would be all I wish, and to live to see her well settled in the world.

“ We have excellent beef, mutton, and veal at five pence a pound, chickens a shilling for two, partridges five pence for two, and turbot per pair half a crown. Bread very cheap; milk from the cows on the Common like cream, two quarts for four sous. All our mornings are given up to studys;

we walk and dine at two, go in my cart, she on her donkey; every body very kind to us. Every Wednesday there is a dance, where all the persons of Rank and there daughters dance, a mile from this place. We pay 3 pence for going in.

“ Horatia is adored; she dances all those dances, and speaks french like a french girl. She is good, virtuous, and religious. We go to the Church of St.



LADY HAMILTON.

After a Miniature by Cosway.

Peter's, and read our prayers in French, for they are exactly like our own.

“But, my dear Sir William, without a pound in my pocket, what can I do? The 21st of October—fatal day!—I shall have some. I wrote to Davison to ask the Earl to let me have my Bronte pension quarterly instead of half-yearly, and the Earl refused, saying he was too poor, although I got the good and great Nelson that estate by means of the Queen.

“I set out from town ten weeks or more ago with not quite fifty pounds, paying our passage also out of it. Think, then, of the situation of Nelson's child and Lady Hamilton who so much contributed to the Battle of the Nile. Paid often and often out of my own pocket at Naples for to send Sir John Jervis powder, and also to Palermo for corn to save Malta.

“Indeed I have been ill-used. Lord Sidmouth is a good man, and Lord Liverpool is also an Upright Minister. Pray do, if ever Sir William Hamilton and Nelson's services were deserving, ask them to aid us.

“Think what I must feel who was used to give, God only knows, too much, and now to ask. Earl and Countess lived with me seven years. I educated Charlotte, and paid off . . . [illegible].

“I made Lord Nelson write the letter to Lord Sidmouth for the Prebendary of Canterbury, which his Lordship kindly gave, and they have never given the dear Horatia a frock nor a six pence. But no more, for you will be tired; but my heart is full.

May God bless you and yours, prays, my dear Sir William,

“Your ever grateful

“EMMA HAMILTON.

“P.S.—I again before God declare I knew not of the publication of those stolen letters, and I have taken the Sacrament on it. Horatia begs her love.”

The postscript refers to the anonymous *Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton* published in 1814, stolen from her by a man named Harrison while living under her roof to compile a Life of Lord Nelson under her directions. In the printing of them Harrison interspersed offensive sentences non-existent in original letters, also other letters that have never been seen, and which Sir Harris Nicolas openly doubted, though he used them. Another letter about them to Mr. James Perry, written from 12, Temple Place, April 22nd, 1814, equally denies knowledge of them :—

“To my great surprise I saw yesterday in the *Herald* that Lord Nelson's letters to me were published. I have not seen the book, but I give you my honour that I know nothing of these letters. I have been now nine months in Temple Place, and almost all the time I have been very ill with a bilious complaint brought on by fretting and anxiety, and lately I have kept my bed for near twelve weeks, nor have I seen any person except Dr. Watson and Mr. Tegart, who have attended me with kindness and attention, and to whose care I owe my life. About four years ago my house in Dover St. was on fire, and I was going into Sussex for 3 months,

and I left part of my papers in a case with a person whom I thought I cou'd depend on. Weather this person has made use of any of these papers or weather they are the invention of a vile mercenary wretch I know not ; but you will oblige me much by contradicting these falsehoods, and you will much gratify your grateful," etc.

All things considered, the income was insufficient, for there was only Miss Nelson's annuity wherewith to meet the expenses of daily life for both and her own education until the Bronte rental again became due. Miss Nelson herself in later years, when the wife of the Rev. Philip Ward of Tenterden, wrote to Sir Harris Nicolas, rendering justice to the memory of Lady Hamilton for conscientious expenditure of her money : " With all Lady Hamilton's faults, and she had *many*, she had many fine qualities which, had she been placed early in better hands and in different circumstances, would have made her a very superior woman. It is but justice on my part to say that through *all her* difficulties, she invariably, till the last few months, expended on my education, etc., the whole of the interest of the money left me by Lord Nelson, and which was entirely at her command."

Really upright in money matters, Lady Hamilton's life was wrecked solely because her props were suddenly withdrawn, leaving her in a vortex of debt from which she was unable to extricate herself. Nelson well knew that *she* would be faithful to the legacy that he left in her keeping, and she rigidly executed her trust in spite of difficulties that should never have existed. The

exemplary fulfilment of her duty and the expenditure of Miss Nelson's own income on a first-class education at least merit admiration.

This much must be also admitted in her favour, that the two young ladies committed entirely to her care were in after life thorough gentlewomen in every sense of the word. Miss (Lady) Charlotte Nelson, afterwards Lady Bridport, lived for five years with Lady Hamilton and studied under her direction, as also did two other nieces of Lord Nelson, the Misses Bolton. What woman bent wholly on worldly attractions would have undertaken these arduous duties or executed them so satisfactorily? Seeing which, her solicitude was asked by Lord Nelson on behalf of his little charge Horatia.

After the death of the Hon. Charles Greville, the Welsh estates which had been willed to him by his uncle Sir William Hamilton passed to his brother the Hon. R. Fulke Greville, who was warned by certain lawyers that he must not pay any money to Lady Hamilton, as she had made over her annuity for the benefit of creditors whom they represented. Uncertain how to act, he withheld payment to any one, and for some time the money accumulated in his hands. Her funds were completely exhausted, as can easily be imagined; the Rev. Earl Nelson had refused to pay even a quarter of the Bronte £500 per annum, and in this emergency she appealed to Mr. R. F. Greville to let her have £100 to go on with.

“COMMON OF ST. PIERRE, 2 MILES FROM CALAIS

“(Direct for me chez Dessin), *Sept.* 21, 1814.

“SIR,—You know that my jointure of eight hundred

pounds a year has been now for a long time Accumulating. If I was to die, I should and have left that money away, for the Annuitants have no right to have it, nor can they claim it, for I was most dreadfully imposed upon for my good nature in being bail for a person whom I thought honourable. When I came away, I came with honor, as Mr. Alderman Smith can inform you ; but mine own innocence keeps me up, and I despise all false publications and aspersions. I have given up everything to pay just debts, but Annuitants I never will. Now, Sir, let me entreat you to send me a hundred pounds, for I understand you have the money. I live very quiet in a Farm House, and my health is now quite established. Let me, Sir, beg this favour to your humble servant,

“ E. HAMILTON.”

Mr. Greville expressed his willingness to assist her if he could only be assured of the propriety of his doing so, for he knew not how to act in the face of the injunction received from the solicitors ; and as a man of business it was necessary he should protect himself against the chance of a second demand being made when the money was paid out. His answer was as follows :—

“ GT. CUMBERLAND ST., OXFORD ST.,

“ *Sept. 27th, 1814.*”

“ MADAM,—Your letter of Sept. 21 I received only by yesterday's post. It is now some time since the regular payments from me of your annuity of eight hundred pounds a year were very unexpectedly

interrupted by a notice addressed to me by professional persons, and on the ground that you had made over the greater part of the same for *pecuniary considerations received by you*, and in consequence warning me not to continue the payment of your annuity otherwise than to them to the extent of their claims. Not hearing from you in the long intermediate time which followed respecting your not receiving your payments as usual, I could scarce doubt the unpleasant statements I had received. Still, I have demurred making any payments when called on, and under existing circumstances I must not venture to make payments in *any direction* until this mysterious business is made known to me and whereby my acts by legal authority may be rendered perfectly secure to me. This done of course I shall pay arrears, and continue all Future payments *whenever they shall be due* with the same precision and *punctuality* as has hitherto *always* been maintained by me, and which were attended to *to the Day* until thus interrupted. But now, *my own Security* requires that I should clearly *know how this mysterious business actually stands* e'er I shall deem it prudent or safe for me to take a step in a case where I am resolved not to act on doubtful reports.

“I remain, Madam,

“Your obedient humble servant,

“ROBERT F. GREVILLE.”¹

It was from no spirit of malevolence that Mr. Greville detained the annuity, which could not

¹ The Morrison MSS.

have been paid to her during her detention in the King's Bench Prison. When this communication reached Calais Lady Hamilton was far advanced in the illness which terminated her life (dropsy on the chest), and there seems to have been no reply sent to Mr. R. F. Greville; and in consequence of no remittances arriving, the pawnshop, the Monte de Piété,¹ became the receptacle of her portable property, not of great value.

As her indisposition increased Miss Nelson wrote to the Rev. Earl Nelson to represent to him their straitened situation and Lady Hamilton's alarming indisposition, and to solicit an advance of her own annuity. That there was this need demonstrates forcibly that his lordship was perfectly regardless of how they were living, and as his dead brother had nobly assisted him in the rearing of his own son and daughter, common honesty demanded his protection of the child adopted by that dead brother, when he revelled in luxurious surroundings brought to him by the same death that deprived her of him to whom she would ever have been life's first consideration.

Shortly after the Battle of Trafalgar Earl Nelson and his lady were invited to a kind of political dinner at Lord Sidmouth's, where the recent victory, then the universal topic of conversation, was introduced. Among others present was Dr. Buckner, Bishop of Chichester. One of the guests remarked that the talk was ill-timed in presence of a brother of the dead hero of Trafalgar.

¹ Over a certain pawnshop in Calais, until very recently, there hung a notice that therein had Lady Hamilton pawned her property.

From delicacy the subject was considered at an end, when, to the surprise of all, Earl Nelson turned to his wife saying, "Never mind the Battle of Trafalgar, for it has made *me* an Earl and *thee* a Countess." The remark was received with general silence. The anecdote is told in old reminiscences under the heading "*Brotherly Love.*"

Lady Hamilton was not the only one to complain of Earl Nelson. Mr. Matcham in a postscript to a letter of his daughter says—date April 18th, 1814: "You have heard of the Earl's conduct: he has been as inimical to the whole family as his present means allowed. But I have no doubt the principal train of his thoughts are directed to injure as much as possible those who were loved by his brother, the good and noble lord."

No help came from the ungrateful man, and Lady Hamilton died on January 15th, 1815. The next issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* contained the sub-joined notice relative to her interment; but it was totally inaccurate, and was contradicted in the March issue: "In the village of Calais where she [Lady Hamilton] died, there was no Protestant clergyman, and no Catholic would officiate because she was a heretic; she was even refused Christian burial; no coffin was allowed, but the body was put into a sack and cast into a hole. An Englishman hearing of this barbarity had the body dug up and interred, though not in the churchyard."

The eagerness with which unfounded fables concerning Lady Hamilton are circulated is steadily on the

increase, without even a thought as to whether so much that is improbable and unnatural has any foundation. Writers are relied upon and fiction is believed to be fact; but when faced with the cry of "question" the public is fair-dealing and keen enough to separate truth from falsehood in the strangely perverted history of this woman of extraordinary power, patriotism, and kindness.

The true account of the funeral appeared in the contradiction of the false statement in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1815: "The article in page 183 relative to the interment of Lady Hamilton we have since been assured is inaccurate. Her body was not refused Christian burial on account of her religion: such an objection could not have been made, as a Catholic priest performed the last offices of prayer, and administered her the sacrament a short time before her dissolution, no Protestant Minister being at hand. The fact is that that lady having incurred many very considerable debts at Calais and its neighbourhood, no person would undertake to furnish her funeral, and she was on the point of being buried in a spot of ground appropriated to the poor, when an English merchant resident in Calais, considering the services she had formerly rendered her country and the wretched situation of the daughter of Lord Nelson (who in compliance with the wishes of her father had never left Lady Hamilton), offered to become responsible for the charges of her funeral, which was respectably performed at the *cimetière* at Calais; all the English gentlemen in Calais and its vicinity to the number of

fifty attending as mourners. The merchant above alluded to, finding that a process was commenced to detain the person of Miss Horatia Nelson for Lady Hamilton's debts, conveyed that young lady on board



MISS NELSON (HORATIA).
After a Miniature by Cosway.

a vessel for England, and on her arrival in England placed her in the hands of Mr. Matcham, the late Lord Nelson's brother-in-law, with whom she is now residing."

The English merchant was Mr. Henry Cadogan, agent at Lloyd's at Calais. His holding this situation

would account for the presence at the funeral of as many sea-captains as were in port at the time.

Among some papers sold about 1844 to an old curiosity dealer named Evans, of Maddox Street, Regent Street, by a man named Kinsey,¹ who had been in service with Alderman Smith in the offices at Southwark Town Hall, was the bill of Lady Hamilton's funeral expenses recouped to Mr. Henry Cadogan by Mr. Smith. His extreme kindness in taking upon himself this final act of humanity merits our most sincere admiration; it was the last requirement she could need, and the good Alderman had the satisfaction of supplying it.

Lady Hamilton had been received into the Roman Catholic Church shortly before her death, and there was no difficulty in obtaining a priest, as Mr. Cadogan's bill shows that the regular rites were duly performed and the burial respectable.

The bill and expenses are thus:—

“Funeral expences of the late Lady Emma Hamilton, as paid by me, Henry Cadogan, at Calais in France, Jan^y 1815.

“An oak coffin corked [caulked], Church expenses, Priests, Candells, Burial Ground, men sitting up, dressing the Body, spirits, etc., etc., £28 10s.

¹ Kinsey, to account for his possession of them, told Evans that the Alderman had made over the papers to him when in monetary difficulties. But Alderman Smith was always well off and his daughters had ample fortunes. It was Kinsey who said that Mrs. Smith had the coat Nelson wore at Trafalgar, and in the contest for it between Sir Harris Nicolas and Evans Sir Harris obtained it for the Prince Consort, who presented it to Greenwich Hospital.

“Copy of receipt to defray above.

“Received Feb^y 4, 1815, of J. J. Smith, Esq^r, the Sum of Twenty Eight pounds, ten shillings, being the amount of Funeral expences for the late Lady Emma Hamilton, at Calais in France, as paid by me,

“HENRY CADOGAN.”

The records of the municipality of Calais contain the following entry: “A.D. 1815, Janvier 15. Dame Emma Lyons, âgée de 51 ans, née à Lancashire, à Angleterre, domiciliée à Calais, fille de Henri Lyons et de Marie Kidd, Veuve de William Hamilton, est décédé le 15 Janvier, 1815, à une heure après midi au domicile du Sieur Damy, Rue Française.” The Maison Damy (afterwards Graudin), in a room of which poor Lady Hamilton breathed her last, is situated in the Rue Française, the street running parallel with the southern rampart and the *fosse*, and was numbered 111. From its aspect being due north the house was as cheerless and dreary as could well be imagined; not a ray of sunshine ever gladdened the side of the street in which it stood, or played even for an instant on the ever-shaded, cold-looking casements. From the portals of this dismal abode in the bleak month of January were the remains of this unhappy woman removed to their last resting-place under the escort of a *sergent de ville*.

Is it not a matter of deep regret that we can hear from every French gossip that the coadjutor of the saviour of our country died deprived of the nutriment necessary to sustain her rapidly failing health? This

emigrant patriot was driven by need to take refuge in their village on the coast of France, and to die in a foreign town, every native of which had just cause to deem Nelson a mortal enemy! The darling of a luxurious Court found her last resting-place in an obscure grave; the exiled patriot driven by debt to seek refuge and sleep for evermore among strangers, flying from the country she had served so faithfully, to die in the land of those whom she had helped to defeat.

The unreliability of authors on this subject is curiously exemplified in the case of Dr. Pettigrew, who when reaching this point states that he had it personally from a Mrs. Hunter, living at Brighton, that one day an interpreter at Calais, a M. de Rheims, followed Mrs. Hunter when she was residing there, and said he knew an English lady so poor that she would be glad of the dog's meat she was buying for her canine pet. She was told the lady would not consent to see her under her fallen conditions, but eventually she did so, and accepted the charity of good Mrs. Hunter, who paid her also the last offices. This appeared in Pettigrew's *Life of Nelson*, in 1847, as a personal relation to himself; but singularly in the *Annals of Calais*, published in 1832 by Mr. Robert Calton Bell, he states that M. de Rheims (who would either talk in French or speak defective English at best) told him precisely the same story in the very same words as those used by Pettigrew in his book—which is all the more curious as neither statement is true!

A wrong date was first circulated in the papers as that upon which Lady Hamilton breathed her last, January 16th being erroneous. The Hon. Robert F. Greville wrote to inquire from M. L. Michaud, Mayor of Calais, who replied that the date was January 15th, 1815. Lady Hamilton was actually dead when, not having heard from the dying woman, a creditor proceeded to institute proceedings against her, unaware that she was at rest. Mr. Henry Lloyd, 11, Chapel Place, Cavendish Square, representing the creditor, wrote to Mr. Greville: "My client has never received any answer from Lady Hamilton, consequently the suit must proceed."

Mr. Henry Cadogan, the Calais agent, did, as was stated in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, bring over Miss Horatia Nelson, disguised in boy's clothes, though she was fifteen years of age; and so they eluded the creditors who would have detained her for Lady Hamilton's debts. The situation of the poor girl's life for the last few years was cruel in the extreme; under any circumstances her trials were great, but that the countrymen of him who left her in their keeping permitted it can never be satisfactorily condoned. Months in gaol, days in an open boat tossing about on a rough sea, flying from England to France—to France! "*I also leave to the beneficence of my Country my adopted daughter Horatia Nelson Thompson.*"

Mr. Cadogan passed through London with Horatia, received his remittance from Mr. Smith for Lady Hamilton's funeral expenses, and then proceeded to Ashfold Lodge to Mr. Matcham, to whom he delivered

up Miss Nelson ; and after making a very brief stay he returned. Mr. Matcham, wishful to send him an after-thought, wrote to Mr. Haslewood, Lord Nelson's solicitor, which produced in reply the following letter—probably the most important we are in possession of, for it contains the strongest evidence that these two men—the brother-in-law and solicitor of Lord Nelson—did not regard Miss Horatia Nelson as the daughter of either Lady Hamilton or Lord Nelson. Mr. Haslewood never liked Lady Hamilton—they had disagreements over the winding-up of the estate of Sir William Hamilton ; but Mr. Haslewood was an honourable, straightforward gentleman, and though he ultimately became possessed of the secret, he never broke trust to the end of his life. This important letter, written by him directly after the death of Lady Hamilton, is an expression of private thoughts, not a line of which reveals that either he or these, his most intimate friends, regarded the young lady as the child of Lord Nelson.

“ FITZROY SQUARE, 7 Feb., 1815.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter yesterday after the post hour. To-day I have ascertained that Mr. Cadogan has left London, and I have forwarded your letter to him.

“ Miss Nelson appeared not to be in good health while she was here. The kind of life she has passed during the last two years must have given a shock to her constitution. But I trust the invigorating air breezes of Sussex will restore her bloom and increase her strength.

“What Mr. Smith spoke of as ‘sacred deposits’ he often called in his conversations with me ‘Lady Hamilton’s love letters.’ I apprehend he will not have the smallest objection to give up every paper he has which concerns Miss Nelson.

“I will see him again in a few days, and in the meantime I will write to request him to separate from the ‘sacred deposits’ any letter and other paper which belongs to Miss Nelson, to any of the family of the late Lord Nelson, or to myself, that they may be ready for me to bring away.

“I collected from Mr. Smith’s conversation that he was reluctant to communicate what he knew, or rather what he suspected (for I believe he *knows* nothing), of Miss Nelson’s history, from an apprehension of exposing her to neglect, if not to ridicule or contempt. He formed, as I told him, a most erroneous judgement of those who prided themselves on the title of Lord Nelson’s friends, and above all, a most erroneous judgement of you, if he thought that any of us could neglect, much more despise, one who, whatever might be her extraction, was most dear to our illustrious friend, if she were not in herself unworthy. I will press this upon him more closely, and have little doubt but that I shall extract all he knows and imagines, the conclusions he has formed as to Miss Nelson’s birth, and the grounds of them.

“It is, to say the least, highly improbable that Lady Hamilton should confide to Mr. Smith a secret which she carefully concealed from yourself and Mr. Rose. But I believe when warm with wine and with anger

Lady Hamilton sometimes bestowed upon Miss Nelson epithets less kind and flattering than that of Lord Nelson's child. But all this would prove nothing. Lady Hamilton had a motive in concealing Miss Nelson's origin, and she has concealed it. With our kindest regards to you all, I am ever most truly and faithfully yours,

“W^M HASLEWOOD.”

The object for concealment was most surely as Captain Hardy adjudged—the hope that a pension would ultimately be granted to Miss Nelson if it were maintained that she was the daughter of the glorious Admiral. The foregoing letter decidedly proves that the relatives of Lord Nelson by no means viewed Miss Nelson as the true daughter of his Lordship; and as to Mr. George Matcham, we must feel that, thinking, as he evidently did, that the young lady, as the adopted daughter of his famous brother, deserved the respectful treatment of relationship, his conduct in at once receiving her into his family deserves the highest commendation.

When Miss Nelson attained her seventeenth year she became engaged to a Rev. Mr. Blake. Feeling that it was hopeless to expect that Government would at this distant date assist herself, she wrote to Mr. George Rose to ask him to do her the essential favour of procuring a preferment for Mr. Blake. Mr. Rose appealed privately to the Prime Minister from Mudiford, October 29th, 1817:—

“MY DEAR LORD,—I am most deeply concerned

at the situation of the writer of the enclosure recommended to my best attention by the Hero in parting from him when he last sailed from Spithead (at which time I had never seen her), and strongly recommended to his Country in his very last moments. She will not have wherewithal to buy Cloathes on the death of Mr. Matcham. She is, it seems, engaged to be married to the gentleman she mentions, but his friends refuse their consent unless some modest preferment can be procured for him; he is now a Curate. Do you think the Chancellor could be moved for him? supposing a Pension of £200 a year be quite impossible. I hope to hear that your health is perfectly restored. I have not profited by a month's residence here as I expected."

It is to be presumed that the Chancellor was not to be moved, for we hear no more of the Rev. Mr. Blake, and on February 19th, 1822, Miss Nelson Nelson married the Rev. Philip Ward. She was married by the Rev. W. Bolton at Burnham. Naturally Mrs. Ward was anxious to have the mystery of her parentage cleared up, and in 1846 she urged Mr. Haslewood to confide it to her, as he had become possessed of the secret. He made reply:—

BRIGHTON, 26th September, 1846.

"MY DEAR MADAM,—I dare not write so fully as I could wish on the topics referred to in your kind letter of the 23rd, lest the secret which I am bound to keep should be rendered too transparent. Thus much only may be said without incurring such

risk. Your mother was well acquainted with Lady Hamilton, and saw you often during your infancy ; but soon after her marriage she went to reside at a considerable distance from London, which she never visited afterwards. Lamenting that I cannot be more communicative, I remain always, my dear Madam, faithfully yours,

“ W^m HASLEWOOD.”

To this day there are writers so prejudiced that they would insist that upright Mr. Haslewood invented the fable of the mother's marriage to screen Lady Hamilton ; but that theory is easily exploded. We have seen in his letter to Mr. Matcham that he had no great respect for Lady Hamilton, who with her mother Mrs. Cadogan nearly came to open war with him in the beginning of 1806 over the expenses of Merton alterations. Mrs. Cadogan wrote to her daughter, January 1806, about Lord Nelson's will : “ Let me know whether you have a copy of the will or not, as I understand the executors are to pay every expense for six months after the death. Pray write me word wether you have employed a lawer against Haslewood. Let me know in particular, for if you have not, I will ” ; and in February : “ I had a very canting letter from Haslewood yesterday, saying the Earl and him was coming down to-day.”

Before the appearance of Pettigrew's mischievous work the tide of public favour was flowing decidedly in favour of Lady Hamilton and Lord Nelson, and their attachment was regarded as the outcome of

circumstances that had thrown them together in no ordinary way. In reviewing Sir Harris Nicolas's *Letters and Dispatches of Lord Nelson* the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1847, remarks: "We quite agree in his conclusion that the connection between Nelson and Lady Hamilton was essentially innocent, though fatally imprudent."

Professor Laughton seems singularly contradictory in his *Nelson Memorial*, sometimes writing of Lady Hamilton as the undoubted mother of Horatia, and again varying his remarks by acknowledging that those who knew Lord Nelson best never admitted but that she was an adopted child. Writing of the omission on the part of Government to recognise Lord Nelson's last bequest, he says: "Lady Hamilton had absolutely no legal claim; and on sentimental grounds her connection with Nelson had always been denied; Horatia's parentage had never been acknowledged. It has been shown that to the last Nelson's most intimate friends believed the relations between him and Lady Hamilton to be purely platonic."

The whole of the Thompson letters inserted by Pettigrew will bear an entirely different construction to that which he put upon them—a sad story in which Nelson's attachment to the young fellow on board mentioned in the first of the series, and for whose sake he so often became childishly playful, and with whom Lady Hamilton certainly privately corresponded, works on naturally to the end, which came so soon; and when the mischances of war bereft him of his constant companion, the adoption of the child of his dead friend was the

great solace for his broken heart. For Parker's sake he played for hours with the baby girl. A week after the loss of his friend, Nelson wrote desiring that the child's portrait should be sent to him, that soon he would see the original and then would be happy, for he had nothing to raise his spirits since the death that he felt so deeply.

Mr. Haslewood may be trusted to have convicted Lady Hamilton if he could conscientiously have done so; he would have spoken when in private correspondence or conversation with the near relatives of Lord Nelson quite as openly upon the subject of her immorality as he did of her intemperance.

Lady Nelson never believed that Horatia was the daughter of her husband, nor did she, as far as we know, ever doubt his marital fidelity. Had she done so she would surely never have permitted her grandchild, a daughter of her son Josiah, to be also called "Horatia," which she did. In every way the association would be too painful; but holding the opinion that she was merely an adopted child, her bearing the same name would be of little importance to them in naming a child of their own.

Mr. Rose asked Lord Sidmouth to try and obtain a Governmental allowance for Miss Nelson within a few days after hearing of the death of Lady Hamilton at Calais, to which Lord Sidmouth replied:—

"WHITEHALL, *Feb^r ye 5th*, 1815.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You may rely upon my best efforts to obtain an allowance for the poor girl who, I conclude, is really the daughter of Lord Nelson. I

fear, however, that it will not be possible, at least at present, to reach the Amount you have named. L^d Liverpool told me a short time ago that He was completely dry. I do not believe that his Reservoir has since receiv'd a considerable (if any) supply.

“But I will *do my best*.”

“Believe me to be, my dear Sir,

“Most truly yours,

“SIDMOUTH.”

From the accounts of the Civil List in 1815 it appears that the following sums were paid to one family, Lords Castlereagh, Clancarty, and Stewart, within a period of about twelve months:—

Lord Castlereagh, Special Mission	£22,623	
Salary as Secretary of State .	6,000	£28,623
Lord Clancarty, Special Mission .	£16,473	
Salary as Postmaster	2,500	£18,973
Lord Stewart, Embassy to Vienna and outfit		£10,112

Thus this one family received £57,708 in the course of *one* year for their eminent services. This at least cannot be called the cheap defence of nations, and it blighted minor claims upon the country.

The rewriting of this old history has been undertaken with no view of prolonging an argument, but rather to place before readers much that has been untold; and for want of the telling sadly virulent stories are so deeply taking root that perhaps none may ever again attempt the task of thorough investigation, and the brightest and most honourable of reputations may

thus remain for ever tarnished. The hitherto untold matter is now brought within the range of readers who could not spare time to make research; it is done in full confidence that with them lies the ultimate verdict as to whether or no much that was good has not been



GENERAL SUWARROW.

wilfully or ignorantly omitted from the more recent biographies of Lord Nelson; and it is to be hoped that no opposing review will be accepted unless accompanied by proofs, which the author of this work has endeavoured to produce as far as possible. Surely enough has been brought forward to show that

Horatia Nelson Thompson was not the daughter of Lady Hamilton ; and if Mr. Haslewood, Mr. Matcham, and the Hon. George Rose did not for a moment entertain the idea, though living contemporary and in close friendship with Lord Nelson, how can biographers be allowed to proceed on their one-sided course without producing existing combative evidence ?

Lieutenant Parsons, formerly signal mate of the *Foudroyant*, when Sir William and Lady Hamilton made voyages in her to Malta and elsewhere, wrote of Lady Hamilton from personal observation under many opportunities : " This lady's talents and virtues were manifold ; her vices proceeded from unfavourable circumstances to which in some degree we are all victims. This noble but unfortunate lady has been most grossly calumniated ; she served her country with unwearied zeal and activity, and in a greater degree than any female ever before had the power."

When this woman has shown by acts and writings that the honour and safety of our country were nearest to her heart in spite of many weaknesses and follies, we cannot but feel indignant at the cruelly ungrateful efforts that have been made to blot out her past services and even memory from the page of history.

With a firm grasp of facts the pen is little likely to evaporate fancies or to write bubbling over with spleen. If the life of Lady Hamilton cannot be altogether coloured with golden memories, it is uncharitable to turn over every historical dust-heap in order to find a calumnious deterrent from thorough honest historical investigation, thus leaving the character and reputation

at the mercy of those who would blot out the remembrance of her splendid abilities from rightful recognition.

For two years did she share the anxieties of naval warfare, and was the only trusted ally in whom confidence could absolutely be reposed without fear of betrayal. She translated the business of the fleet from one language to another, and prepared it for conveyance to England ; she actually wrote in French better than in English, which latter she never accomplished to perfection. Though a fluent writer the words were frequently misspelt, which does not appear in her French correspondence, of which the subjoined is a sample. It is a portion of a letter written by Lady Hamilton, the beginning of which is missing ; the page is numbered 6.¹

“ Eternellement ici soupirant après l'enfant de signer son Contrat d'épouser sa future et surtout s'en retourner en Italie un jour. On dit qu'il faut se presser et que l'on va tout conclure. Le lendemain l'on renvoie tout à après la paix. On observe à peu près les mêmes phases à l'égard du mariage de l'enfant d'Antoine mais avec la différence que sa santé de sa future deperit tous les jours ; à vue d'œils cette malheureux princesse a toujours un humeur (suite de la petite verole) que la tracasse, l'affoiblit et finera probablement par l'emporter. Cet état de Longeur n'est pas une maladie mais un mal-aise chronique qui consume insensiblement. Enfin, Madame, dans les grandes comme dans les petites choses reconnoitra toujours ici la même Caractéristique

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq.

dominante, et les memes inconvenients. Comment cela finerat-il ? ”

A visitor passing through Calais in September 1816 sought for the grave of Lady Hamilton, but was not able to find it. He describes the burial-ground : “ It does not appear as with us that a person secures a portion of the burying-ground for himself and his family, but the corpses are buried side by side indiscriminately in a row until that row is full, and another is then commenced. There are some few memorials, chiefly on wooden crosses, and here and there a flat marble stone. The burying-ground is merely an open field subjected to the ravages of man and beast.”

In time, a stone was placed over the grave of Lady Hamilton, with a Latin inscription, which remained until 1833, when grave and stone were lost in the altered character of the place. When Dr. William Beattie visited Calais, in 1831, he found the stone partially defaced, very little of the Latin inscription being traceable. His soul was exercised as he stood in the midst of that desecrated ground and viewed the ignominious end of that once idolised woman. He penned the following lines in that scene of neglect and decay :—

And here is one, a nameless grave ; the grass
Waves dank and dismal o'er its crumbling mass
Of mortal elements. The wintry sedge
Weeps, drooping o'er the rampart's watery edge.
The rustling reed, the darkly rippling wave,
Announce the tenant of that lowly grave.

Nelson's friendships

Crushed in a pauper's shell, the earth scarce heaves
 Above the trodden breast. The turf scarce leaves
 One lingering token that the stranger found
 "Ashes for hope" in that unhallowed ground,
 And "dust for mourning." Levelled with the soil
 The wasting worm hath revelled in its spoil—
 The spoil of beauty. This the poor remains
 Of one who, living, could command the strains
 Of flattery's harp and pen! where incense, flung
 From venal breath, upon her altar hung
 A halo; while in loveliness supreme
 She moved in brightness like the embodied dream
 Of some rapt minstrel's warm imaginings,
 The more than form and face of earthly things.
 Ah! when has heart so warm, have hopes so fair,
 Been crushed amidst the darkness of despair.
 With broken heart, and head in sorrow bowed,
 Hers was the midnight bier and borrowed shroud.

Few bend them at thy bier, unhappy one :
 All knew thy shame, thy mental sufferings none.
 All knew thy frailties, all thou wast and art ;
 But thine were faults of circumstance, not heart.
 Thy soul was formed to bless and to be blessed
 With that immortal boon a guiltless heart,
 And be what others seem. Had bounteous Heaven
 Less beauty lent, or stronger virtue given,
 The frugal matron of some lowlier hearth
 Thou hadst not known the splendid woes of earth ;
 Dispensing happiness, and happy there,
 Thou hadst not known the curse of being fair ;
 But like yon lonely vesper star, thy light,
 Thy love, had been as pure as it was bright.

I've met thy pictured bust in many lands ;
 I've seen the stranger pause—with lifted hands—
 In deep, mute admiration, while his eye
 Dwelt sparkling on thy peerless symmetry.

I've seen the poet, painter, sculptor's gaze
Speak with rapt glance their eloquence of praise.
I've seen thee as a gem in Royal Halls
Stoop like presiding angel from the walls,
And only less than worshipped; yet 'tis come
To this, when all but Slander's voice is dumb,
And they who gazed upon thy living face
Can hardly find thy mortal resting-place.

The perusal of these touching lines must impress the reader that the dead woman had been deeply loved and respected by her associates. Her own bright and winning nature surrounded her with a halo of love which held both sexes captive as with enchanted chains.

The sleep of death is given in mercy, and the future concealed in loving kindness. Had the struggling career that was in store for his two dear ones been suggested to Lord Nelson, would not his death agonies have been increased a hundredfold? Better that he should die as he did in trusting reliance on his fellow-men that they would care for those whom he bequeathed to them in the terrible pangs of death.

The letters of Lady Hamilton and the Hon. C. F. Greville, at present in the possession of the representatives of the late Alfred Morrison, Esq., of Fonthill House, Wiltshire, belonged to the Hon. Edward H. Finch Hatton, who lent them to the late Lord Lytton for perusal. His summary in returning them is noteworthy, his valuable criticism being in itself a brief eulogy. He wrote:—

“MY DEAR SIR,—I return you with many thanks the papers you have so kindly lent me. They are

deeply interesting. I know not when I have been equally attracted by any biographical study. For the letters of Lady Hamilton are the epitomized history of a very remarkable woman, and a very marvellous career. Emerging from a position so poor and lowly, occupying for so many years a position so brilliant and eminent, and dying down once more into poverty and contempt. I quite agree with you, that Lady Hamilton was not as black as she has been painted. Her letters to Greville are in part extremely touching, evince great warmth of affection, great goodness of heart, and flashes of native talent as well as generosity, contrasting all defects of education and rearing.

“There is something very curious in the condition of morals and manners in that day. . . . One can see that she must have had wonderful attractions besides beauty, and that she seems to have taken great pains to accomplish herself. Poor woman, one cannot but pity her. The study of so singular a life is a new insight into character. I wish it could be completed by a better or clearer knowledge of her connection with Nelson from the beginning to end.

“To judge by the house bills at Merton, she must have been accustomed to a very uneconomical mode of life, and one may guess how the £800 a year came to grief. With repeated thanks for the great treat you have afforded me, believe me truly, yours obliged,

“LYTTON.

“*Saturday Night,*

“ARGYLE HALL, TORQUAY.”

BOOK VI.

Burial of the Countess Nelson in St. Paul's—Funeral of her son, Viscount Trafalgar—The Rev. Earl Nelson and the pretty young widow—He meets with his match—His interment in St. Paul's—His monument in Somersetshire—A pertinent query—The burial of the Duke of Wellington—His sarcophagus—The second Earl Nelson—Viscountess Nelson's unpleasant experience—An old superstition—The little Viscountess fails as a matchmaker—Her want of heart—Her death and cenotaph—Nelson's noble-minded father—The Horatia Nelson Ward Fund in 1855—Death of the Queen of Sicily—Marriage of her husband fifty days later—Sir Thomas Troubridge—The Hon. Sir Henry Blackwood, K.C.B.—Sir Thomas Hardy—Lieut. William Rivers—Mr. Walter Burke—Commodore John Yule, R.N.—Nelson's coxswain, Sykes—His favourite boatswain, Thomas Carter—J. C. Holding, Esq., collector of Nelsoniana—Peter Moser, captain of the maintop of the Victory—Mr. Michael Austin—Joseph Gillman—Tom Allen—Captain Dani—How William Scarlet lost his pension—The memoranda of James Smith, "Remember Nelson"—Homage to Nelson's portrait—Captain Pierce—The last survivor of the Phipps Expedition to the Arctic Regions—Nelly Giles—An interesting ceremony—Grave of Dr. Gillespie—The Victory—The Foudroyant—The Téméraire—Mr. John Charles Blackett.

BOOK VI.

THE story which centres round the chief friendships may be said to have ended with the death of Lady Hamilton ; but a more general feeling of satisfaction will be given by the insertion of the after lives of others, who have been prominent in the interesting scenes through which they passed with the principal actors ; and for this reason a few interesting details of these and some of Nelson's sea-mates cannot but prove acceptable additions to the ever welcome history of our great sea-fights, and of those who fought in them.

Few have been more closely connected with each individual character than Sarah, Countess Nelson, wife to the Rev. Earl Nelson. She died on April 15th, 1828, aged seventy-eight years, their married life covering a period of forty-two years. Little did the young bride (daughter of a country clergyman) dream on her wedding day that her brows would ever wear a coronet. She was buried in the Nelson vault in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the bill for fees and sundry expenses in connection with her interment has an interest in itself ; and one item, " Cardinal officiating," for the sum of one guinea, suggests the query as to what out-of-date office he could have held. The bill

is in possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea, to whose kind loans we are indebted for so much that is new in this work.

“To the Right Hon^{ble} the Executors of the Countess Nelson, etc., etc. Fees and sundry expenses for the Burial of the Countess Nelson in the Vaults of St. Paul's Cathedral.

	£	s.	d.
The Ground, etc.	30	0	0
The Sacrist	1	6	8
The Vergers	2	13	4
Cardinal officiating	1	1	0
Clerk of the Works	1	6	8
The Bell Ringers	13	4	
The Knell	13	4	
Candles, etc.	15	0	
Brick grave with all materials, etc. Labour, carrying out spare earth, Carting away, etc.	19	10	6½
To Portland Ledger, Yorkshire Paving, Labour, Candles, etc., etc.	17	3	9½
A Labourer 6 days' attending and assisting and letting the Workmen in and out of the Vaults, etc., etc., 3s. 6d.	1	1	0
Vergers as desired, 10s. 6d. each	1	11	6
Myself (Lingard)	5	2	0
Two sets fittings	5	5	0
	88	3	2
	4	6	2
	£92	9	4

5 Silk Hatbands, and 5 pairs kid gloves for the Vergers, the Clerk of the Works, and 2 Door Keepers.”

From Earl Nelson to the Dean of St. Paul's in reference to the foregoing bill :—

"23, PORTMAN SQUARE, *May 23, 1828.*

"MY LORD,¹—Mr. Marshall, my Upholsterer and Undertaker, having informed me that you had ordered him not to pay any fees before they had been submitted to you for your approval, I think it respectful to your Lordship as Dean to send Mr. Lingard's bill for your perusal.

"The moment I receive your fiat I am ready to pay it. I have no objection to make to it. I merely wish to have your sanction.

"All relating to digging the Vault and covering over no doubt is no more than was actually paid. I called at the Deanery this morning in the hope of seeing you, but not being so fortunate as to find you at home I take the liberty of sending the inclosed.

"I have the honor to remain, with great respect,
Your Lordship's most obliged and obedient Servant,

"NELSON."

The remains of Sarah, Countess Nelson were followed to the grave only by her son-in-law Lord Bridport, her nephews Messrs. Matcham and Yonge, Lord Nelson's solicitor, and two female domestics.

An equally economical attendance was observed at the obsequies of her Ladyship's only son, Viscount Trafalgar, as regards mourners. He died at the early age of nineteen years from typhus fever, on January 17th, 1808. He had gone to London with his parents for medical advice to combat an indisposition of which he first complained on the previous December 26th, but

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

he rapidly became worse, and died as stated on January 17th, 1808, at Warne's Hotel, Conduit Street. On the 25th his body was laid in a coffin covered with crimson velvet ornamented with silver coronets and nails, and was conveyed to St. Paul's, followed in the first coach by the Rev. William Yonge, Archdeacon of Norwich (his maternal uncle) as chief mourner, and Mr. Alexander Davison and Mr. Haslewood's carriages. Two servants stood behind the carriages of Earl Nelson, Mr. Davison, and Mr. Haslewood wearing black silk hatbands and white gloves. The second coach was occupied by the servants of the young Viscount. At a quarter past four his remains were lowered into the vault near to his uncle's—the uncle who had hoped he would succeed to the titles which he himself had so honourably earned. The Bishop of Chester performed the funeral ceremony.

Earl Nelson married again within a year from the date of the death of his amiable Countess. The lady of his choice was Hilare, third daughter of Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Barlow, K.C.B., by Elizabeth his wife, second daughter of William Garret of Worthington, Co. Hants. She was a widow, having married February 27th, 1817, her cousin, George Ulric Barlow, Captain of the 4th Dragoons, son of Sir George Hilario Barlow, Bart., born October 8th, 1791, and died, in India, June 29th, 1824.

The marriage between the Rev. Earl Nelson and Mrs. Barlow took place March 26th, 1829, at St. George's Church, Hanover Square. The bride came of a family who had been in affluent circumstances, but



THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HILARE, COUNTESS DOWAGER NELSON.

Painted by Hoppner.

were reduced by adverse fortunes. The Earl proposed several times before he was accepted. The lively widow was twenty-eight years of age, while the would-be bridegroom was seventy. When induced to accept him, the Earl made upon her a most liberal settlement

of his house in Portman Square and £4,000 a year : her income previous to this good offer was only £150 a year.

In personal appearance the Earl was described as somewhat of a character, rather stout and short, wearing a long black frock coat nearly down to his heels, Hessian boots, and a large shovel hat.

He died February 28th, 1835, and his remains were interred in the same tomb as his honoured brother the Admiral in the crypt in St. Paul's Cathedral ; and in the Parish Church in Somerset near Lord Bridport's estate, to whom Lady Charlotte, the Earl's only surviving issue, was married, a beautifully executed monument in white marble was erected to his memory against the north wall of the chancel, interesting as the earthly memento of one who had studied self during life in no mean degree. The reclining figure of the Rev. Earl in full canonicals contemplates an ascending angel above, and in one hand he holds an open book.

The trespass of his interment in his brother's tomb caused a difficulty upon the death of the Duke of Wellington, the Waterloo hero whose remains it was desired to deposit alongside the naval victor in St. Paul's. It was thought that the national heroes should lie side by side, with the Cardinal's sarcophagus as the memorial of both. The *Times* said : " Nelson's tomb, surmounted by an empty sarcophagus, occupies the place of chief honour. A very simple expedient, which would involve no unseemly disturbance of the repose of the dead, might enable the mighty chiefs to be laid side by side, with recording tablets of bronze over each, Cardinal Wolsey's sarcophagus still

resting in the centre. To do this, all that is required is to remove a tablet to the memory of Earl Nelson, very improperly affixed to the granite facing of his immortal brother's tomb." But it was found that the body of Earl Nelson had taken up the last available space. While the matter was under consideration the coffin of the great Duke lay on the top of the sarcophagus of Lord Nelson's tomb, until it was buried twenty yards to the east of it, and a special monument was erected to his memory. While the final resting-place was under discussion, a query appeared, "Why should not the remains of this worthy member of the Church Militant be translated from their present unauthorised position, and placed beneath his own beautifully executed monument?"

The following account of the sarcophagus of the Duke of Wellington which the trespass of the Earl's remains necessitated will be read with interest. It was written by Mr. E. J. Treffry, of Fowey, Cornwall. "The Great Duke's Sarcophagus now in St. Paul's was wrought and polished by steam power in the parish of Luxulyan in this county, in the field in which the huge 'boulder' stone of porphyry, weighing upwards of 70 tons, nearly the whole of it above the surface of the ground, had been standing for ages. It is not a figure of speech but a fact that the Continent had been searched in vain for a sepulchral stone sufficiently grand for a Sarcophagus that should contain the mortal remains of the dead Duke. That stone was at last found in Cornwall, and the whole of the work was executed by workmen in the employ of the

Treffry estate, whose representatives were entrusted with the matter throughout." The cost of this unparalleled tomb was £1,100. Both naval and military commanders during the fierce contest that disturbed Europe in the first quarter of the present century lie in close proximity in death, though they met but once in life.

The widowed Countess Nelson married for her third husband, February 7th, 1837, George Thomas Knight, Esq., second son of Edward Austin, Esq., who afterwards assumed the name of Knight, of Godmersham Park,¹ Co. Kent. Her Ladyship died suddenly at Paris on December 28th, 1858, Mr. Knight surviving her.

The second Earl Nelson (Thomas Bolton), was the eldest son of Thomas Bolton, Esq., sometime of Cranwich and afterwards of Wells, Co. Norfolk, by Susannah, eldest daughter of the Rev. Edmund Nelson, and was born July 7th, 1786. He was educated at the High School, Norwich, under Dr. Foster; finished at St. Peter's, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. 1811, M.A. 1814. It will be remembered that his uncle Lord Nelson defrayed the College expenses of "Tom," and intended to do the same for Horatio, the son of his brother William.

¹ It is curious that a predecessor of Mr. Knight at Godmersham Park likewise changed his name on attaining the property, in the person of Mr. Thomas Knight, who died at Godmersham January 26th, 1781. Born Brodnax, he in early life assumed the name of May, and afterwards by a statute of 9 George II. he took the surname of Knight, which caused a facetious M.P. to propose "a general Bill to enable Mr. Knight to take what name he pleased."

Mr. Bolton was Sheriff of Wilts in 1834, and succeeded his uncle William as second Earl Nelson in February 1835, enjoying the honours but for a brief span, for he died on November 11th, in the same year, at his residence Brickworth House, near Salisbury. He was buried in the church at Trafalgar, and his eldest son Horatio, born in 1823, succeeded to the Earldom.

A beautiful monument to his memory, executed by Mr. Osmond of Salisbury, is placed in the Chapel at Trafalgar Park. He is remembered as affectionate to wife, children, and relatives; considerate and indulgent to his dependents; and he bore with exemplary patience the illness which removed him from the exalted position he would so worthily have occupied.

It is remarkable that Thomas, second Earl Nelson, married Frances Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Maurice Eyre, Esq., the lineal descendant of the former lords of the manor, by name Bocklands, who were the ancient possessors of the estate of Stanlynch, purchased for the family of Lord Nelson by the nation, and converted into Trafalgar Park; thus when the third Earl succeeded, the property devolved again to the blood of its former owners, through his mother, formerly Miss F. E. Eyre.

Mr. Bolton, who married the Admiral's sister Susannah, died at Burnham Market in December 1834, aged eighty-three years. Mrs. Bolton died July 13th, 1813. Her daughter Lady Bolton lamented her to Lady Hamilton: "She was always in the way to hear our little distresses, and to relieve them if in her

power ; if not to sympathise with us. What a void her death has made in our once cheerful circle."

We have already given a sketch of the life of Mr. George Matcham, scientist and inventor, of Ashfold Lodge, Surrey, who, on February 26th, 1787, at Bath, married Miss Catherine Nelson, youngest daughter of the Rev. Edmund Nelson, Rector of Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, his own mother then a widow living at Enfield. It will thus be seen that this couple were united in matrimony only about a fortnight before the bride's brother, Captain Nelson of the *Boreas*, was married to the widow of Dr. Josiah Nisbet at Nevis in the West Indies. Mr. and Mrs. Matcham had a most happy married life of forty-six years, the lady surviving.

Mr. Matcham passed through old age without infirmity of body or depression of spirits, and he quietly expired on February 3rd, 1833, at his residence in Kensington, to which he had removed from his fine estate Ashfold Lodge, Sussex ; he was in the seventy-ninth year of his age. His good wife died also at Kensington on March 28th, 1842.

Mr. and Mrs. Matcham had issue, three sons and five daughters. Their eldest son, William George Matcham, Esq. D.C.L., was partial to antiquarian pursuits, and when Sir Richard Colt Hoare published the modern *History of Wilts* Dr. Matcham contributed those portions of the work which are devoted to the hundred of Downton and Trustfield. He died on January 18th, 1877, ripe in years, having followed directly in the footsteps of his gifted father as an

accomplished and useful country gentleman. His son, Mr. Eyre Matcham, resides at Newhouse, Downton.

The other brothers and sisters of the great Lord Nelson were Maurice, who died without issue in 1801, aged forty-eight, and whose portrait we give; Edmund, who died unmarried, 1789, aged twenty-seven; Suckling, who died unmarried, 1799, aged thirty-five, and Miss Anne Nelson (Nanny, as Captain Nelson called her) who died at Bath in 1783, aged twenty-three, after a nine days' illness caused by coming out of a ball-room immediately after dancing. The Nelson family were much upset by the death of their sister Anne, and some anxiety was expressed by Captain Nelson as to the future of Miss Kate Nelson, and the father's health, which he feared would suffer from the shock. He wrote to his brother William from St. Omer, December 1783, that if the Rev. Edmund Nelson should die he would at once go to England and most probably fix in some place "that shall be most for poor Kitty's advantage. My small income shall always be at her service, and she shall never want a protector and a sincere friend while I exist."

Lady Nelson, in the year 1824, had an unpleasant experience with her bankers, Messrs. Marsh, Creed, & Co., Berners Street, through the medium of their acting partner Mr. Henry Fauntleroy, who on October 30th, 1824, was tried for forgery. In the list of amounts for which he had forged powers of attorney and sold out without the knowledge of his partners occurred the name of Lady Nelson for £11,995 Consols. He had kept up the payment of the Dividends until an

individual case exposed his frauds, for which offences the capital sentence of the law was carried out on November 30th, 1824, though strenuous exertions were made to save his life.

At a meeting of the creditors of Messrs. Marsh, Creed, & Co. on September 28th, 1824, it was found they were able to pay twenty shillings in the pound and leave a balance to themselves of from £80,000 to £100,000. Mr. Marsh was getting on in years and attended but little to the banking business, leaving the general overlooking to Mr. Fauntleroy, who availed himself of this trust to betray it.

It is remarkable that in the person of Mr. Henry Fauntleroy an old superstition was carried out. During the year which brought his career of fraud to a close a party of twelve sat down to dine, there still remaining one vacant chair waiting for an expected guest. A person in the company remarked that *he* would not like to occupy it. The door opened, Mr. Henry Fauntleroy was announced, he seated himself on the thirteenth chair, and within the year—was hanged!

The widow of our great Admiral mostly resided at fashionable watering-places or inland summer haunts frequented by the best society, such as Brighton or Clifton, and for some years in the first quarter of this century she resided at 8, The Beacon, Exmouth, Devon. The house she occupied was in the best situation, whence a lovely view of the sea and the Devonshire coast could be obtained; it was the largest in a terrace, a long low house with really good rooms, and still is occupied by persons in good condition in life.

It is strange that portraits of Lady Nelson are so scarce, indeed it has often been said that there was no portrait of her in existence, yet she was acquainted with Sir William Beechey and with Abbott, and a few lines in the Morrison Collection of MSS. written by her show that she was interested in fine art: "Lady Nelson will be obliged to Mr. Mead to allow her the pleasure of showing his portraits, etc., to some of her friends to-morrow at 1 O'Clock." She was *petite* in figure, and Mrs. Matcham used to refer to her as "the little Viscountess."

When Lady Nelson lived at Exmouth a lady who afterwards attained notoriety, and who was even then living in a situation which would prohibit her reception in good society that valued itself, by name "Mrs. Mary Anne Clarke," also resided there. A lady of quality, corresponding in the *Court Circular*, August 28th, 1830, says that her connection with royalty was then unknown, but the immense quantity of letters that she daily received, mostly franked, excited a suspicion, and, adds the lady, "I shortly afterwards learned the truth from Lady Nelson."

The same writer discloses the secret marriage which Captain Nisbet had contracted unknown to his mother, with whom he had lived from the time of Lord Nelson's death. She daily begged him to get married, for the Captain was getting on in life and he was her only descendant. She would urge, "Now, my dear son, do marry. There are Miss Okes, Miss Ducazel, and Miss Turquand, all fine girls and fine fortunes. I beg and entreat you will marry." The Captain

seemed not to heed until one evening the same conversation was resumed, and the Viscountess perceiving that her arguments failed to convince assumed an authoritative tone: "Josiah, I your mother lay my commands on you to marry." Worked up by her manner her son replied with an unexpected admission, "Madam, your commands are obeyed"; and turning to a pretty girl who was sitting by Lady Nelson on the sofa—her Ladyship's companion and goddaughter—he said, "Lady Nelson, there is Mrs. Nisbet. Fanny my love, kiss your mother."

In Trewman's *Flying Post*, March 31st, 1819, there appears the following announcement of Captain Josiah Nisbet's marriage: "This morning Capt. Josiah Nisbet, Royal Navy, to Frances Herbert, fourth daughter of Herbert Evans, Esq^r., of Eagle's Bush and Kilvey Mount, in the Co. of Glamorgan, S. Wales."

Lady Nelson could not have long remained ignorant of the secret marriage, as the public announcement was inserted in the leading monthlies of the day, in the issues following the month in which the wedding took place; though most probably the confession took place shortly after the ceremony.

Lady Nelson seems to pass out of history from the time of the death of her glorious husband, the sacrifice of whose life brought to her the handsome pension of £2,000 a year. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* we are told that Lady Nelson lived quietly in Clarges Street, keeping on friendly terms with the brother of her late husband, the new Earl—no great criterion. The ladies of the family had held no com-

munication with her for some years, but Mr. and Mrs. Matcham eventually renewed acquaintance after Lord Nelson's death.

Lady Nelson has given some distinct evidences of want of feeling in her choice of residences : Clarges Street, sacred to the Hamiltons, found in her a tenant ; but still more extraordinary was her residence in Paris in 1830, where she, her son Captain Nisbet, his wife and their children, occupied a house on the Quai Voltaire. In the height of the Revolution the French made practical demonstration of their hatred of the English by severely molesting the resident English. Lady Caroline Capel, who ventured out, was repeatedly shot at, and so were others. On July 14th, 1830, the mob broke into the house of Lady Nelson on the Quai Voltaire, but retired on finding the family in deep mourning, for Josiah Nisbet lay dead in the house.

Lady Nelson at once returned to England with the widow and her grandchildren, and they settled at the Sea House Hotel, Brighton, her old haunt.

The fact of Lady Nelson exhibiting such thorough want of heart as even to enter Paris under the specially disastrous circumstances with which she had been so closely connected cannot enlist her any sympathy even from those inclined towards her. The true aim of a Frenchman's bullet had cost her husband his life, and brought her a handsome income from the British Government, and it surely showed absence of sentiment, that she should select as a place of residence the capital of the country which was at one time our

bitterest enemy, war with whom had cost our nation millions of pounds and the lives of so many brave men, including that of her noble husband, whose provision for her by will should have conjured up a better feeling towards a dead hero, who had honourably done his duty to her in his bequests, giving her the first claims as Lady Nelson, his wife!

When her Ladyship arrived at Brighton, the Duke of Clarence had just succeeded to the throne of England as King William IV.; he and Queen Adelaide were taking a holiday at the seaside, residing at the famous Pavilion.

One morning in September his Majesty went out in a carriage unattended, and made calls upon Lady Nelson (for he had given her away as a bride to Captain Nelson), and also upon Mrs. Holloway, widow of Admiral Holloway, with whom the royal seaman had served as a midshipman. At Christmas the name of Lady Nelson appears among those who called at the Pavilion.

If it had not been for the terrors of the French Revolution Viscountess Nelson might have ended her own days in Paris, for her death followed that of her son very closely, occurring on Wednesday, May 6th, 1831, in Upper Harley Street, London, only nine months after her return to England. On the following Monday by her own desire her remains were taken down to Devonshire and buried in the same grave as her son Captain Nisbet, in the south-east corner of the churchyard of SS. Margaret and Andrew at Littleham.

The grave is marked by a Portland stone sarcophagus, an oblong urn of Greek-like design, one of the finials on a corner knocked off, surrounded by clumsy rusty iron railings, and though Littleham Churchyard is usually well kept the corner where Lady Nelson's remains repose is neglected and weed-grown. The inscription on the body stone runs :—

“Underneath are deposited the remains of Frances Herbert Viscountess Nelson, Duchess of Bronté [spelt Bronti], who departed this life on the 6th of May, 1831, aged 73 years. And also her son Josiah, who departed this life on the 14th of July, 1830, aged fifty years. And also four of his children—Horatio Woollward, Herbert Josiah, Sarah, and Josiah—all of whom died young.”

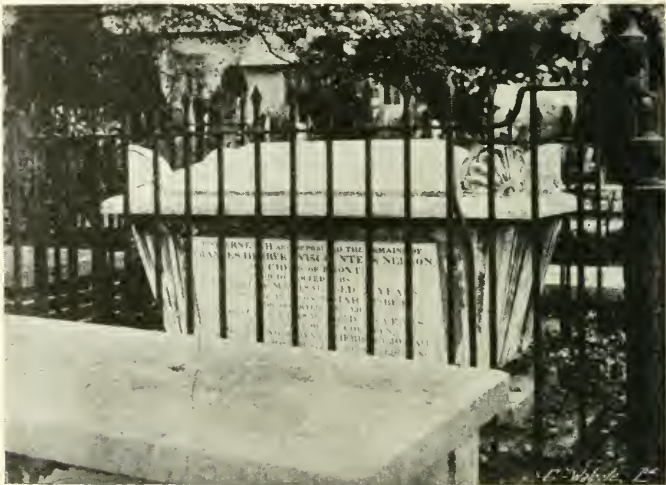
In the south chancel aisle of the church upon the eastern wall is a cenotaph to the memory of Lady Nelson. It is of white marble, with inverted torches carved in high relief at either side of it. On the top of the actual slab a weeping female kneels resting her head on her right hand ; close by are two heraldic urns, over which a palm-branch is laid. Upon one of these urns is a shield with coat-of-arms, on the other a crest. The inscription runs :—

“Sacred to the memory of Frances Herbert Viscountess Nelson, Duchess of Bronté, widow of the late Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, and to her son Josiah Nisbet, Esq^r, Captain in the Royal Navy, whom she survived eleven months, and died in London May 6, 1831, aged seventy-three years. This humble offering of affection is erected by Frances Herbert

Nisbet in grateful remembrance of those virtues which adorned a kind mother-in-law and a good husband."

This cenotaph is by Turnerelli, the great sculptor.

Lady Nelson's remains were followed to their resting-place by Lord Bridport, General Egerton, and other



TOMB OF VISCOUNTESS NELSON IN LITTLEHAM CHURCHYARD, DEVONSHIRE.--

From photograph by Harry J. Hems, Jun., Exeter, 1896.

relatives and friends of the deceased lady, and a long line of carriages, including those of Lords Nelson and Vernon, Sir Thomas Hardy, etc.

Mrs. Josiah Nisbet appears to have been a devoted wife and an amiable daughter-in-law.

It is singular that no inscription upon the tomb wherein this good lady is interred with her husband and mother-in-law, up to the present date and close

on thirty-four years after her death, records her interment. Instructions have, however, been recently received by Mr. Ward of the Monumental Works, St. Andrews Road, Exmouth, to inscribe the following words on the mural tablet in Littleham Church already erected to the memory of Lord Nelson's widow: "In the adjoining churchyard was also laid the body of Frances Herbert, widow of Captain Josiah Nisbet, R.N., who died 15th of January, 1864; aged 72. In Hope."

Some special mention must be here made of the great Admiral's father. The Rev. Edmund Nelson was evidently a quiet-natured, God-fearing man, of very high principle and spotless character—a man with full faith in the honour of his children and friends, and with much that was chivalrous and knightly ingrained in his nature; an admirable character in every relation of life. Think of the beautiful humility of soul which caused him in his later years to burn the sermons he had spent so much of his life in writing. An honourable, upright, sensible, patient man, who must have passed many an anxious hour when training his young motherless family.

An anecdote is told of Nelson's schooldays which illustrates the commendable method of forming character employed by his father. He and his brother William had set off for school on their ponies, but finding that a great deal of snow had fallen, they returned home. William told his father that the snow was too deep for them to venture. The father replied that if such were the case they need not go; "but,"

he added, "make another attempt. I will leave it to your honour." The boys accordingly started again, meeting with many difficulties which might have afforded excuse for returning home, but to the remonstrances of William the younger boy replied: "We have no excuse; remember, brother, it was left to our honour." Nothing he liked better than the performance of any act that entailed an amount of risk or enterprise. One Christmas Eve he laid a wager that, despite a snowstorm that was raging, he would go within a given time from the rectory to the churchyard and back again, bearing evidence of the accomplishment of his task by bringing a sprig from a low, bushy yew tree (which yet stands and bears berry) that grew on the south side of the church near the tower. The churchyard was at some distance, and the surroundings were dreary and far from the road. As the time in which he ought to have returned was far exceeded, his relatives grew anxious, and went in search of him. It was well that they did so, for he had sunk into deep snow, and had he not been rescued would have lost his life.

When Nelson was between nine and eleven years of age, he twice accompanied his father to church to act as witness to marriages. The first occasion on which he thus signed his name he did so in a carefully rounded schoolboy hand; but on the second time he put a little more dash into it, and wrongly subscribed his Christian name, for he wrote "Horace Nelson," thus showing that he was more frequently called Horace than Horatio by his relatives. The precise rector,

however, corrected the error, for in the register the "ce" is erased, and "tio" written above in the big characters which mark the father's calligraphy.

There is in existence the most deeply interesting manuscript imaginable, written by the father of Nelson in his quiet Norfolk home in 1781, when his thoughts were evidently occupied in trying to foresee what the future might bring to the sons and daughters whom he loved so dearly, and whose kindnesses—as he said in a letter to Lord Nelson twenty years after this manuscript was written—"are a cordial for old age such as few parents can boast of." This manuscript is entitled "A Family Historical Register, by Edmund Nelson, Rector of Burnham Thorpe, 1781," and in it the worthy rector has written down the most careful particulars of every ancestor, relative, and connection, apparently, which he knows he and his family possess. It is a wonderfully conscientious piece of work, written before fame had gilded the name of Nelson, and it forms the best monument its noble-hearted writer could have. It is impossible to reprint it here in its entirety, and it would be unfair to the memory of its writer to make extracts from it. We give two Tables of Descent drawn up by another relative of Nelson's, in which that hero is shown to be a descendant of Edward I. by different lines.¹ But these historical and genealogical curios, which are full of the names of royal and illustrious progenitors, are sadly wanting in the living human interest which pulsates through the pages of the Rev. Edmund

¹ Appendix.

Nelson's Register. The people he has named live and will live for ever in the memories of all those who are fortunate enough to read the Register, and while it exists its writer will live also ; for it is impossible to separate the man, Edmund Nelson, from his conscientious and honourable piece of work.

Nelson's intense and never-out-of-mind affection for his father is constantly felt by every reader of his letters or writer of his biography. It will be remembered that Nelson went as cockswain to Admiral—then Captain—Lutwidge, in the *Carcass*, with the expedition towards the North Pole. The following extract proves the filial affection of the young cockswain (as the word was then spelled) at that period. Admiral Lutwidge told the anecdote. “ 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 midwatch, it was concerted between them that they should steal together from the ship and endeavour 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 unmolested. 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 butt end of my musket, and we shall have him.' His companion, finding that entreaty was in vain, gained the ship. The captain, seeing the young man's danger, ordered a gun to be fired to terrify the enraged animal. This had the desired effect ; but Nelson was obliged to return without his bear, somewhat agitated with 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. Being thought by his captain to have acted in a manner unworthy of his situation made a deep impression on the high-minded cockswain, 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.'” This anecdote is almost too threadbare—owing to the length of time it has been before the public—for repetition, but it is too illustrative of Nelson's love for his father to be allowed to sink into oblivion. There are a few lines by an old writer which are peculiarly

appropriate to the character of the Rev. Edmund Nelson :—

Wedded to peace, he hated strife ;
 Meek virtues filled his breast ;
 His coat-of-arms an honest life,
 A spotless heart his crest ;
 Quartered therewith was innocence ;
 And thus his motto ran,
 “ A conscience void of all offence
 Before both God and man.”

In 1855 a Committee was formed to raise a fund to provide for the family of her whom fifty years before Lord Nelson had left in the special keeping of his countrymen, his legacy to them. The adopted daughter of Lord Nelson, Miss Horatia Nelson Nelson, had married the Rev. Philip Ward, Vicar of Tenterden ; and her family numbered eight to be settled in life : by this gratifying effort all were cared for.

The eldest son, who was in the clerical profession, was presented with the living of Radstock by the Dowager Countess of Waldegrave ; the second son was appointed by Sir W. Burnett assistant surgeon in the Navy ; to the third son was given a clerkship in the Registry Office by Lord Chancellor Cranworth ; the fourth son received an Indian cadetship from Captain Shepherd, and the Prince Consort conferred a similar appointment on the youngest son. Messrs. Green of Blackwall and Smith of Newcastle conveyed the cadets to India free of expense. Upon the three daughters Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria settled a pension of £100 a year each. The amount realised by public subscription was £1,427 13s. 5d.,

out of which the Committee provided outfits and pocket money for the cadets, and made such advances as Mrs. Ward recommended for her sons. £400 was invested in the funds, and a small cash balance handed over to her for personal use.

To the subscribers were distributed lithographs of the two letters Lord Nelson wrote to the little girl Horatia, which accounts for their being frequently met with in autograph collections.

Final mention of the royal friends of Neapolitan days must not be omitted from this record of Nelson's friendships.

In 1806 the King, Queen, and Royal Family of Naples left the kingdom, upon which it was made a Federative State of the French Empire. In 1808 Joseph Bonaparte was made King of Naples. In 1815, with the assistance of Great Britain, Ferdinand was restored to his throne, from which he was soon deposed by his own people, upon which Austria interfered and Ferdinand once more wielded the sceptre. After passing through many vicissitudes, Ferdinand IV. of Naples died suddenly on January 4th, 1825; he was found to have had an attack of apoplexy during the night when quite alone. He had always been religiously inclined in spite of his love of pleasure, and in his will he enjoined that masses should be said for the repose of his soul in the provinces as well as in the capital of his kingdom, especially those places where he used to reside, and he desired the ecclesiastical authorities to prefer the poor houses wherein to celebrate the services on his behalf.

Had the King been less flightily minded, and set aside his personal pleasures during the European disturbances, much that occurred in the way of disaster would have been averted.

There is no evidence of his being the least impressed by the distresses by which he was surrounded. It was not so with his wife, Maria Carolina of Austria. She was a brave woman who would have faced any danger in defence of her family or her rights, and was sympathetic towards the afflicted or injured. Of her tenderness of heart we have a fine instance in her unannounced visit to the sufferers on the *Guillaume Tell*, where she and her daughters barely partook of the proffered collation, but hastened to the bedsides of the injured, saying to some, doing to others, kind words or acts. One young midshipman died in her presence, greatly to her distress.

Her Majesty died suddenly at the Castle of Hetzendorf on the night of September 8th, 1814. Her health did not appear to be at all altered, and she retired to her apartment after having been long occupied with business. During the night and the first hours of sleep her female attendants heard some movement in her room. At the instant they approached her chamber she must have breathed her last, her hand stretched to the bell-rope to summon assistance. She had had a previous stroke of apoplexy. Born August 11th, 1752, she was in the sixty-third year of her age when she died.

Fifty days after her decease King Ferdinand contracted a morganatic marriage with Princess Lucia

Migliaccio. But what a short interval had elapsed since the sudden death of his Queen, from whom he had separated when she withdrew from Sicily, which withdrawal was a political necessity! The miserable condition of the brave woman who contended so hard to retain her husband's kingdom, and at last felt the uselessness of the strife, is pathetically shown in her expressed wish to change her crown with its thorns for the contented mind of the nurse of her little grandson, the Duc de Chartres.

No trouble seems to have seriously disturbed the mind of King Ferdinand. When Fortune frowned very seriously on the family, and Poverty dogged their steps, and the poor Queen—half blind with constant weeping, half mad with struggling for years against adverse circumstances—left for Vienna, the King, easy man, retired into the country and became a dairyman and a dealer in butter. Years afterwards, when Fortune smiled upon him again, he and his second wife returned to Naples and were welcomed by the people.

Angelica Kaufmann painted portraits of Ferdinand IV., King of Naples, his wife Maria Carolina, and their children, a charming group in a landscape with dogs. A large and exquisite stipple engraving by M. Bovi was done from this picture in 1790.

To those who have been interested in the old sea-warriors a few remarks on the after lives of those who outlived the comrades who shared their glories will be acceptable.

Sir Thomas Troubridge, who had been returned for the borough of Great Yarmouth in 1802, became

Admiral of the "Blue" in 1804 and of the "White" in 1805. After this he was given a command on the eastern coast of India, and later, was given that of the Cape of Good Hope; he was on his way from Madras to the Cape when his ship, the *Blenheim*, was wrecked. He had sailed, accompanied by the *Java*, a frigate, and the *Harrier*, a brig, on January 12th, 1807, to take up the command, and encountered terrific weather in the Indian seas. More than a year afterwards news came to England from Calcutta that two vessels had arrived in distress at a small island off Madagascar, had put in for repairs, and sailed again. The description given of the officers answered to that of Sir Thomas Troubridge and those under his command. Afterwards, the inhabitants of Bourbon Island saw, after the storm, a line of battle ship in distress, with an Admiral's flag flying. This was the last that was heard of Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge and the vessels with him. He married Miss Frances Richardson, and left issue, a son, Captain Sir Edward Thomas Troubridge, and a daughter.

Captain Troubridge, the gallant Admiral's son, vainly cruised for half a year in the *Greyhound* in quest of traces of the lost vessels.

Captain Blackwood, who carried the despatches home from Trafalgar, who signed the codicil to Nelson's will, and whose letter (to his third bride) we quoted, became the Hon. Sir Henry Blackwood, K.C.B., Vice-Admiral of the Blue. He was created a Bart. in 1814, and died December 14th, 1832. He was the son of the Baroness Dufferin and Claneboye, by her husband,

Lord Nelson of the Nile.

*Viscountess Nelson
Duchess of Bronte.*

CARDS OF LORD AND LADY NELSON.

Sir John Blackwood, great grandparents of the present Marquis of Dufferin and Ava.

In 1806 Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy was

created a baronet. In 1807 he married Miss Anne Louisa Berkley, niece of the Duke of Richmond. He passed through successive honourable advancements until he attained the rank of Senior Naval Lord of the Admiralty, and upon the accession to the throne of the Sailor King, Sir Thomas Hardy received the distinction of G.C.B. on September 13th, 1831, and upon April 9th, 1834, he was appointed Master of Greenwich Hospital, and one of its Governors and Commissioners.

He died on September 20th, 1839, meeting his end with the greatest composure, thanking his Creator for the many opportunities he had received of serving his country. His relatives desired to have a bust executed of this bosom friend of Lord Nelson—of him who had sealed the lips of the dying hero, England's greatest Naval Commander, with the parting kiss so piteously appealed for—"Kiss me, Hardy." The commission to execute the bust was given to Mr. Behnes, the sculptor. While taking a cast of the face, Mr. Behnes found on the neck of Sir Thomas Hardy a miniature which had never been removed therefrom since Nelson himself placed it there. In compliance with his latest request it was buried with him in his coffin. It may be questioned whether such love could now exist between men as bound together that united band of seamen. So great a love passed away with the lives of the noble and simple sailors who openly demonstrated their affections in a manner past the comprehension of their successors, who, from sheer incapacity to appreciate the womanly tenderness of those natures,

in which affection was combined with the requisite firmness of commanders, have been betrayed into expressions sadly deficient in sympathy, when writing the history of these participators in the emergencies of that great European disturbance.

Captain Thomas Hardy returned home in the *Victory* after the Battle of Trafalgar in charge of the remains of the Commander-in-Chief, at whose funeral he bore the emblems and walked immediately before the relations of the deceased. It must have been one of the grandest and saddest of sights to see those sea-warriors, each with his own special history of valorous achievements, taking part in the obsequies of him whom they had honoured for his brilliant professional capacities, and loved as a true friend in the depths of their own great hearts.

The years of naval service of Sir Thomas Hardy amounted to thirty-six, during which he witnessed the capture of fifty-seven line-of-battle ships. Eminent for self-possession and judgment, anxious for the improvement of the naval service, he was always mindful of those who had shared with him the toils and perils of warfare. His name will descend to posterity as that of a man of the finest character in that profession to which the State is so much indebted for its security, its wealth, and its renown.

At his funeral was Lieutenant Rivers, who lost his left leg at Trafalgar, as the *Victory* was running into action and very shortly before Lord Nelson himself was wounded, and who was by his Lordship kindly committed to the special care of Captain Hardy, with

the injunction to save the young life if possible—"Take care of young Rivers." He had been a great favourite with Lord Nelson.

Lieutenant William Rivers went to sea at a very early age on the time-honoured *Victory*, under the care of his father, and served upon that vessel until after the Battle of Trafalgar. In her he was present at Lord Hotham's second action in 1795, and was slightly wounded; he was also in the attack off Cape St. Vincent. In the cockpit of the *Victory* he lay near his Chief, the ebbing away of whose life was witnessed by the brave and suffering Lieutenant.

He recovered his health, and though only one-legged he continued in the naval profession until after peace was declared, when this gallant seaman, whose mental activity was seldom surpassed, was given a berth in Woolwich Hospital, and in 1826 he was transferred to Greenwich.

He was said to have been a rare example of the real English gentleman, an earnest and practical Christian, who aided the deserving or the indigent, and many were the charities that he originated to assist the widows and children of old pensioners. On December 5th, 1857, he passed away at his official residence at Greenwich, aged sixty-eight, highly respected.

Mr. Walter Burke, Purser on board the good ship *Victory* at the Battle of Trafalgar, in whose arms Lord Nelson died, lived latterly in an old red brick house nearly opposite the church at Woldham, near Rochester. Over the centre window was a small

fleur-de-lys carved in the brickwork; the front wall terminated in large brick battlements, and the centre dormer window was flanked by wooden carvings, probably from some veteran ship. On the pillars of the front boundary wall were three bombshells discharging wrought-iron fire!

The whole conception was very characteristic of Mr. Walter Burke. He died on September 12th, 1815, in the seventieth year of his age, and was buried in the churchyard at Woldham, his gravestone recording that in his arms Lord Nelson died.

On January 10th, 1840, at Plymouth, aged sixty-five years, Commodore John Yule, R.N., died. He had been twenty-five times engaged with the enemies of his country, and on three of those occasions, *i.e.* Cornwallis's retreat, the Battle of the Nile, and that of Trafalgar, in which last he acted as one of Lord Nelson's lieutenants on the *Victory*, he received the public thanks of his country accorded by Act of Parliament.

Nelson's coxswain, Sykes, lived to be eighty years of age, dying suddenly in his little fishmonger's shop in Church Passage, Greenwich. He was with Nelson throughout the whole of his memorable career. He saved that hero's life in the Bay of Cadiz, when his barge containing twelve men was attacked by a Spanish gunboat manned by twenty-six. Twice he parried the blows intended for Nelson, and at last interposed his own head to receive a sabre-cut that he could not avert by any other means, and by which a very dangerous wound was inflicted on his own head. The

gunboat was captured, with eighteen of her men killed and the rest wounded.

Nelson's favourite boatswain was Thomas Carter, who was paid off at Portsmouth when peace was proclaimed in 1815. He hired two postchaises and treated some of his friends to a free ride with him to his native village, Pangbourne-on-Thames, where for several days he kept open house at the Elephant and Castle Inn, engaged a band of musicians from Reading, and entertained with lavish hospitality all who were willing to accept of it, until the whole of his prize money and accumulated pay came to an end. After enjoying a pension for some years the old hero passed peacefully away, and was buried with the Union Jack for a winding-sheet, according to his own expressed wish, in Pangbourne Churchyard.

At his funeral another flag was hoisted half-mast on a pole in front of his cottage as a mark of respect. It had a narrow escape of being torn to pieces by the villagers, who in their ignorance of emblems of mourning regarded the ensign as a sign of rejoicing at the decease of their friend.

The young people of Pangbourne loved to gather round him of an evening, and hear the old sea-stories he had to tell and his anecdotes of the great Lord Nelson. Among those interested listeners was the son of a gentleman resident at Pangbourne-on-Thames, and the desire to possess Nelsonian relics caused him to acquire all such as he found himself able to purchase, until a goodly collection of original letters became his, accumulated by degrees. The young gentleman who

learnt his first lessons on the glorious career of Nelson from the old boatswain Carter is J. C. Holding, Esq., now of Southsea; and the documents he gradually became possessed of have formed the basis of this present work on Nelson's Friendships written "In Memoriam."

On August 21st, 1856, at the Royal Hospital, Greenwich, aged eighty-three years, died Peter Moser. This veteran was in several engagements of the British Navy between 1794 and 1806, including Trafalgar. When Lord Nelson fell, Moser served on board the *Victory* as captain of the maintop. In recognition of his services, which extended over twenty years, he received two medals (one with three clasps), and was for the last thirty years of his life an inmate of the noble institution at Greenwich. He had the honour of carrying the first flag at the funeral of Lord Nelson.

On December 22nd, 1855, in Queen's Road, St. John's Wood, Commander Charles Hawkins, R.N., deceased. When on board the schooner *Pickle* he witnessed the fight at Trafalgar, and brought home to England the news of the victory.

At his residence, Nile Cottage, Gillingham, near Chatham, at the age of seventy-two, on June 1st, 1844, died Mr. Michael Austin, of Her Majesty's Dockyard, Chatham. This old and meritorious officer had only recently been superannuated after a service of fifty years. He was in several general actions, and was on the *Vanguard* in the Battle of the Nile, where he lost his right arm. He had served in action under Lord

Howe on the glorious 1st of June, and died on the anniversary of that great day in naval history.

Joseph Gillman was one of the foremost mutineers at the Nore. Joe dictated the effective telegraphic message to Mr. Pitt: "Unless the demand for double pay was granted to soldiers as well as sailors, in one hour they would weigh anchor, and with fifty Ships of War in four hours lay London in ashes." In this case Joe's threat conquered without blows both Minister and Monarch.

This rebellious act was Joe's chief glory, and he used to say "he had rendered no other service to his country or to man to be compared to it." He was personally selected by Lord Nelson to accompany him in the *St. George* to the Baltic, where twelve ships under Nelson accomplished what the forty under Admiral Parker declined. At Copenhagen Joe Gillman received a compound fracture of both legs. He served in the Royal Navy for about eighteen years, and was ever foremost in the hour of danger. He was one of the "forlorn hope" in the storming of Seringapatam, and for his many and long services his country rewarded him with—nothing! So said the *Manchester Guardian* when poor old Joe died at Hulme, Manchester, on June 25th, 1855, aged ninety-six years.

After the death of Lord Nelson, Tom Allen, his favourite rough uncouth body-servant, who had been selected for personal attendance for some daring deed on board the *Agamemnon*, suffered many hardships. Under his clumsy exterior he had a bold and affectionate heart; at the storming of La Valetta

honest Tom insisted on screening his master from the volley of shots by intercepting his own form, and upon another occasion he may be said to have saved the Admiral's life by interposing his own head and receiving the sabre-cut aimed at Lord Nelson. Many a time did he coax his master away from the wet deck and raging storm, and care for him only as a soul of the utmost affection and fidelity could have done. Rough and unpolished, but a diamond withal! He had charge of Lord Nelson's jewels, plate, and valuables.

This excellent man drained the cup of poverty to its very dregs, and gradually approached Burnham Thorpe Workhouse. His services were overlooked by Nelson's ungrateful countrymen, until his case was laid before Sir



TOM ALLEN AGED 67.

Thomas Hardy, who had become Governor of Greenwich Hospital, and by him Tom Allen was appointed Pewterer to the Hospital. From this comfortable situation he was called by a very sudden death, and his aged widow was privately assisted to live by a humane philanthropist.

No pension was ever allotted to the dead hero's chief body-servant, who so narrowly escaped ending his days in Burnham Thorpe Workhouse. Tom Allen (born 1764, died 1838) was a native of Burnham Thorpe,

and had worked for the Nelson family from extreme youth ; he was at the battles of the Nile and Copenhagen, but was left behind when Nelson left England before Trafalgar.

Another Baltic hero was Captain Dani. He had left home to go on board a British man-of-war when only ten years of age, and remained in the service until 1806, having served under Sir John Jervis and Lord Nelson. He was present at Aboukir, St. Vincent, and Copenhagen ; at the latter engagement he held the candle for Admiral Nelson when he was sealing his memorable letter to the Crown Prince of Denmark. A wafer was handed to Nelson to fasten his letter, but he ordered a candle to be brought from the cock-pit, saying that the letter must be *sealed*, or the enemy would think it was written and sent in a hurry. He sealed it with his arms, making a larger impression than usual. Dani was afterwards in the service of the City of Dublin Steam Packet Co., where his courtesy to passengers gained him great respect. He remained with this company for twenty-four years, and only retired three years before his death took place on November 28th, 1856, at Liverpool. He is interred in St. James's Cemetery. He received a gold medal for meritorious aid to those on board the burning ship the *Ocean Monarch*, off the Great Orme's Head, and also for his previous naval engagements.

A hard fate for a pardonable offence, emanating as it did from a weather-beaten time-blown old seaman, befell a veteran man-o'-war's man named William Scarlet. He was an American by birth,

and in his youth was a sailor in the American Commercial Marine, but was pressed into the British Naval Service and was under both Lords Howe and Nelson. He was present in six general battles, including those of the Nile, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar, besides being engaged in many actions between single vessels, boat expeditions, etc. He received a pension of 1s. 7d. a day, but thought he was entitled to a higher one and petitioned. He appeared before the Board somewhat intoxicated, and on being told that his petition was rejected and that he ought to feel grateful to the King and country for what he was receiving he exclaimed, regardless of the mighty presence, "D—— the King and country!" For this wild speech he was struck off the list, though it is very sad to think that his long record of bravely faced dangers in defence of King and country should have less weight than those few bad words.

After a long struggle with poverty and infirmities incidental to age he was compelled to seek parochial relief, and was admitted to the Cokermonth Workhouse, where he died in October 1853, aged eighty-eight years.

In August 1856 a pension of £50 a year was granted from the Civil List to Miss Psyche Rose Elizabeth Hoste, daughter of the late Admiral Sir William Hoste, in consideration of the naval services of her father and her own destitute and infirm condition. How often did Lord Nelson deplore his inability to obtain promotion for Captain Hoste, whom he considered so deserving of it.

Among the memoranda left by an old seaman, James Smith, who served on the *Active* at the taking of Capri 1811, is one showing that the very name of Nelson sent forth at an important moment carried an inspiration to each breast to strain every nerve to attain victory for Nelson's sake. The paper says: "On the 10th of May, while lying at Fort St. George, Lassia, the *Active* discovered the Enemy in the night to windward; we therefore immediately signalled the Commodore, who ordered us to get to windward without delay, and form line of battle. We did so, and the men had just time to mount the rigging and give three cheers when the enemy, consisting of 11 sail, bore down upon us. Captain Hastie then signalled, 'Remember Nelson,' and fired three guns at the French as a challenge. The French coming up in 20 minutes gave us the first broadside, and the fight then became general, but the *Favourite* after being in action 2 hours and 20 minutes got her rudder choked by a 32-pounder and drifted ashore. This action, which lasted 6 hours and 20 minutes, ended in the complete discomfort of the enemy." Mr. Smith had eleven years' hard service, but was never wounded and consequently was never pensioned.

The power of the name of Nelson is further illustrated by an incident which preceded the victory over the French in St. Domingo Bay in February 1806 under Admiral Duckworth. Previous to action Sir J. Duckworth's Captain (Keats) suspended a portrait of the late Lord Nelson to the mizzen-mast, and caused the men to do homage to it while the

band played the inspiring strains of "Rule Britannia" and "Nelson and the Nile."

Captain Pierce of the Royal Marines was in all the desperate engagements in the West Indies under Sir Edward Hughes, the contending fleets meeting no less than nine times, during which he was often wounded. In 1784 he was invalided home from the West Indies, and on his passage was wrecked on the coast of Africa. Besides sharing in many other battles, he was present at Lord Howe's engagement on June 1st, 1794, and at the Nile and Copenhagen. After serving his country for twenty-five years he retired with unblemished honour. He died in January 1839, leaving four daughters unprovided for.

William Wallis, Surgeon, was the last survivor of the expedition of the *Racehorse* and *Carcass* under Captain Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, to the Arctic regions, at which time Nelson served as a midshipman. Mr. Wallis died June 15th, 1819, at Charlotte Street, Blackfriars, aged eighty-two years.

Another who merits a place in the record of sea-service is Nelly Giles, who was on the *Bellerophon* (Captain Darby) at the Battle of the Nile, and at all subsequent engagements under Nelson. Three days after the battle she gave birth to a son. She was a most useful nurse to the sick and wounded. In later life the Government granted her a pension of £17 a year as long as she lived. She ended her useful career in July 1857 at Portsea.

A most interesting ceremony took place on June 21st, 1841, the anniversary of the Battle of Vittoria, when

at Woolwich was launched, in the presence of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, a vessel of 120 guns called the *Trafalgar*. The christening ceremony was specially attractive on account of its performance by Lady Bridport, Lord Nelson's niece, formerly Lady Charlotte Nelson. The bottle of wine used upon the occasion was a relic of the stock the great Admiral had on board the *Victory* at the Battle of Trafalgar, which was presented for the express purpose by Countess Nelson. Crowded upon the poop were veteran survivors of that glorious sea-fight, commanded by the gallant Lieutenant Rivers, who lost his leg in the action and has been referred to in the short account of his honourable career.

In 1886 a writer to the *Times* signing himself R.C.H., dating Paris, September 21st, owning himself not an Englishman, but a native of another country who venerated Nelson's memory, and who hoped that some of Nelson's countrymen would read his letter and act upon the information he gave, said he had walked in the Cemetery of Père-la-Chaise and noted a tombstone with this inscription:—

“Sacred to the Memory of Leonard Gillespie, Esq^r, M.D., of Armagh, Ireland, who honourably served his Country upwards of 60 years as medical officer in the Royal Navy of Great Britain. He was Physician General to the Fleet commanded by the immortal Nelson, and died as he had lived, esteemed and respected, at Paris, the 15th day of January, 1840, ætat. 84 years.”

This gentleman was he who wrote the interesting

account of *Life on the Victory in 1805* which has been quoted from in this work.

The object of R.C.H. in writing was to call attention to the neglected tomb in the cemetery. The stone foundation supporting the iron fence round the grave had sunk deeply into the earth at one end and side, and carried the fence with it. The grave and its immediate surroundings were in so deplorable a state of dilapidation as to excite the sympathy of a foreigner, who regretted to see the forgetfulness that had befallen the resting-place of one of the united band of workers who acquired for England her naval supremacy.

The good ship *Victory* once had a narrow escape from being wrecked. After the Battle of St. Vincent the Admiral, Sir John Jervis, who was on board of her, shaped the course of the fleet for Lagos Bay on the coast of Portugal. He had the Spanish prizes in tow, and the Spanish fleet following, though afraid to venture within gunshot. On the next morning the English ships anchored across the open bay, and in the evening were in terrible jeopardy from a most awful gale, the vessels pitching bows under with three anchors out ahead. One mile astern was a reef of rocks, and half a mile inwards lay a populous village of fisher people, who, in anticipation of the destruction of the fleet by storm and prizes of wreckage for themselves, had kept wood fires ablaze through the whole of this dark and dreadful night.

“Ship ahead driving,” called a look-out officer. “God help us !” said a pious captain, as the *Victory*,

with Sir John Jervis and his gallant men, closely passed the fleet at anchor, driving fast upon the rocks which resisted the heavy surging sea and cast its clouds of white spray upwards. An agonised cry of "God save her!" went up from those who witnessed the drifting vessel hastening to destruction, though three anchors were cast. With one final effort she flashed her spare anchor in the flood, and amid the roaring of wind and rain, the bellowing noise of the officers' trumpets, the booming of numberless guns as signals of distress, the dashing of breakers, and the ghastly reflection of the shore fires in the surf, the good ship *Victory* brought up with four anchors out ahead.

The *Victory* has now become a national relic and is stationary at Portsmouth. In the year 1841 it was proposed to break up the ship, which act of vandalism was mainly averted by Mr. John Poole, the author of *Paul Pry*, who wrote a very forcible article in many leading journals against the national sacrilege, which protest prolonged the existence of the vessel. In 1886 the dry-rot got into the timbers, and again after much argument the day of destruction was postponed and the damages repaired; as long as the planks will hold together an effort should be made to preserve her, in memory of the great sea-conquests in which she played so prominent a part.

About five years ago the *Foudroyant*, Nelson's flagship in the Mediterranean in 1799, which took so active a part in the events narrated in this work, was sold to an English ship-breaker by the Admiralty for £1,000. He sold it to another ship-breaker of German

nationality for £2,000; and then the British public bestirred themselves to save the historic vessel. Lord Mayor Evans of London opened a subscription list to raise the £6,000 the German trader demanded; but the vessel was acquired mainly by the efforts of Mr. G. Wheatley Cobb, who guaranteed the first £2,000; it was towed back to the Thames, and ultimately was taken on tour to different seaports to enable all who were interested to inspect Nelson's old flagship.

After acquiring the *Foudroyant*, which Mr. Cobb eventually did by personally purchasing it for £6,000, he spent upon it £20,000 in repairs and restorations. In the old days the cabin of the *Foudroyant* was ornamented with the flag-staff of *L'Orient*, the arms of the *San Josef*, and the plume of the *Guillaume Tell*, trophies of sea-conquests. In her time she was commanded by Captains Hardy and Berry, and had flown the flags of Sir John Warren, Lord Keith, and Sir Sidney Smith; and Sir Ralph Abercromby died on board her after his victory over the French at Alexandria.

A more unfortunate fate befell the *Téméraire*, one of the oldest men-of-war in the Royal Navy, which was in action both at the Nile and Trafalgar. In October 1838 she was doomed to destruction and broken up. She was a 98-gun ship, and for eighteen years had been stationed as a guard-ship at Sheerness, and ultimately was sold to a Mr. Beatson, a wealthy ship-breaker and timber merchant at Rotherhithe. As she was towed up the river by two tugs every vessel she passed looked like a pigmy, so magnificent a

specimen was she of the wooden walls of Old England. It is much to be regretted that she is no longer in existence to keep company with her sister-ships the *Foudroyant*¹ and the *Victory*.

The last survivor of Nelson's old flagship the *Victory* was Mr. John Charles Blackett, of Thorpe, Surrey, third son of Sir William Blackett, Bart., of Matfen, Northumberland, who died last year aged eighty-three years. He did not belong to the grand Nelsonian days, but his record is interesting, he having served as signal midshipman in the *Victory's* last commission. He entered the Navy in 1827.

Almost at the outset of his naval career Nelson showed a principle of sound judgment in his selection of the subordinates requisite to carry out the orders of a good commander. He had been promoted Post-Captain to the *Hinchinbroke* from the *Badger* on July 11th, 1779. The *Hinchinbroke* was one of the enemy's merchant vessels sheathed with copper that had been taken into the service. From this vessel he wrote a letter which showed that a raw recruit would have but a poor chance of sailing in *his* ship.

“*Hinchinbroke*, Jan. 18th, 1780.

“SIR,—I am much obliged to you for the good opinion you entertain of me and which I hope will always continue. The *Hinchinbroke* is ready for Sea, and will sail whenever the Troops are embarked.

“I beg you will give me leave to represent to you

¹ The *Foudroyant* was wrecked at Blackpool very soon after Mrs. Gamlin wrote the above, and is now being blown up.—M.H.

that in my opinion it will be much for the good of the service that all the Seamen in the Transport Service be left entirely to my discretion, and that orders be given to the Commanding Officers of the Land Forces that all applications for Seamen be made to me, as I shall then be enabled to send good men and officers instead of their taking Raw undisciplined men, and also that the Masters of Transports be ordered to follow only my directions.

“I am, Sir,

“Your most Obed^t Hum. Ser^t,

“HORATIO NELSON.”

Well-trained men, who had served so long that their capacities could not be mistaken, and who might be thoroughly relied upon in battle, where the recruits of emergency could only, through want of experience, act as blocks to those in authority. It is men of capacity who are needed in time of action, well trained and practised, with the experience of an adept impossible to those who have only seen short service.

Lord Nelson's idea of action was sharp and decisive, so as to shorten the conflict, and his plans were carefully carried out by the gallant old tars of his fleet: they loved the war-cry, and rushed onward to win fame and honour for their country. These brave subordinates loved the smell of smoke and the crash of contending vessels, these noble spirits faced every danger and brought renown to England. We have seen by the absence of Government recognition of so numerous a portion of those who fought under

Nelson in the three great English naval victories, Aboukir, the Baltic, and Trafalgar, how small were their individual interests in the success of the fray.

History can tell of dearth of reward, of ignored bequests, and of poor Jack who fought hard at Trafalgar dying in the workhouse at a very great age. The scarcity of pensions for those who laboured in the heat of the day was a reproach to Britain!

A review of the experiences of the jolly tars of Nelson's glorious days offers but little incentive to those who may be called upon to protect our nation from the insults or the invasion of a foreign power; for, in every grade, from the highest to the lowest, it has been found that many of those who honourably fought with their immortal commander were reduced, in after years, to struggle for bare existence, unassisted in their evil days by the country for which life and limb had been ungrudgingly risked.

The whole history of the fleet teems with splendid examples of absence of consideration of self, and the thorough successes of our navy in its rapidly following sea-conquests a hundred years ago were largely contributed to by the genial goodness of nature existing throughout the fleet in conjunction with the splendid organisation of the Chiefs, who emulated the example of Nelson.

Honour then to the Comrades in Arms in Nelson's Days!

A P P E N D I X.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

NAPLES, July 3rd, 1798.

“MY LORD,—Since I had the honour of forwarding to your Lordship my two last Dispatches by a Neapolitan Messenger on the 20th of June and which I flatter myself will have been safely delivered to your Lordship, this Government has received the certain account of the French armament having left Malta the 19th of June, that they had left a Garrison of between Six and Eight Thousand men, French Cisalpines and Polonese, with three of their Frigates, and that there was also with them in the Harbour of Malta a small Maltese Ship of the Line and a Frigate, and that the large Maltese Ship of the Line just was finished and made ready to come out of the Dock.

“Mons^r Garrat, the French Ambassador of the Republic at this Court, gives out that Gen^l Buonaparte writes him word that he is gone to the Levant. I am happy, however, that we have reason to believe that Gen^l Buonaparte left Malta without having received advice of the King's Squadron being so near him, for it was only the 17th of June at night that Mons^r Garrat dispatched the French Vice-consul in a boat from Naples to inform Gen^l Buonaparte that he had that morning seen Sir Horatio Nelson's Squadron off the Bay of Naples, and it requires four days for a boat to go from Naples to Malta; and this Government has received accounts from Sicily of Ad^l Nelson's Squadron having been seen off Siracusa on its way to Malta, on the 21st of June in the

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq.

morning. I had sent a Maltese Sparonara with a Dispatch to Sir Hor. Nelson the 18th. The boat returned here on Saturday last not having been able to get up with the Admiral. The Boatmen, who I have reason to believe speak the truth, assured me that on the 21st in the afternoon they had nearly reached one of the Ships of Ad^l Nelson's Squadron, then between Siracusa and Cape Passaro, but that an English Brig coming from the Levant made Signals, upon seeing which the Squadron instantly altered its course¹ and with a crouded Sail stood to what they call'd the Scirrocco Levante, which is, I believe, South-East, but they particularly said towards Ancona, which leads to the Adriatic. If this be true it is most certain that the King's Squadron must have been up with the unweildy Armament before it could take shelter in Corfu or any other Port, and probably a day or two may bring us great news.

“On Wednesday last, the 27th of June, Capt. Hope in His Majesty's Frigate the *Alcmene*, in Company with the *Terpsichore*, *Emerald*, and *Bon Citoyen*, came into this Port. They were all—except the *Terpsichore*, Capt. Gage, who had refreshed lately at Leghorn—in want of Bread and Water. Capt. Hope sent off the *Terpsichore* directly to join Ad^l Nelson, and I got for the other three Frigates their water and necessary provisions completed by Saturday at noon, when they sail'd also to join Ad^l Nelson.

“Mons^r Garrat received on Friday last a dispatch boat from Toulon with Letters from the French Directory; and wanting to send back the boat the same night with his answer had the impudence to apply to this Government, requiring, as he said according to the laws of Neutral Ports, that his Majesty's Frigates might be detain'd twenty-four hours from the time of the French boat's sailing, and Captain Hope received this notice from the Neapolitan Capt. of the Port as I did in a confidential Letter from the Marquis Gallo. Our Answers were that the King's Ships did not trouble themselves with little French boats and would certainly sail as soon as they thought proper.

“Mons^r Garrat had taken leave of this Court some days ago,

¹ News of the enemy's actual position.

and went to Rome in his way to Paris on Sunday last—having left a Chargé d’Affaires, Mons^r de la Chaise.

“Trusting in God that we may very soon have joyful news from the brave Admiral Sir Hor. Nelson, I have the honor to be, my Lord, etc.

“P.S.—I have the honor of including a Copy of the infamous Convention between the French Republic and the Knights of Malta under the Mediation of His Catholic Majesty.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“NAPLES, *Aug^t. 4th, 1798.*

“MY LORD,—Your Lordship will see by Rear Admiral Sir Hor. Nelson’s Letters to me dated from Siracusa the 20th and 22nd of July and which your Lord^{sh} will find in my Letter directed to the Earl Spencer (No. 1) left with a flying Seal for your perusal, that the Squadron, the King’s Fleet, after having gone as far as Alexandria and Caramania, a run of 600 Leagues in 27 days, is returned to Syracuse in Sicily without having been able to gain the smallest intelligence of the French Armament under the command of Gen^l Buonaparte, and that He is still unfortunately without a single Frigate. I cannot do better than enclose a Copy of my Answer to Sir Hor. Nelson’s Letter (No. 2), in which, and in the likewise enclosed Copy of L^d St Vincent’s Letter to me of the 15th of July (No. 3), your Lord^{sh} will find every circumstance respecting the King’s Fleet that has come to my knowledge since we saw the Squadron commanded by Sir Hor. Nelson off the Bay of Naples on the 17th of June last, and it is as extraordinary as it is provoking to know for certain that no less than seven of His Majesty’s Frigates and a Cutter have been for more than a fortnight passed in the Levant looking out for and evidently desirous of joining Ad^l Nelson’s Squadron.

“Your Lordship will observe that Sir Hor. Nelson, in his letter to me of the 22nd of July, appears to be very angry that the

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea. The Battle of the Nile had actually taken place, but the news had not reached Sir William Hamilton.

smallest difficulty should have been made by the Governor of Syracuse in admitting the whole of His Majesty's Squadron into that Port. I enclose (No. 4) a copy of the report made by the Governor of Syracuse, Brigadier Don Giuseppe della Torre, to Gen^l Acton of what passed on that occasion. After what the King our Royal Master has done for their Sicilian Majesties and of which their Majesties seem to be perfectly sensible, I should be the first as his Majesty's Minister at this Court to take up the matter very highly indeed if I perceived any unfair dealings or the smallest neglect in this Government in affording every assistance in its power to the King's Ships sent here at the expressly earnest request of the Court of Naples to save these fine kingdoms from impending ruin. I flatter myself that my Answer to Sir Hor. Nelson's Letter will explain the behaviour of the Governor of Syracuse to the Admiral's entire satisfaction, for as your Lord^p will see by Gen^l Acton's billet to me of the 1st of August, a copy of which is enclosed (No. 5), the whole mystery was that the Court of Naples without great risk could not throw off the Mask until it had received the ratified Treaty with the Emperor of Germany and with the two Supplementary articles by which the Emperor is bound to defend His Sicilian Majesty in case of an attack from any Enemy in consequence of his having opened his Ports to the King's Ships without any limitation, and that Treaty arrived here only from Vienna in the night of the 30th of July and was officially communicated to me the next day by the Marquis de Gallo; the Treaty having been finally concluded at Vienna the 16th of July.

"As soon as I had received Ad^l Nelson's last Letters I showed them, abuse and all, to Gen^l Acton as His Exc^y mentions in his Answer to that Communication, but I flatter myself, having sent to Admiral Nelson the Original Letter of Gen^l Acton to me of the 1st of August, that he will be perfectly satisfied, as I am, with this Ministry on that head, and indeed I have no other fault to find but the fatality which attends this Government in common with many others in Europe of adopting half-measures which have brought some of them to the brink of destruction and must end in ruin if all shou'd persevere in them.

"I am happy in having a safe and expeditious opportunity of

conveying this Dispatch and Inclosures to your Lordship by a Neapolitan Messenger sent, as I understand, with full powers to the Marquis Circello to conclude immediately a new Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain. We already here look upon us as united, and there can be no doubt but that the French will resent the King's Fleet having been admitted into the Port of Syracusa. Why then shou'd the King of Naples hesitate one moment to take advantage of the present discontent and rising of the Roman Peasantry, as mentioned in my letter to Adm^l Nelson, and march on to Rome, where there are not now more than three thousand Poles and French? And why does not the Emperor come forward and assist the King of Naples in driving whilst they can the French completely out of Italy and before they can be reinforced? Why? Because they are infatuated and will not attend to the learned Salutary Advice, etc. . . .

"Altho' I feel myself with all my private property in danger of being involved in the General ruin of this Country which threatens it from the land side (for we can have nothing to fear on the Sea Side whilst the King's Fleet remains in the Mediterranean), I am still happy that I did not profit of the King's gracious leave of absence, as my presence here at this moment has been, and still appears to be, essential to His Majesty's Service, nor will I quit Naples until I can do so with a safe conscience, let what may be the consequence.¹

"Mr. England, his Majesty's late Consul at Malta, having lost all and taken refuge at Messina, having no pay or subsistence from our Government, I have taken upon me to give him a Credit of One hundred Pounds on my banker at Naples until he can get an answer from your Lord^p to his Letter enclosed, and I flatter myself your Lordship will not disapprove of what I have done, and allow me to charge the same in my Bill of Extra Extraordinaries.

"I have the honor, etc.

"P.S.—Since I wrote the above this morning, the Marquis de Niza with the Portugese Squadron as detailed in Lord St

¹ Did Lord Grenville remember that line when the pension was asked for Sir William Hamilton, and later for his widow, when they had been ruined by remaining at the Embassy at Naples?

Vincent's list enclosed entered this Port, except the *Falcon* Brig of 22 Guns, who was unfortunately lost by being run down at Sea by the *Principe Reale*, the Commodore's Ship, but the whole of the Crew were saved.

"The enclosed (No. 6) is a Proclamation just published by His Sicilian Majesty's Command at Naples, and which I hope will have a good effect."

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

"NAPLES, August 8th, 1798.

"MY LORD,—To my great sorrow the Neapolitan Messenger has not yet been dispatched, as I can well conceive the anxiety at home to obtain authentic news from Rear Admiral Nelson such as contained in my Dispatch No. 18, but I flatter myself the Messenger will go off for Vienna and London this night or to-morrow morning, and this delay affords me the opportunity of transmitting to your Lordship some further intelligence of consequence.

"A Report prevailed at Naples that the French Armament was at Tunis the 30th of June. We have private letters here from Major Magra, his Majesty's Consul at Tunis, dated July the 7th, and which proves that report to be without any foundation. Yesterday Sig^r Caracciolo, the Agent of Ragusa at Naples, came to me by order of that Government to inform me of their unhappy Situation—that a French Ship of the Line and a Brig had been at Ragusa with a Commissary on board who had demanded of the Republic of Ragusa in the name of the French Directory a Loan of One Million of Livres for two years, threatening that if the demand was not complied within 24 hours they would take possession of the Port and overturn their Government. As your Lordship will see inclosed the Copy (No. 11) of the Memorandum left with me by Sig^r Caracciolo and who desired me in the name of the Ragusean Republic to communicate the same to your Lordship and to the Commanding Officer of his Majesty's Squadron in the Mediterranean.

"The present object of the French Directory being so

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

evidently to get money wherever it is to be got, and even by the most infamous Robberies and Plunderings, how can this Government be so blind as not to see that the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies must necessarily be one of their immediate objects and where alone money can be found in Italy? And yet no active measures are taken, and the poor Roman Peasants on the confines of this Kingdom, mentioned in my last dispatch, for want of support have been obliged to take refuge in the Mountains, and the French Patriots maintain their Ground at Rome.

“They say here that they wait to be sure of the Emperor’s support, and as I understand the Emperor is waiting to be sure of that of the King of Prussia, and in the meantime the French are pouring a fresh and formidable army into Italy, and in my humble opinion unless some unforeseen and fortunate event should prevent it, the French will pass their Christmas merrily at Naples.

“Monsieur de la Chaise, the Chargé. d’Affaires of the French Republic at this Court, says that the French have taken possession of Leghorn again, which seems highly probable.

“I have the honor of inclosing a Copy (No. 21) of a curious paper that has fortunately fallen into my hands and from a quarter that leaves no room to doubt of its being genuine.

“May I beg the favour of your L^d to forward the inclosed to the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty’s Treasury. Your Lordship will observe that according to your directions I drew my Bills with as long a date as possible.

“No news of Sir Hor. Nelson since he left Siracusa the 26th of July. The Portuguese Squadron and his Majesty’s Ship *Lion* will probably sail hence to-morrow in search of the Admiral.

“We have many Cardinals residing now at Naples, and of the Number Cardinals Stuart and Busca.

“P.S.—I beg leave to remind your Lordship that we are in Extreme want of a Consul here, whose business I am obliged to transact without having had any former experience in it, but am much obliged to Mr. Gibbs, an intelligent and respectable British Merchant here, for his kind assistance.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

"NAPLES, August 27th, 1798.

"MY LORD,—By a Letter of the 9th inst. from the British Vice Consul at Syracuse I am informed that Capt. Foot in his Majesty's Frigate the *Sea Horse* was arrived there in search of Sir Hor. Nelson, having seen himself Gen^l Buonaparte's Fleet and Convoy at one of the Mouths of the Nile near Alexandria on the 21st of July. The *Sea Horse* sail'd immediately for the Rendezvous which Admiral Nelson has left for the British Ships at Syracuse.

"By a Letter of the 18th inst. from the British Vice Consul at Messina, I am informed that Capt. Gage in his Majesty's Frigate The *Terpsichore* arrived there from Alexandria, having likewise seen the Enemy's Fleet near that Port, and was looking out for Sir Hor. Nelson to give him that information.²

"An unfortunate accident happen'd on board the *Terpsichore* a few days before that of her arrival at Messina. One of the Marines cleaning his firelock that was loaded, it went off, and blew up a chest of cartridges and fireworks, by which explosion more than 20 men were wounded. Capt. Gage's hands were violently scorched, and his Surgeon was wounded, but they are both in a fair way of recovery. Two of the seamen died on board the Ship, and three more are left in a dangerous way in the hospital at Messina. Capt. Gage sail'd from Messina with his Majesty's Ship the *Lion*, Capt. Dixon, to join the Rear Admiral the 17th inst.

"Gen^l Acton has been so good as to inform me that the Ottoman Vessel from Alexandria, which he left the 25th of July, to Leghorn, had put into the Port of the Island of Procita the 24th inst. By the deposition of the Captain of that Vessel it appears that Gen^l Buonaparte had demanded to enter with his whole Fleet the Port of Alexandria, but it being denied he had

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

² It seems incredible to living persons possessing telegraphic facilities that the news of the Battle of the Nile, which had been fought on August 1st and 2nd, should not have reached Messina by the 18th nor Naples by the 27th of the same month.

answered that as he was closely pursued by the enemy he would go in, and that if any resistance was made, he would put the Janizars of the Forts to death—that a resistance had been made in consequence of which Gen^l Buonaparte landed a part of his Army, stormed the Forts, and having put every man to the sword and secured his Fleet in the old Port of Alexandria. The Capt. adds that on his way hither he had met with the British Fleet off Candia, but does not give any date, and that he had informed Ad^l Nelson of what he had seen at Alexandria, and the Turks being now their declared Enemy's, we may expect good news from that Quarter, and the Portuguese Squadron passed through the Faro of Messina the 13th instant and may probably by this time have joined Admiral Nelson.

“By a Letter which I received from Mr. Spencer Smith, His Majesty's Minister at Constantinople, dated the 7th of July, I find that the Ottoman Government had opened its Eyes with respect to the French Arts and Arms and were eagerly expecting to hear of a British Fleet being in those Seas that they might co-operate with it; however, Letters against so perfidious an Enemy which I have seen of the 21st July from Constantinople to our Government say that the Porte were still hesitating whether it should declare war or not against the French, who on their side were using every endeavour to pacify them.

“Everything wears an hostile appearance here, but I do not know that this Government has yet come to any decision.

“I have the honour to be,” etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“NAPLES, Sept. 25th, 1798.

“MY LORD,—His Majesty's Ships The *Culloden*, Capt. Troubridge, and the *Alexander*, Capt. Ball, and the Frigate *Bonne Citoyenne* came to an anchor in this port on the 18th inst. in the Evening. His Sicilian Majesty went out in his boat into the Bay to meet them, as did numerous boats of English and Neapolitans. The Ships gave the Royal Salute to his Sicilian Majesty. The brave Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson in the *Vanguard*, accompanied

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

by the *Thalia* Frigate, did not make his appearance in this Bay until Saturday Morning last, the 22nd inst. (the Day of our good King's Coronation), having been becalmed off Sicily.¹

“The King of Naples not only went off to meet the Admiral but instantly went on board the *Vanguard*, and taking Sir Horatio by the hand made use of the strongest expressions of gratitude to him for the infinite services that his intrepidity and good conduct and that of the brave British Squadron under His Command had rendered to Him, His Family, and His Kingdoms. His Majesty stayed on board until the *Vanguard* was at anchor in the Port. The Royal Salute was given by all the King's Ships both on his Sicilian Majesty's arrival on board the *Vanguard* and on his leaving the Ship. The day being remarkably fine, the numerous boats with Colours and Music attending the *Vanguard*, and all the shores and wharfs of Naples crowded with a multitude of rejoicing people, was, I can assure your Lordship, a sight that cannot easily be described, and when the Admiral came on shore the reception the Neapolitans gave him was expressive of kindness and gratitude that I saw affected him greatly.

“Not a French Cockade now to be seen in the streets of Naples, and neither the French or Cisalpine Ministers make their appearance abroad, and since Sir Horatio Nelson's Prisoner Admiral Blanquet has been put on shore on his parole, the French party can no longer deny (which they did to that moment) the truth of Sir Horatio Nelson's most glorious and complete victory over the French Fleet at the Mouth of the Nile on the first of August.

“The account of the Battle of the Nile published at Rome by the French Government and of which a Copy is inclosed will certainly amuse your Lordship. Every assistance has been immediately given to His Majesty's Ships arrived in this Port, and the *Culloden* is hove down at Castel Mare. All these Ships that had many and great wants will be repaired and be fit for service in three or four days more, as the Admiral has been assured by this Government. Your Lordship may well

¹ Nelson left Egypt seventeen days after the Battle of the Nile.

imagine the hurry that the arrival at this critical moment of so distinguished a Character as that of Sir Horatio Nelson must have occasioned here, so that your Lordship will, I hope, excuse my not saying more at present, particularly as I write by the Common Post.

“The State of health of Sir Horatio Nelson was but indifferent when he arrived here, but it is visibly mending daily, and he is now without fever, the deep wound in his forehead (which would certainly have proved fatal if he had been without his hat that was torn to pieces) is now quite healed.

“I have the honour to be,” etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“Naples, Oct. 16th, 1798.

“MY LORD,—Admiral Nelson sailed yesterday with four Ships of the Line and a Frigate for Malta. He proposes to return himself here in the first week of November. General Mack is arrived to take the Command of the Neapolitan Army, 30 thousand men of which, as I am assured, are to march forward before the end of this month, the Emperor having consented and even promised his powerful support.

“The Glorious Victory of the 1st of August seems to have inspired all with courage and confidence, and we now hope that this fine Country may be saved. It is certain that the French Minister has ordered an army of 60 thousand men to act against this country. Their Sicilian Majesties and their Government have the utmost confidence in our brave Admiral, and the Conferences we have had with General Acton have certainly decided this Government to come to the salutary decision of attacking rather than wait to be attacked.

“The French Ambassador is still here and saw the King of Naples go on board the Admiral’s Ship yesterday to take leave of him, and was witness to the Royal Salute from the whole British Squadron—under Sail. Their Sicilian Majesties and their Ministers never cease expressing their gratitude to

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

the King and his Majesty's Heroic Rear Admiral, cheerfully affording every assistance in their power to the King's Ships.

"The *Culloden's* damages are not quite repaired and (she) will remain here with a Frigate, a Cutter, and the four Transports with Stores from Gibraltar until the Admiral returns to Naples. The Ships left off Alexandria are expected here every day to be repaired and victualled. His Majesty's Sloop *Mutine* is just returned here with letters from off Cardiz, having met with the British Squadron with the French Prizes from Egypt about eight leagues from Gibraltar.

"I have the honor to be," etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

"CASERTA, Oct. 23rd, 1798.

"MY LORD,—On Sunday last the Neapolitan Messenger arrived from London, and brought me your Lordship's Dispatch of the 21st of Sept^r (N. 12); and the same day I received from Sir Morton Eden² copies of the two Translated papers from Portugal which your Lordship directed to be sent to me, and I have communicated the Substance of those papers to the Marquis Gallo and General Acton, who desired me to return your Lordship many thanks for so important a Communication. I have strictly obey'd your Lordship's order in not having or allowing of any kind of copy to be taken of these papers.

"His Majesty's Frigate the *Emerald*, Capt. Waller, and the *Flora* Cutter arrived at Naples on Friday last from off Alexandria. The Cutter left Commodore Hood there the 29th of Sept^r to bring his Dispatches and some from the Port to Admiral Sir Hor. Nelson at Naples. Commodore Hood told Capt. Yawkins of the *Flora* Cutter just as he sailed that he expected every moment a Fleet of 22 Ships of the Line, Russians and Turkish, besides a great many smaller vessels and Transports, having had advice of their being arrived at Candia, and of having fallen in with and captured a French Frigate. Commodore Hood

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

² Minister Plenipotentiary at Vienna.

had lately received from the Governor of Rhodes an abundant Supply of Bullocks, fresh provisions, fruits and vegetables, as a present from the Sultan. The Ships before Alexandria were the *Zealous* and the *Lion* with the *Sea Horse* and another Frigate. The *Swiftsure* was gone for water for the Squadron either to Rhodes or Candia. Capt. Hood lays an Embargo on all the small craft he meets with, with the view of facilitating a descent in Alexandria in case the Troops with the United Fleet should attempt it, but has no communication with Egypt for fear of disseminating amongst our people some baneful distemper, as there certainly is a great Sickness with the French in Egypt and at Alexandria, but whether plague or not has not yet been ascertain'd. Buonaparte is said to have fallen back from Cairo, and acts merely upon the defensive, having thrown up Entrenchments some miles distant on the banks of the Nile; his situation is deplorable in the extreme, and all his talents are barely sufficient to quell the very serious mutinies to which he has been exposed of his own Troops, whose eyes are opened to a sense of their own doings and as is believed inevitable Fate. His main Army is said now to consist of no more than Thirteen Thousand men. Capt. Waller of the *Emerald*, who left Alexandria only ten days before the *Flora*, assures me that Buonaparte had before he left Egypt taken most of the arms out of the Ships and Transports at Alexandria to strengthen his Army. Mr. Tallieu was at Alexandria.

“I have the honor of inclosing Gen^l Berthier's original letter to the Cisalpine Republic which Sir Hor. Nelson left with me, and which will show your Lordship how severely Buonaparte's army was harrassed in marching over the desert, just after landing at Alexandria, and when the greatest body of Arabs and Mamalukes did not exceed six thousand men, and now it is said that the French weakened army is surrounded and watched by two Armies of Twenty Thousand men each.

The inclosed are the Copies of the Dispatches and Papers brought from Capt. Hood by the *Flora* Cutter, and which Capt. Troubridge of his Majesty's Ship *Culloden* has been so good as to send to me.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO SIR MORTON EDEN.

(Enclosed with last letter of same date to Lord Grenville.)

"CASERTA, Oct. 23rd, 1798.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am to return you my best thanks for your kind letters of the 2nd and 3rd of Oct. with the papers you was so good as to forward to me by Lord Grenville's order, and of which I have already made the proper use, as I have written fully to Lord Grenville and left my Dispatch under a flying seal for your inspection before you are so good as to forward it. I need not say more, but I must remark to you that every messenger that comes to this Court from Vienna seems to damp the ardour of this Government, that was well inclined and will, I hope, still profit of the present precious moment. You will see by my Dispatch that Buonaparte is in a deplorable condition, God be thanked.

"Poor Prince Bellmonte has been cruelly disappointed, and if he does not deserve it I am sorry for him. The duplicate cyphered Dispatch is the same as one I sent to you by a private hand Cost Post. Admiral Nelson went away in perfect health. I have the honor to be," etc.

SIR W. HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

"CASERTA, Novr. 6th, 1798.

"MY LORD,—General Mack after having made the Tour of the Confines and of all the out Ports returned here last week for a few hours to make his report and to settle with His Sicilian Majesty the Place of Operations that the Neapolitan Army might immediately go on and secure the most advantageous Posts in the Roman States. The General told me that he had been much pleased with the appearance of his Sicilian Majesty's Troops and which he found greatly beyond what he had expected. His Sicilian Majesty is determined to put himself at the head of his own Army and proposes going from hence with Gen^l Acton to join the Army on Thursday next, so that I flatter myself

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

that no time will be lost in putting into execution the salutary Plan this Government seems at length to have really adopted. A very (few) days must make the matter clear.

“According to the accounts received here of the Enemy’s Force in Italy at this moment, counting French, Poles, Romans, Cisalpines, etc., it amounts to no more than 26 thousand men. The King of Naples’ army ready to march is said to consist of sixty-eight battillions of Infantry, and thirty-two Squadrons of Cavalry, in all upwards of Thirty Thousand Men, and according to the late Treaty between the Courts of Vienna and Naples, when Naples furnished Thirty Thousand Men; the Emperor is to furnish Sixty Thousand.

“Every and most necessary precaution is taken that the Neapolitan Army going into an exhausted Country may be well supplied with Provisions from hence.

“We hear from Rome that the French force is much diminishing daily, and it appears that Ancona will be their Fortress, as they have already erected strong batteries to command that Port.

“Yesterday I received a letter from Sir Horatio Nelson dated off Malta the 27th of Oct’. The Gallant Admiral was then assisting the Maltese in taking the entire possession of the Island of Gozga, and He does not doubt but that if His Sicilian Majesty would assist the Maltese properly by affording them the necessary supplies of Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition, those brave Islanders who are fighting for the King of Naples under his Sicilian Majesty’s Standard would soon oblige the French (who have been greatly reduced by several late unsuccessful sorties, and are much distressed for Provisions) to capitulate. The Admiral adds that if it had not been for the supplies of Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions afforded them by His Majesty’s Fleet, these brave Islanders must have long since bent their heads again to the French yoke at the desire of this Court. We expect Sir Horatio Nelson here daily, and the Admiral says in his letter to me that Capt. Ball of His Majesty’s Ship the *Alexander* will be left with the command of the blockade at Malta. Sir Hor. Nelson mentions his having taken Three Vessels loaded with Oxen from Tripoli, destined for the French in the

Valetta, and that ten more vessels were expected from the same quarter, which would certainly be taken also.

“Capt. Troubridge in His Majesty’s Ship *Culloden*, now in perfect repair, with the *Alliance* Frigate, two Cutters, the *Lord St. Vincent* and the *Flora*, with Three Transport Victuallers are lying at an Anchor in the Bay of Naples, as is the Portugese Squadron under the Command of the Marquis Niza; which on Sir Hor. Nelson’s arrival before Malta received his orders to return to Naples, to take in three months’ provisions, and prepare for service with all expedition.

“Capt. Troubridge has sent one of the Transport Victuallers with a Flag of Truce to Corfu with several French Officers prisoners on board from Alexandria, and to bring off the crew of the unfortunate *Leander*. The Officers of the *Leander* have been permitted to go away on their Parole, Capt^s Thompson and Barry were on their way to Trieste, intending to go to England, and the first Lieutenant of the *Leander* and fourteen Officers are arrived at Barletta and expected here soon.

“By a letter from Capt. Thompson to Sir Hor. Nelson and which he sent to me under a flying seal, I find that the *Leander* made a most noble defence, having fought the *Généreux* off Candia six hours and a quarter, and as the Capt. says to the Admiral as close as he himself could have wish’d, but that his powder being nearly expended and his ship rendered ungovernable, he was obliged to submit. On board the *Généreux* there were 100 men killed and 188 wounded. The *Leander’s* List, if I recollect right, was 30 killed and 60 wounded. Letters from Corfu say that both Ships are perfect wrecks, and that the *Généreux* had been on the point of Striking to the *Leander* when she perceived that the *Leander’s* powder was exhausted.

“I beg leave to remind your Lordship again that we are in the utmost need of a Consul at Naples, as the Consular business increases daily. I do what I can with the assistance of Mr. Gibbs, a very intelligent Merchant of the British Factory here, but still, his Majesty’s Service suffers for want of a regular and active Cousul.

“I have the honor to be, etc.”

[On a page of this same letter a few lines are addressed to

an unnamed person, probably Sir Morton Eden, congratulating him on the French going down hill faster than they got up, and speaking of Nelson as "just as eager to do more as if he had done nothing; so fine a character I really never met with in the whole course of my life."]

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

"NAPLES, Nov. 19, 1798.

"MY LORD,—On the 12th instant Sir Horatio Nelson and I went by the invitation of their Sicilian Majesties to the Camp of St. Germano on the confines of Abruzzo and were present at a Military Manœuvre of 32 Thousand Men, Horse and Foot, under the Command of Gen^l Mack. A finer army was never seen, and the Gen^l told Lord Nelson (for by the late Gazettes we are informed that the King has been graciously pleased to distinguish that brave Admiral by the high dignity of a Peer of Great Britain) that he had never in all his experience seen so fine a body of men. They went through their different evolutions incomparably well.

"In the evening we had a consultation with Gen^l Mack and Acton, in which we all agreed that the boldest measures were the safest. The uncertainty of the Emperor's support seemed to be the only drawback; however, when we came away it seemed to be frankly determined that the Army shou'd march on in a few days, and by a Letter received yesterday from Gen^l Acton, His Excel^y assures me it will march in 7 Columns on Thursday next the 23rd instant. Lord Nelson in our Conversations always expressed a desire of aiding Gen^l Mack in his land operations with a Co-operation by Sea of the powerful Squadron under his Command now in the Bay of Naples, consisting of the *Vanguard*, *Culloden*, *Minataur*, the four Portugese Ships of the Line, the *Terpsichore* and *Alliance* Frigates, and *Flora* Cutter, besides the *B*— a Portugese Brig. Gen^l Mack expressing his fears for Tuscany and the Grand Duke having written with anxiety to their Sicilian Majesties to assist him in his present distress.

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

“Lord Nelson proposed the sending a body of Neapolitan Troops to take immediate possession of Leghorn, and to put an end to all difficulties offered to transport on board his Squadron five thousand Infantry provided the King of Naples would write to the Duke of Tuscany to allow of their entering Leghorn. The Admiral’s proposal was eagerly accepted, and Capt. Gage was dispatched yesterday in the *Terpsichore* to carry the King of Naples’ Letter to the Duke of Tuscany. The five thousand Neapolitan Troops are now embarking on board L. Nelson’s Squadron, and his Lordship means to sail to-morrow if possible for Leghorn, and we flatter ourselves all will succeed if the Grand Duke should but be firm. It seems to be the glorious lot of Great Britain to save them all in spite of what they have hitherto been doing to ruin their own affairs and lose their dominions.

“Another fine Neapolitan Army of Thirty Thousand Men will remain in the Kingdom after the Army above mentioned has marched forward into the Roman States.

“Whilst Lord Nelson and I were with their Sicⁿ Majesties at St. Germano, the Neapolitan Messenger from the Marquis Circello arrived and brought me your Lordship’s Dispatches of the 3rd of Oct^r N. 6 and 7 with the full powers the King has been most graciously pleased to honour me with ; all I can do at present is to return your Lordship my grateful thanks for the confidence reposed in me, and to assure you that I shall strictly adhere to the letter of the Instructions your Lordship has been pleased to give me.

“All that Lord Nelson at his return from Malta desired from this Government for the more close blockade of that Part and for the enabling of the Maltese insurgents to reduce the fortress of the Valette has been granted. Two Neapolitan Frigates and a Corvette have been put under the command of Lord Nelson. His Lordship sends them to Malta to-morrow, where they are to remain under the command of Capt. Ball of His Majesty’s Ship *Alex^r*, who has been appointed by Lord Nelson to command the Blockade of Malta. These Frigates and Corvette have on board mortars, g— guns, two thousand —? of arms and Ammunition of all sorts according to the wish of the Maltese

Insurgents, and I hope soon to inform your Lordship of that important Fortress being reduced.

“Your Lordship will have heard of the Combined Fleets of the Turks and Russians being at Corfu having taken Zante, Cephalonia, etc., and placed there the Russian and Ottoman Colours in those Islands. The Garrison of Corfu consisting of 1,000 men had been driven into the Citadel by the Inhabitants, and the French Ship the *Généreux* with the unfortunate *Leander* were under the Guns of the Citadel and summon'd to surrender to seven Russian Ships of the Line that had entered the harbour of Corfu.

“We have just heard the report of the Buonaparte's Squadron's having been mostly captured or destroyed in Killalo Bay. God send it may be true. The fate of this Country seems now to be near its crisis, and when I can with certainty assure your Lordship that the Army has really advanced I shall have the greatest hope that the evident evil intentions of the French Republic against this kingdom may be entirely disappointed. Every day proves more and more the great importance of the Glorious Success that attended his Majesty's Arms in Egypt on the first of August last.”

COMMODORE, AFTERWARDS ADMIRAL, DUCKWORTH TO SIR
WILLIAM HAMILTON.¹

“SIR,—It is with the highest satisfaction I employ my Pen in obedience to the Commands of the Earl of St. Vincent to give you the pleasing intimation of the surrender of this Island² to His Majesty's Arms. It was invested the 7th, summonsed the 14th, capitulated the 15th, and we were in full possession the 17th. As an humble imitator of the noble Earl I will beg you to make my respectful compliments acceptable to Lady Hamilton. This will be presented to you by Lieutenant Gregory serving under me, who I take the liberty of introducing to your notice,

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

² Port Mahon and the Island of Minorca surrendered to the Combined Forces under Lieutenant-General the Hon. Charles Stuart and Commodore Duckworth on November 15th, 1798.

and I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

“ Y^{rs},
“ T. DUCKWORTH.

“ On board Ship *Leviathan*, Port Mahon Harbour, November 20th, 1798.”

NOTE.—It will be noticed that in whatever correspondence passed between officers of the fleet and Sir William Hamilton, Lady Hamilton is most respectfully mentioned as a lady of position.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.¹

“ GOODWOOD, Nov. 10, 1798.

“ MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,—Mr. Charles Lock, who married a Daughter of my sister the Duchess of Leinster by Her Second Husband Mr. Ogilvie, and who has lately been appointed Consul at Naples, has desired me to give him a Letter of Recommendation to you, and I am very glad of the opportunity it gives me of writing to and in this manner at least renewing acquaintance with an old Friend.

“ Allow me then to recommend my nephew to your protection ; you will find him a very pleasant good-natured Man, warm in his affections and friendships, active, zealous, and intelligent. My niece, I will also venture to say, is one of the most agreeable women I know, without any affectation, and one I love most sincerely. Whatever kindness you are so good as to show them I shall be truly thankful for, and I trust that from our long Friendship you will not be disinclined to oblige me altho’ now retired from all public Business and concerns and settled here in the Country for the remainder of my days. Indeed, family misfortunes as well as the unpleasant state of public affairs, particularly as far as any Part I could take in them, have made this retreat from them in a manner necessary, and I enjoy what remains of Life I can here with less interruption than I should meet with in any other Situation.

“ You have had troublesome and very difficult times ; our navy

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

has saved not only this Country but I believe Europe from reverting to Barbarism, and I hope it will be the means of making your situation as quiet and pleasant as it formerly was, and enable you to pursue your Pursuits of Virtue. May I beg of you to remember me to Lady Hamilton. It is impossible to have seen even the little I did of her and forget the admiration and real regard which she inspired. Believe me ever, my dear Sir William, your most obedient and faithful servant,

“RICHMOND,” ETC.

LORD GRENVILLE TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.¹

(By the Marquis of Circello's Courier.)

“DOWNING STREET, *Nov.* 23, 1798.

“Your Dispatches to No. 32 Inclusive have been received and laid before the King.

“His Majesty has seen with the utmost satisfaction the honourable and friendly reception which their Sicilian Majesties have afforded to Admiral Lord Nelson and his Officers and Fleet, and the distinguished Proofs which they have given of the interest which they take in an Event not more Glorious to His Majesty's Arms than important to the General Salvation of Europe.

“As among all the consequences which are derived from the signal victory of the first of August, there is none which his Majesty contemplates with more pleasure than the opportunity offered by it to the King of Naples to rescue himself and his Kingdom by a vigorous exertion from the State of terror and subjection in which they have been held by the French, and the ruin which has long been meditated against them. You will omit no occasion of expressing His Majesty's fervent hope that the opportunity thus offered will not be suffered to be lost. Europe may now be recovered if in proportion as a due sense of its danger has been felt there is a proper spirit to make those exertions by which alone that danger can be effectually repelled. I am, with Great Truth and Regard, Sir, your most Obedient, humble Servant,

“GRENVILLE.”

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

MR. WYNDHAM TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.¹

“LEGHORN, 30th Nov. '98.

“DEAR SIR,—I hope Ad^l Lord Nelson will be with you before you receive my Letter, but if he should not this is to inform that the Neapolitan Troops entered this Place on the night of Wednesday last. I had the honour to wait on the Admiral, who for some years I have been proud to call my friend, and have received from Him what I consider as real obligation.

“I went on board the *Adm^l* accompanied by the Duke Sogro, and it was then proposed that we should carry the summons. Some difficulty was started, which I presume was owing to a Stratagem or intrigue of Marfierni (?); we therefore signed a sort of Capitulation, to which L^d Nelson and the Gen^l did me honor to subscribe. It was not, however, totally agreeable and consonant with the promise I held from Seratti; but, however, I hope all has been well and I flatter myself the Adm^l is contented with me, for I strove to do what was best for him and conformable with His My.'s orders and sentiments towards the Grand Duke and the Adm^ls Ideas.

“The Portugese are not yet arrived, and Capt. Troubridge sends the Cutter for Porte Ferraio to look after them to-morrow.

“Nothing has happened remarkable since except that I have in regard of Adm^l Nelson's wishes engaged the Neapolitan Gen^l Napelli to issue an Edict and expell as a military measure all the French, not housekeepers, and other Strangers, and particularly first the Crew of the French privateers from Tuscany. They are to depart on board some Genoese tartano (empty) to-morrow; in the meantime they are unarmed, for we feared a disturbance or some attack on the post; they are desperate and will now be curbed.

“It appears to me (privately speaking) that there is some misunderstanding concerning the State of this Country. L^d Nelson has declared, in a manner which adds one more degree of lustre to what He already has exhibited, that he will protect the neutrality of Tuscany and the G. Duke with his blood if necessary.

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

“Nothing can be more clear than the Noble and Generous sentiments of our Admiral, but what is to be wished to save this State is a concordance and exact understanding with the combined Powers. You perhaps know more than I do in regard to this affair. I have never heard from any of His Majesty’s Ministers nor had instructions to violate in any way the original neutrality. The neutrality is not violated, but I only fear that by my misunderstanding betwixt the two strong powers and the feeble one some circumstance may happen which will compromise this Court, and I have from fear rather kept within than dared to exceed my powers. I hope this country will arm instantly. I have the promise of it from the Chev. Seratti, whose honor and high sense of his duty are well known.

“I refer the rest to Ad^l Lord Nelson, and beg you to give him my best comp^{ts} and assurances of my friendship and high admiration.

“The Grand Duke wished to show him honor at Pisa and to express his gratitude to him, but the Ad^l was gone. I sent him a Letter by the Chaplain of His Ship which I hope was received. I beg leave to repeat the necessity of a good intelligence between the English and Neapolitans if they wish to preserve this State, and that precise orders should be given (even prolix) to each commander on the Station. L^d Nelson will see the necessity of this and will concert it with the King and Gen^l Acton. We have news that the Austrians are marched to Ferara. This Gov^t has secretly dispatched a Courier to Gen^l Wallis since the arrival of our brave Ad^l and the Neapolitans, I enclose a Letter for L^d Nelson, and have the honor to be, D^r Sir, your faithful and obliged humble Ser^t,

“W. WYNDHAM.

“P.S.—All Leghorn turned out to show due respect to the Ad^l and the lamentation of only a few only are that they did not see him to do the same.

“A thousand respects to L^y II., to whom I have not had yet a moment’s time to acknowledge the honor of her Letter and my sincere thanks.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“NAPLES, Dec^r 11th, 1798.

“MY LORD,—Lord Nelson in the *Vanguard* with the *Culloden* and *Minataur*, each having from eight to nine hundred Neapolitan Troops on board, notwithstanding the Tempestuous weather, arrived at Leghorn the 27th of last month, and the Neapolitan Troops were landed and took possession of Leghorn the 28th. Above twenty French privateers, and seventy-two Ligurian or Genoese Vessels, loaded with Corn for the French, were in that harbour, and we understand that the Privateers are still detained there by his Majesty's Squadron there now under the command of Captain Troubridge, and that the Corn Vessels after having been obliged to deposit their Cargoes at Leghorn have been permitted to depart, taking away with them all the French and Genoese then at Leghorn, amounting to about 15 hundred and who began to be troublesome. Lord Nelson at the particular request of Their Sicilian Majesties returned to Naples as soon as he had landed the Troops, and came with the *Vanguard* only to an anchor in this Port the 3rd instant. Your Lordship will receive the particulars of the Capitulation of Leghorn from Mr. Wyndham. The Portuguese Ships with their portion of Neapolitan Troops on board not having been able to keep up with the British Ships, were met by Lord Nelson on his return about 16 leagues from Leghorn.

“This Expedition, planned and executed so ably and speedily by Lord Nelson, will, it is to be hoped, totally disappoint the intentions of the French and save the Duchy of Tuscany. The operations of His Sicilian Majesty's Army since my last have been cautiously kept secret, but from what has transpired one column under the command of General Michereux fell into a French Ambuscade near Fermo on the Adriatick, lost all its baggage and cannons, and was dispersed over the Country, some having fled back as far as Pescara and Chieti.

“They have, however, been rallied again, and were the

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

7th instant advanced as far as Ascoli with another General, the Prince Cullo at their head.

“The main body of the French Army, said to be about 7 thousand men, was by the last accounts at Civita Castellana, 3 or 4 Ports from thence nearly, surrounded by the Neapolitan Army under the command of Gen^l Mack at Civita Castellana; also on some small attacks the behaviour of the Neapolitans, particularly of the Officers, is said to have been very pusillanimous [the word *indeed* erased] and that the Gen^l had degraded some of the Officers and placed Sergeants in their Stead. The Count Saxe, Son of the Prince Xarrien of Saxony, has been severely wounded in one of these Skirmishes endeavouring to rally and encourage these new Troops.

“His Sicilian Majesty and Gen^l Acton were still at Rome the 4th inst., but the Tricolour Flag is still displayed on the Castle of St. Angelo, having a French Garrison of about 500 men; it is expected, however, soon to surrender, and the Romans in general are said to be arming against the French and are much pleased with H.S.M., whom they call their deliverer. As yet the Neapolitans have suffered no great losses except in honor, baggage, and Field pieces, having taken and killed as many of the Enemy as the French have killed or taken from them. We hope that the reason of keeping these disasters secret may be the great probability to Gen^l Mack's being able to repair them soon by a good account of the French Army surrounded by so superior a force (Neapolitan) at Civita Castellana.

“We do not know the number of French Troops at Ancona, but hear that they have strongly fortified themselves there and have by force manned chiefly with landsmen the three Venetian Ships of War that were lying, and believed to be richly laden with spoil, in that Port. We hear of numerous French Troops being on their march into Italy from Piedmont and Switzerland, but it is to be hoped the Emperor's Army will move before they can join the few Troops the French Republic has at this moment in Italy, which is calculated at 27 thousand men.

“The Neapolitan Army seems to want such Encouragement, and there can be no doubt but that the Austrian and Neapolitan would have it in their power to drive the French completely

out of Italy if they would without loss of time act with vigor and loyalty. If the Emperor should not move, this kingdom will certainly soon be in the greatest danger.

“The Arms of the French Republic were on Saturday last taken from over the door of the House of Mon^r La Combe St. Michel,¹ and He was ordered by this Government to be ready to embark the Monday following, which was yesterday, with all the French unprovided with paper certificates of their ceasing to reside in this City. Vessels were prepared by this Government to transport the Ambassador and his Suite and the French, amounting to about fourscore persons, to Genoa, and they all embarked yesterday. The Marquis de Gallo having applied to me and to Lord Nelson for our passports that the Ambassador and his Suite might not be molested in their passage to Genoa we gave them accordingly.

“All the papers of the French Emigrants at Naples under my protection and pension’d by his Majesty have been sealed up by order of this Government for Examination.

“Yesterday Lord Nelson received letters from the Russian and Turkish Admirals at Corfu, dated the 30th of Nov^r, acquainting his Lordship that they flattered themselves they should soon have the entire possession of that Island, as they were then preparing to storm the Citadel.

“I hope that I shall be able in my next to give your Lordship a better account of the behaviour of His Sicilian Majesty’s Troops, and of the Emperor’s Army being on its March into Italy, without which our Situation must remain very critical indeed.

“I have the honor,” etc.

COMMODORE DUCKWORTH TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.²

“SIR,—Encouraged by the kind attention you and Lady Hamilton honoured me with through Mr. Gregory, I cannot allow any conveyance to pass without assuring you of the high sense I ever shall retain of it, and how truly I shall be flattered if you

¹ The French Ambassador at Naples, whom Queen Maria Caroline hated because he had voted for the execution of her brother-in-law, Louis XVI.

² In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

can render me useful in my present or any other Situation. As I understand your Mails from England are certain and that you receive the Papers in 20 days with regularity I am restrained from sending mine, as they reach no further than the first of this month, containing the King's Speech, which appears replete with Manliness, and Pays a Just Tribute to Lord Nelson's glorious Achievements. From Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons I trust we may Presage the assistance of the Emperor in Italy, upon which you very justly observed the following up the King of Naples' success must depend. But I have a full reliance in Providence that the Stream must turn against those unprincipled and if I may call it enlightened savages of France. Permit me, Sir, to solicit you to forward a few Letters for England, and if any expense is attendant thereon it will be another strong proof of my being much your Debtor, which I shall have as great pleasure in repaying as I have in acknowledging. Captain Markham, who claims the honour of being known to you, requests me to present his compliments. I will beg you to say all that is respectful to Lady Hamilton, having the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

“JNO. T. DUCKWORTH.

“Port Mahon, *December 31st, 1798.*

“P. S.—The above date reminds me of the wishes appropriate on to-morrow, the which I have the honour of offering to you and Lady Hamilton with great sincerity.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“PALERMO, *Jan 7th, 1799.*

“MY LORD,—The Neapolitan Messenger that was to have been dispatched the 28th of Dec^r from hence to Vienna and London has been detained until this day, but I flatter myself that your Lordship will have received my important Dispatch (No. 40) (a duplicate of which I have the honor to send your Lordship now) through the channel of Lord St. Vincent.

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

“The last news received here from Naples was that of the 4th instant. A column of the Enemy said to be about Eight Thousand strong had made an attempt on Capua but were repulsed. The Head Quarters of Gen^l Mack was at Caserta. The Neapolitan Nobility in general did not manifest any great attachment to their Sovereign, but rather the contrary. The people appeared to be violently against the French and loyal to their Sovereign. Gen^l Mack to gain time had endeavor’d to get an Armistice, but the French Commander refused to treat with any but the people and City of Naples. General Pignatelli, in whose hand the chief command of Naples was left by Their Sicilian Majesties on Their leaving that Kingdom, was said to be treating with the French for an armistice. It is plain to be seen that this business must end very ill for their Sicilian Majesties, and I look upon the loss of Naples as certain. Now what has always happened on like occasions trusting to French Treaties ?

“The Dispatches which I have just received and I forward to your Lordship from Mr. Wyndham show that the present State of Tuscany is nearly as desperate as that of the Kingdom of Naples, and all the consequence of half-measures mixed with Treachery and Cowardice. The Chev. Boulogny, the Spanish Chargé d’Affaires at Naples, is, I hear, very busy negotiating to get Sovereignty of the Kingdom of Naples for the Son of the Duke of Parma now at Madrid.

“Lord Nelson is indefatigable in pushing on with vigor and activity the blockades of Malta and Alexandria, and at the same time affording every assistance and protection in the power of His Majesty’s Squadron under His L^{ty}s command to the Courts of Sicily and Tuscany, and it really seems as if Great Britain alone dared to look the proud perfidious Enemy in the face.

“When the particulars of what has passed rapidly within the last month in the Kingdom of Naples and in Tuscany, and when the real numbers of the Enemy and of the Troops that were or might have been opposed to them, shall be ascertained, it must astonish all Europe ; but what is to be done when Treachery, Corruption, and Cowardice had infected the whole of his Sicilian Majesty’s Army and Navy ?

“Their Sicilian Majesties are a little recovered from their fatigues, and the behaviour of their Sicilian Subjects is most praiseworthy.

“My health, tho’ much better, is by no means such as to be able to write to your Lordship as fully as I cou’d have wished.

“I have the honor to be, etc.

“P. S.—Lord Montgomery and Major Gordon are just arrived from Naples.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“PALERMO, *March 7th*, 1799.

“MY LORD,—After having made up my packet of yesterday’s date for your Lordship a Vessel arrived from Corfu with a Messenger from Mr. Ludolph, His Sicilian Majesty’s Minister at Constantinople, who has brought the Treaty of Alliance, lately agreed upon between this Court and the Grand Signor. The same Messenger brought from the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople a packet for Lord Nelson from the Emperor of Russia containing a Letter of Congratulation in His Imperial Majesty’s own handwriting to his Lordship on his glorious Victory over the French Squadron on the first of August and desiring his Lordship to accept of a Snuff Box with his Picture (richly set with large Diamonds) as a small token of His remembrance.

“The diligent and indefatigable Mr. Spiridion Forresti, His Majesty’s Consul at Zante, also profited of this opportunity of sending me His Dispatches for your Lordship under a flying Seal and which I have the honour of enclosing. In the last of these dispatches your Lordship will have convincing proofs of what Lord Nelson and I have long suspected—that the Court of Russia has further views in these Seas than merely to assist the Turks and co-operate with them and Great Britain against the French in the common cause.

“Lord Nelson having written fully to Lord Spencer upon the Subject of the Blockade of Malta by the same Vessel, the

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

Dorothea Frigate, that is to sail this afternoon with our Dispatches to Lord St. Vincent, I need not say more on the Subject.

“I have the honor of inclosing the *Palermo Gazette* in which your Lordship will see the account of Lord Nelson’s being honored with the freedom of this city as mentioned in my last. Mr. Smith’s last letter to me from Constantinople is likewise enclosed.”

MR. C. GODDARD TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.¹

“CLEVELAND ROW, LONDON, *March 14th, 1799.*

“DEAR SIR,—I feel great satisfaction in learning from your dispatches to Lord Grenville that your exertions were so successful with regard to English Persons and Property saved from French Plunder in the distressing moment of the abandoning of Naples. If, as I hope and trust, my effects have been saved and transported to Sicily, will you have the goodness to give directions for Lord Nelson’s being apprized where they are, as I have written to him on the subject. Lord St. Vincent had already given directions concerning them before the loss of Naples, but I have not yet heard any tidings of their arrival either at the Fleet or at Lisbon. I troubled Lady Hamilton with a Letter on the Subject last Summer when I heard the news of Davenport’s death, to whom my effects had been entrusted. They consist of 17 Boxes well packed, and I need not say how much I shall be obliged by any attention you may give to their being sent on board some Ship destined for the fleet of Lord St. Vincent, who will receive them on board his own Ship. I beg to present my particular compliments to Lady Hamilton, whose conduct on a late trying occasion has excited here the admiration it so well deserves.

“I have the honor to remain, dear Sir, your most obliged and most faithful servant,

“C. GODDARD.

“P. S.—I trouble you with a Letter for Clarke.”

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“PALERMO, *March 21st*, 1799.

“MY LORD,—Last week we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of Sir Charles Stuart in His Majesty’s Frigate *Aurora*, having with him as many Troops as he cou’d possibly spare from the Garrison of Minorca. After his having conferred with Lord Nelson and me, I had the honor of presenting the General to Their Sicilian Majesties and all the Royal Family, who expressed the greatest gratitude to Sir Charles for the very unexpected aid that He had brought them, and which cou’d not fail of contributing greatly to the putting this Island in a state of security. It was agreed immediately with the Government that Sir Charles Stuart shou’d have the absolute and entire command of the important Fortress of Messina and with full powers from His Sicilian Majesty. He went in three hours after his arrival in Palermo on Horseback for Messina, as he wished to see himself the nature of the Country. The Transports with the Troops sailed from hence the same day for Messina, and yesterday this Court had notice of the General and Troops being safely arrived there and to the infinite satisfaction of Messinese. Sir Charles when he left here proposed to return here to make his report to His Sicilian Majesty, and then go back to Minorca, leaving the command of Messina to one of his Officers.

“His Majesty’s Ships the *Zealous*, *Culloden*, and *Swiftsure* are arrived here from Alexandria, Capt. Hood having left the Command of Blockade of Alexandria with Sir Sidney Smith. As Lord Nelson makes his report to Lord St. Vincent by the *Bull Dog* Bomb Vessel that is to sail to-night it is unnecessary for me to touch upon the Marine Subject. I cannot help, however, expressing to you all my astonishment and satisfaction at seeing the King’s Ships after such long and hard services in such good order, and their crews in such perfect health and spirits.

“Lord William Stuart in His Majesty’s Brig *St. Carlo* returned here yesterday morning from Corfu. His Lordship had been sent from hence with Lord Nelson’s Dispatches to the Turkish

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

and Russian Admirals and with the Chev. Micheroux, having His Sicilian Majesty's Commission to solicit the speedy aid of the Turks and Russians to relieve Him from His present most distressed situation. I am assured that the answer given to His Sicilian Majesty's Minister was most favourable and satisfactory, and, as your Lordship will see by the inclosed packet from Mr. Spiridion Forresti and which he desires me to forward to your Lordship, that Corfu has Capitulated. It is probable that a portion of the Turkish and Russian Fleets may be [are] already on the Coast of Puglia in the Adriatic. Cardinal Ruffo's Army in Calabria is increased to the number of fourteen thousand men, and by the last account His Eminency was advanced as far as Cosenza in upper Calabria. This Court has also received good accounts from Lecce and the province of Abruzzo, where there are very considerable risings of the people in favour of Monarchy. This Court has not received any Letters or Dispatches from Vienna since the 14th of Nov. last and has not had as yet any account from the Marquis de Gallo, who was sent to Vienna on an important commission before their Sicilian Majesties left Naples.

“We hear from Naples that the Lazarroni continue to manifest their hatred to the French and attachment to His Sic. Maj., that the City is ill supplied with provisions, and that the French are laying heavy contributions on both Friends and Foes. So that if the promised Foreign Succours really do arrive and the Emperor of Germany shou'd awake from His Lethargy and with the appearance of the King's Squadron under the Command of the truly brave Lord Nelson a very favourable alteration may reasonably be expected to take place very soon in favour of Their Sicilian Majesties and Royal Family. I can assure your Lordship that Their Sicilian Majesties are most truly sensible of the obligations they have to the King and express their heartfelt gratitude on every occasion, particularly as it is from Great Britain alone that they have as yet received any assistance or comfort in their heavy distress.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“PALERMO, *April 8th*, 1799.

“MY LORD,—As we have no regular Post from this Island to the Continent, I can only hazard writing to your Lordship through the channel of Lord St. Vincent when Lord Nelson sends a Vessel down to Gibraltar, or through that of Sir Morton Eden when this Court sends a Messenger to that of Vienna. The last Dispatch I had the honour of receiving from your Lordship was of as old a date as the 23rd of Nov^r last.

“By a Cabinet Messenger now going from hence to Vienna I have the honour of informing your Lordship that General Sir Charles Stuart returned from Messina to this Port last week in the *Dolphin* Frigate, but as the extraordinary fatigue He had undergone had brought the gout into both his feet he was not able to come on shore but wrote me a Letter with the observations He had made on this Coast on his journey by land from hence to Messina, and offering His opinion as to the putting Messina and this Island in a proper state of defence. The General has left Colonel Stewart with the Command of the Fortress of Messina, but I find wou’d not trust any Neapolitan Officer or Troops in the Citadel, which is garrisoned with the British Troops and Sicilian Militia only. The King and Queen of Naples were so sensible of the important Services that Gen^l Stuart had rendered them that Their Majesties did him the very singular honor of going on board the *Dolphin* on the 28th of March to return their thanks in person, and on the 30th the General sailed with a fair wind for Minorca.

“The reports from Cardinal Ruffo’s Army in Calabria continue to be favourable, as are also those from the Provinces of Abruzzo, Lecce, and Salerno, where there are very Considerable risings in favour of His Sicilian Majesty. If the promised and much wished for Russian Succour do but arrive soon at Brindisi or any part of the Coast of Puglia on the Adriatic it is probable that the risings in favour of the Monarchy wou’d be general. As such an happy Event may now be daily expected Lord Nelson has

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

thought proper and according to the wish of this Court to send from hence a powerful Squadron under the command of Capt. Troubridge to take possession of the Islands of Ischia, Procida, and Capri, by which the Bay of Naples will be completely blocked up, and the French, who are detested by the common people of Naples and are not numerous in that city, will not dare (whilst the island with such a formidable marine force) to detach any of their Troops into the Provinces. This detachment from His Majesty's Squadron under the command of Lord Nelson sail'd from this Port the 31st of March.

“Lord Nelson having received a Letter by express from Mr. Lucas, His Majesty's Consul at Tripoli, expressing a desire of a Ship or a Frigate's being sent to Tripoli to oblige the Bey to conform to the orders of the Porte and not protect the French or hold any communication with General Buonaparte, which he lately has done, Lord Nelson detached immediately his own Ship the *Vanguard*, under the command of Captain Hardy with a very proper and spirited Letter to the Bey of Tripoli, and which had the immediate and desired effect, for in eleven days from his departure from Palermo Captain Hardy brought back the Bey's most submissive answer and assurances in writing and with his Signature of his joining most heartily for the future in the good cause against the French, having thrown into Slavery all the French at Tripoli and taken three of their Vessels in that Port before the *Vanguard* left it; but as your Lordship will see in Lord Nelson's dispatches to the Admiralty the particulars of this transaction and the good consequences that may be expected from it by having shut the door through which Gen^l Buonaparte seemed to be meditating his escape, I need not enlarge upon this Subject, not being in my department.

“Lord Nelson having allowed me the perusal of all the intercepted French printed papers and Letters relative to Gen^l Buonaparte and his Army in Egypt, some of which are of as late a date as the 4th of Feb^r, I must own that he does not appear to me to be in that distressed Situation as is generally represented; on the contrary, Buonaparte's plans seem to be all directed towards a permanent Station in that fertile Country. And if the printed papers speak the truth he has himself been as

far as Suez and settled with the [?] for the different Merchandise coming by the Red Sea. At the same time it must be confessed that the discovery lately made by Lord Nelson of General Buonaparte's intended negociation with the Porte, offering upon certain considerations to evacuate Egypt, and with the Bey of Tripoli, to whom he sent a present of a valuable Diamond in order to secure a retreat if necessary from that Port, does not indicate his feeling himself secure in his present situation. However, your Lordship will be able to form a better judgement when you have Lord Nelson's Dispatches and the Intercepted Letters before you.

“By the arrival of the *Bellerophon* from Leghorn a few days ago and the Letters brought by Capt. Darby from Mr. Wyndham there is every reason to believe that the French are by this time in possession of Leghorn. The Great Duke of Tuscany having determined at all events to await his fate at Florence, Mr. Wyndham also determined to remain with his Royal Highness, having sent here to my care all his most valuable papers and Effects. The *Bellerophon* sail'd the first of this Month for Minorca, and at present the Marquis Niza in the *Prince Royal* is the only ship in Leghorn Road.

“Twenty-one British Merchant Vessels and Victuallers for L^d Nelson's Squadron, convoy'd by His Majesty's Frigate the *Hyena*, Capt. Lloyd, arrived here three days ago.

“Their Sicilian Majesties and Royal Family are in good health, and in much better spirits from the prospect of a speedy and happy change in their affairs. Hitherto it has been from Great Britain alone that they have had any comfort or assistance, and there is not a day that their Majesties do not express their lively gratitude for what the King our Royal Master has done for them.

“I have the honor to be, etc.

“P.S. —Having told Lord Nelson that I had mentioned to your Lordship the Packet of Letters and printed papers intercepted in Egypt by Capt. Foote of the *Sea Horse*, his Lordship, has been so kind as to allow me to transmit to your Lordship the whole packet as he received it.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“PALERMO, 9th of April, 1799.

“MY LORD,—The *Minerva* Frigate returned here the day before yesterday from Malta and brought letters from Capt. Ball to Lord Nelson. The Operations of the Islanders against the Valette go on slowly, as they are ill fed and ill clothed and have had sickness amongst them which communicated to Capt. Ball’s Ship ; but by the Capt.’s timely care and having erected an hospital on Shore, although 23 of the Crew of the *Alexander* were detached by the disorder, two only have died, and the Company’s of all his Majesty’s Ships blocking up Malta are now in perfect health. It does not appear probable that the Fortress of the Valette will surrender until obliged by a force of Regular Troops. The appearance of the expected three thousand Russian Grenadiers will probably decide the business immediately, as the French Garrison of the Valette is by no means at its ease, being Sickly and very short of Provisions ; but as they are flattered with the hope of this Island’s falling soon into the hands of the French, they will naturally hold out as long as they can.

“Lord William Stuart in the armed Brig the *Il Corso* returned yesterday evening from the Bay of Naples with letters from Captain Troubridge to Lord Nelson informing His Lordship that he had taken possession in the name of H.S.M^{ys} of the Islands of Ischia, Procida, and Capri, that the Inhabitants of those Islands (most of which were loyal to His Sicilian Majesty) had very readily assisted him in cutting down the Trees of Liberty and giving into his hands the most Notorious Jacobins employ’d by the French Government in those Islands, the most conspicuous of which Captain Troubridge has secured on board the *Culloden*, and the rest were confined in the Castle of Ischia. His Sicilian Majesty at the request of Capt. Troubridge sends to-day a Judge from hence with orders that the most guilty of the rebels should be immediately tried and executed ; there were no French Troops in these Islands. Capt. Troubridge, in order to recover some of his Sailors that were cast away near Naples, sent

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

an Officer with a Flag of Truce to General Macdonald at Naples. The report of that Officer, who was treated with the greatest politeness, is that from what he can learn there were not more than two thousand French at Naples, that they were in possession of all the Castles, and that the Jacobin Neapolitan Army there consisted of about twenty thousand men, that the Lazzeroni or Common people continued to detest the French and express their love and loyalty on every occasion for their Sovereign. The French have already extorted from Naples by contributions amounting in money to six millions and a half of Ducats. The reports Capt. Troubridge has received from Gaeta are very favourable; the French dare not stir out of that Garrison, as a part of a very considerable Army that has been raised in favour of the Monarchy in Abruzzo by an Outlawed Priest that goes by the name of the Grand Diavolo (a notorious Murderer and who wishes to obtain his pardon by his Services¹) is at the Gates of Gaeta. At the same time the risings at Salerno in favour of the ancient Government go on successfully. Of 1,500 French that have been sent from Naples against that body only 300, and most of them wounded, are returned to Naples. The news from the Army of Cardinal Ruffo in Calabria continues likewise to be very good. In consequence of which Capt. Troubridge has sent a Ship to Salerno and another to Gaeta, in order if possible to keep up a communication with the well-disposed in those parts.

“By the desire of Capt. Troubridge this Government is sending a quantity of Flour and provisions for the Islands of Ischia, Procida, and Capri that are returned to their allegiance, which are in great want, and must be supplied instantly from hence. The population of Ischia is ab^t twenty thousand, but as the City of Naples depends much on the Sea for its daily provision, and must soon be greatly distressed by the Bay being blocked up completely by His Majesty's Ships. The French and Neapolitan powers have declared war against the Emperor of Germany and seized all the Vessels with the Imperial flag in the Bay of Naples.

¹ Pettigrew makes a mistake in saying that Nelson called Ruffo the Great Devil who commanded the Christian army—they were separate persons.

“Your Lordship may imagine what a favourable moment this would be for a Counter Revolution at Naples, and what a happy circumstance it will be if the nine thousand promised Russian forces should arrive soon and be landed on the Coast of Puglia at Brindisi and which we have every reason to expect, Corfu having surrendered. I am happy that by the Neapolitan Messenger having been detained I am able to send your Lordship this further important intelligence.

“I have the honor to be,” etc.

“PALERMO, 13th of April, 1799.

“MY LORD,—The *Europa* going down from hence with a Convoy to Gibraltar I seize the opportunity of transmitting to your Lordship through the channel of Lord St. Vincent duplicates of my last two numbers which I sent to Vienna by a Neapolitan Messenger under cover to Sir Morton Eden. I have only to add that this morning the *St. Leone* armed Brig arrived from the Bay of Naples with letters from Capt. Troubridge to Lord Nelson dated the 10th inst., by which I see with pleasure that everything goes on well. Capt. Troubridge has taken possession of all the Islands, Procida, Ischia, and Capri, and where the abominable French Trees of Liberty have been cut down and the Flags of His Sicilian Majesty are now flying.

“There is the greatest appearance of loyalty and attachment to the Sovereigns and Ancient Government among the people everywhere. Cardinal Ruffo's Army near Calabria, now augmented to near thirty thousand men, is advancing to join another large body of Royalists assembled near Salerno, and has already established a Correspondence with the Cardinal. He has sent likewise a Vessel to Gaeta to endeavour to communicate with the insurgents in favour of Royalty from Abruzzo commanded by the outlaw'd Priest called the Grand Diavolo, said to be in that neighbourhood.

“Gen^l Macdonald sent one thousand five hundred men against us at Salerno, only three hundred of which are returned to Naples, and most of them wounded. General Macdonald has only about two thousand five hundred Frenchmen at Naples, and

they keep possession of the Castles. The people continue to detest them and call aloud for their beloved Sovereign. If the Russians arrive soon I have no doubt but that their Sicilian Majesties might be replaced on Their Throne of Naples, as certainly at this moment the appearances are most favourable. Some Swiss Officers from Naples arrived here this morning in His Majesty's Brig and have assured me that they have received news at Naples of the French being in possession of Tuscany and Port St. Malo ; that the Grand Duke and his Family were gone to Vienna, and that they had sent the Pope to Besançon.

"I have the honor to be," etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

"PALERMO, *April* 30, 1799.

"MY LORD,—I had the honor of receiving last week by the *Lord St. Vincent* Cutter your Lordship's Dispatch of the 25th of March (No. 1), the Contents of which having been immediately communicated by me to Their Sicilian Majesties and General Acton afforded their Majesties and their Minister more consolation than they had yet experienced under their heavy misfortunes, and their Majesties desired me to express through the channel of your Lordship their heartfelt Gratitude to the King and His Ministry for the constant marks of Friendship and powerful aid His Majesty has been pleased to afford them, whilst hitherto they seem to have been abandoned by all their Friends and near connections.

"The Pecuniary Supply which your Lordship says His Majesty has commanded to be remitted to Sicily being much wanted, seemed to afford their Sicilian Majesties the highest satisfaction, and the more so as I had never been authorised to give them the smallest hopes of any such aid.

"Your Lordship will certainly be told by the Marquis Circello to what a degree their Sicilian Majesties were affected by this fresh mark of the King's affection for them, as their Majesties repeat it daily to me.

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

“I did not fail to explain in the most distinct and unequivocal manner that it was not the King’s intention to depart in the slightest degree from the Principles of the Convention of 1793, and that if the late Treaty of Alliance sign’d by the Marquis de Gallo and me at Naples in December last had been framed in the same terms with that Instrument it would have been ratified immediately. Your Lordship’s having pointed out very clearly the difference in the wording of some articles of the Treaty Their Sicilian Majesties and Gen^l Acton were sensible of it, and as they wish the Treaty to be ratified as soon as possible, are impatiently waiting for it with any alteration that the King may have thought proper to make, as they had an entire confidence in His Majesty. It was certainly much against my inclination that I allowed of any variation from the former Treaty, but as I had the honor to inform your Lordship at the time, it was an abstract from a letter from the Marquis Circello to the Marquis Gallo that induced me to acquiesce in that deviation.

“A large Swedish Ship arrived here three days ago from Leghorn, having on board Mr. Wyndham, the Neapolitan and Russian and the Portuguese Ministers at the late Court of Tuscany, as also the Great Duke’s Secretaries of State, Messieurs Serrati and Manfredini. All the French and Corsican Emigrants under the pay and protection of Great Britain that resided in Tuscany are likewise come to Palermo for refuge, so that my bills on the Treasury for their maintenance will be immediately increased, and I have the greatest difficulty in getting permission of this Government for any of the French emigrants to come on shore, that nation being universally detested in this Island. However, I hope that I shall be able to procure for them some place in the neighbourhood of this city for their present security. I can assure your Lordship that I have had more trouble with the Emigrants both at Naples and here than can be described, but I have had patience and acted, I hope, with humanity towards these unfortunate people; and certain it is that without the protection and subsistence so generously afforded them by Great Britain they would have been driven long ago into the utmost state of misery and despair. Most, but not all, of them are truly sensible of it and express their gratitude on every occasion.

“The late revolution in Tuscany is a fresh proof of the bad faith of the French Directory, but as Mr. Wyndham’s Dispatches will inform your Lordship authentically on that subject it is unnecessary for me to say more.

“Yesterday His Majesty’s Frigate the *Emerald* arrived here from Minorca and brought Col. Graham, who is to take the Command of the Citadel of Messina in lieu of Col. Stewart who returns to Mahone.

“I have had the honor of presenting the Colonel my Nephew to their Sicilian Majesties, who were pleased to receive him very graciously.

“Last night a Neapolitan Corvette brought letters from Capt. Troubridge to Lord Nelson, by which it appears that the French are quitting the City of Naples with the utmost expedition in consequence, it was said at Naples, of their having received the news of the Emperor’s Army having completely beaten the French near Vienna and on the Adize. The same news Mr. Wyndham had heard before he left Leghorn. Unless the French mean to evacuate entirely the Kingdom of Naples they will probably make their stand at Capua, but as Cardinal Ruffo is coming on from Coreenza with his army of thirty thousand men to join a large body of Royalists at Salerno, Capt. Hood of the *Zealous* having succeeded in driving the Enemy out of Salerno and garrisoned the City with his marines. On the other side of Naples the Outlaw’d Priest called the Grand Diavolo has a very considerable body of Troops near Gaeta. He has been on board of the *Culloden*, and promised to take the City of Gaeta immediately. There is every reason to expect to hear from one moment to another of a Counter Revolution at Naples in favour of His Sicilian Majesty, as the people are loyal to a Man and the Jacobin Neapolitan Leaders have no confidence in the Civic Guard, many of whom are suspected of being inclined to Monarchy. Shou’d the Emperor’s Army in Italy continue successful, there can be little doubt but that the French, who are universally detested, will in a very short time be driven out of Italy. Lord Nelson and I expect daily to hear from Capt. Troubridge that it is thought necessary for His Sicilian Majesty to show Himself in the Bay of Naples; if so it is probable that

His Sicilian Majesty's Standard will be hoisted again on board the *Vanguard*. It wou'd be glorious indeed if Their Sicilian Majesties cou'd be replaced on the Throne of Naples without any other Foreign aid than that of Great Britain,¹ and as we have no certain accounts of the Russian Troops such an happy event may take place.

I have the honor to be," etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.²

" PALERMO, June 5th, 1799.

"MY LORD,—As no Messenger has been sent lately from this Court to Vienna and we have no established Post to the Continent, and the French and Spanish Fleets being in the Mediterranean, all communication with Great Britain has become more difficult than ever. Lord Nelson has assembled in this Bay all the Ships of his Squadron, where I suppose they will remain until his Lordship shall have some tidings of the Enemy's Fleets from Lord St. Vincent and for which we are anxiously waiting. Unfortunately also the last Neapolitan Messenger from Vienna having been chased by a Vessel in the Adriatic which seemed to be an Enemy (although it proved to be a friend) threw all the packets and letters overboard, and I fear that some of your Lordship's Letters to me sent by Sir Morton Eden may have been of the number.

"It is amazing with what expedition Lord Nelson collected his force here (including three of the Portuguese Ships) of 11 Sail of Line, the *Harlem*, the *Lion*, and several Frigates, having left the *Sea Horse*, a Bomb Ketch, and several armed Vessels to protect the Islands in the Bay of Naples that continue loyal to their Sovereign. The *Alex^r*, and *Goliath* have also been sent back to continue the Blockade of Malta.

"Yesterday the King's Birthday was celebrated here to the heart's content of all His Sicilian Majesty's good and loyal Subjects,

¹ A thorough patriot, keenly anxious for the honour of his native country and the king whom he represented.

² In possession of J. C. Holding Esq., Southsea.

and indeed to the Satisfaction of every well-thinking Neapolitan or Sicilian in Palermo. I had the honour of having Lord Nelson and all the principal Officers of His Lordship's Squadron at my Table to dine and drink the healths of His Majesty and the Royal Family (whom may God long preserve), and His Sicilian Majesty having heard that Lord Nelson intended to give a Fête or Ball in the Evening on board the *Vanguard* in honour of the day desired as a particular favour His Lordship to permit Him to give a public demonstration of his gratitude and attachment to the King by allowing Him to give such a Fête and Illuminations at the Royal Palace, and to which His Majesty invited all the King's Subjects of Distinction now at Palermo, and every Officer of the Squadron whose duty did not require their particular attendance on board of their Ships. Nothing could exceed the brilliancy of the Fête nor the abundance of refreshments except the very particular attentions that their Sicilian Majesties and Royal Family themselves were pleased to show to every one of Their British Guests.

“I cannot resist the pleasure of inclosing to your Lordship for His Majesty's perusal the joint letter of the Queen and Young Royal Family with which Lady Hamilton was honor'd yesterday just before our Dinner.

“The Royal Salute of such a respectable Squadron as those of His Majesty drawn up in Line of Battle and decked with Colours opposite to this City offered such a sight as was never before seen or will ever be forgotten at Palermo.

“The French have evacuated the Cities of Rome and Naples and Prsidio of Tuscany, probably owing to the great and continued successes of the Imperial Troops, Austrians and Russians, in Italy. Four hundred French Troops have, however, remained in the Castle of St. Elmo at Naples. The Royalist party there is certainly very numerous, and the Republic party show every mark of the greatest apprehension, several of their chiefs having fled, and there can be no doubt of their submitting to their lawful Sovereign should even a small but regular Armed force approach the City. Two Russian Frigates have landed a few men at Brindisi in Puglia, but we have not any account of the nine Thousand Auxiliary Russian Troops promised to the King of

Naples by the Court of Russia nor of the three thousand Grenadiers intended for the garrison of the Fortress of Malta.

"I cannot think of profiting of His Majesty's Gracious permission to return home whilst I feel my presence here necessary for his Majesty's Service, altho' I am much worn and my private affairs in South Wales are suffering by my long absence. The satisfaction I feel in doing to the utmost of my ability my duty to my King and to my Country at such a critical moment amply repays me for all personal inconveniency.¹

"I have the honor to be," etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.²

"PALERMO, June 16th, 1799.

"MY LORD,—The Royalist Army under the Command of Cardinal Ruffo Calabria, joined by about five hundred Russians, Seventy from on board the Russian and Turkish Frigates at Brindisi, are making themselves Masters of all the Provinces on the Adriatic and being advanced within twelve miles of Naples, whilst the Outlaw'd Priest called the Grand Diavolo from Abruzzo has with his Army cut off all communication between Rome and Naples, and taken possession of the high ground even within a mile of the City, and destroy'd the Aquaducts that supplied Naples with water. His Sicilian Majesty requested of Lord Nelson to present himself before Naples with the whole of the Squadron under his Lordship's Command, and to take with him the Hereditary Prince of the Two Sicilies on board the *Foudroyant*, in which Ship His Lordship's Flag is now flying, by which His Majesty flattered himself that the General Attack of the City of Naples to take place on the 17th inst. cou'd not fail of success. Lord Nelson having consented to show at least for a short time His Majesty's Squadron in the Bay of Naples at so interesting a moment, although he could not venture risking any of His Majesty's Ships being damaged or corner'd, as a marine force of the Enemy was in the Mediterranean, two thousand Regular Troops with a small train of Artillery were embarked on board His Majesty's Ships, and the Hereditary Prince of the Two

¹ The Morrison MSS.

² In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

Sicilies went also on board the *Foudroyant* on Thursday last the 14th, and I had the honor at the particular request of the King of Naples signified to me in writing by Gen^l Acton to accompany His Royal Highness on this Expedition.

“The Squadron set sail the same morning with a fresh and favourable wind for Naples, and we had before evening performed a third part of the voyage when His Majesty’s Ships the *Bellerophon* and the *Powerfull* joined us and brought Letters from Lord Keith to Lord Nelson dated the 7th of June, in which Lord Keith informs Lord Nelson that Lord St. Vincent had been obliged to return to Minorca on account of the state of his health; that he, Lord Keith, with the Fleet now under his command had looked into Toulon, where there were only two French ships of the Line refitting, and those Ships taken from the Venetians; that having had the intelligence that the French Fleet from Brest had only remained six days in that harbour and was gone towards Genoa, he had follow’d them as far as Monaco, and that some of the Frigates of his Fleet had actually been near enough to ascertain their number to be twenty-two sail of the Line, four of which [were] three Deckers and two of 80 Guns and many Frigates. That His L^y not thinking it would be prudent to proceed any further to leave Minorca exposed, His Lordship had determined to send the *Powerfull* and *Bellerophon* to reinforce Lord Nelson’s Squadron and bring him the intelligence of the Enemy’s Fleet, which was between Monaco and Cape del Melle steering Eastward on the 7th of June. Lord Nelson having received this important intelligence and communicated it to the Hereditary Prince of the Two Sicilies, it was decided that it would not be proper to proceed further, and the Squadron tacked about instantly and came again to an anchor yesterday in the Bay opposite this City. The Hereditary Prince, the Troops, and Artillery were immediately disembarked, and orders were given for the King’s Squadron to prepare for Sea directly, and most probably it will be at Sea to-morrow.¹

¹ Nelson is said to have incurred the displeasure of the British Home Ministers by bestowing too much service on the Court of Naples, but here is distinct evidence that such interests were secondary to his Absolute business in the Mediterranean.

“Lord Nelson’s intentions cannot be known, but common sense must suppose that a Squadron so very inferior to that of the Enemy will not go in search of that Enemy.¹

“Should the Russian Squadron from Corfu, expected at Messina hourly, favourably arrive and join the King’s Squadron under Lord Nelson’s Command, then indeed their combined force would be equal to anything the French Republic could oppose to them in these Seas.

“Considering that the Maritime Force of Great Britain must naturally be increasing daily in the Mediterranean I cannot help thinking that the French Squadron will not venture to proceed so far as Naples, Sicily, or Malta, but profit of the present moment whilst the Squadron of the King’s Fleets combined are protecting Minorca and the Two Sicilies and Malta to complete the Rapine in Italy by the plunder of Genoa, Tuscany, and Leghorn, and return with their Booty in their Ships into the Port of Toulon. I beg your Lordship to excuse the liberty I take in having troubled you with my conjectures.

“Yesterday Gen^l Acton showed me a Letter from Chev. Micheroux dated from Brindisi the 7th of June, in which he says that this moment we have received the positive account of Ancona’s having been taken by an assault from the Russian Squadrons and that all the Jacobins in that City had been put to death.

“I find this Government has every reason to believe that the intended attack upon the City of Naples by the Royalists without and within the City and protected by the King’s Frigate the *Sea Horse* and the Armed Brigs and Bomb Vessel and Gun Boats left in the Bay of Naples by Capt. Troubridge will prove successful, but the appearance of Lord Nelson’s Squadron in the Bay of Naples would certainly put it beyond all doubt.

¹ Lord Nelson thought Lord Keith had purposely placed him in a quandary so as to reduce his reputation if repulsed and defeated in an attack upon the French. In a letter which Nelson wrote to Lady Hamilton dated June 18th, 1799, he says, “Ah! Lord Keith, you have placed me in a situation to lower me in the eyes of Europe; they will say, ‘This cried-up Nelson is afraid with eighteen ships to attack twenty-two.’ The thought kills me.”

“Everything that Colonel Graham has requested from this Government through my channel in order to put the Citadel of Messina in the best State of defence has been immediately granted, and I am happy to assure your Lordship that this able and diligent Officer is already greatly beloved and respected in this Country.

“I have the honor to be,” etc.

NOTE.—In this letter mention is made of the illness of Lord St. Vincent, and as an instance of the general utility of Lady Hamilton whose kind heart could always be depended upon, may be quoted a line or two written by Nelson to the sick Admiral June 12th, 1799: “If you are sick, I will fag for you; and our dear Lady Hamilton will nurse you with the most affectionate attention. Good Sir William will make you laugh with his wit and inexhaustible pleasantry.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“*Separate and Secret.*”

“ON BOARD THE *Foudroyant*, BAY OF NAPLES,
“*July 14th, 1799.*”

“MY LORD,—As Lady Hamilton was very particularly requested by the Queen of Naples to accompany me and Lord Nelson on this expedition and was charged by Her Majesty with many important commissions at Naples and to keep up a regular daily correspondence with Her Majesty, I have found the Queen’s Letters to Lady Hamilton so very interesting, doing so much honor to the Queen’s understanding and heart and throwing such a clear light on the present situation of affairs at Naples that I have prevail’d on my Wife to allow me to entrust to your Lordship the most interesting of Her Majesty’s Letters, but not without a solemn promise from me that they shou’d be returned to her by your Lordship on our arrival in England, of which I now see a near prospect, as we mean to profit of the first Ship that Lord Nelson sends downwards after that their Sicilian Majesties shall have been happily reinstated on their Throne of Naples, having, as your Lordship knows, had in my

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

pocket for more than two years the King's gracious permission to return home for a short time to look after my private concerns.

"Your Lordship will receive this packet from Lieut. Parkinson charged with Lord Nelson's dispatches to Lord Spencer. As I do not wish this Letter to be considered as official, and the Queen's Letters are entrusted only to your Lordship's well-known discretion. The Queen's Letters inclosed are Twelve, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 21, and 22.

"Your Lordship will surely admire the Just remarks of her Majesty written in her own hand opposite the articles of Cardinal Ruffo's infamous Capitulation with the Neapolitan Rebels inclosed in No 5.

"I have the honor to be," etc.

NOTE.—This Letter accompanying the correspondence specified, written by the Queen of Naples to Lady Hamilton, was to be regarded as unofficial and secret, therefore another letter was also despatched bearing the same date, reporting the progress of events.

The rancour exhibited by writers against Lady Hamilton seems inexplicable, for if the correspondence of the Queen of Naples to Lady Hamilton was of such a quality that it could be sent for the perusal of Lord Grenville, there could have been nothing but what would reflect credit upon Lady Hamilton.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

"ON BOARD THE *Foudroyant* IN THE BAY OF NAPLES,
"July 14th, 1799 [accompanying the previous one].

"MY LORD,—Since my last Dispatch to your Lordship through the channel of Lord St. Vincent of the 21st of June, I have been chiefly at Sea with Lord Nelson, and have not had any opportunity of informing Your Lordship of what is passing in the Two Sicilies.

"By the means of the King's Messenger Mr. Sylvester, who joined us here and is returning with Lord Nelson's Dispatches to England, I have the singular satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship of the infinite services the presence of His Majesty's

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

Fleet under the Command of Lord Nelson have rendered to Their Sicilian Majesties by placing them again, I may almost say, on the Throne of Naples.

“The rapid successes of the Austrians and the Russians in the North of Italy affording a fair prospect of its soon being deliver'd from the horde of robbers which have infested it for some years passed obliged the French Directory to withdraw most of their Troops from Naples and Rome to reinforce their Army in the North of Italy—having left weak garrisons only in the Fortresses of Naples, Capua, and Gaeta, or in the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome. Profiting of this circumstance, Cardinal Ruffo's Army from Calabria, having been joined by about five hundred Russians and eighty Turks taken out of some Russian Frigates and a Turkish Vessel that arrived at Brindisi from Corfu, was encouraged to push on towards this Capital, and having also been joined by many parties of Royalists on their march, carried all before them, and actually got, with the assistance of the Lazaroni and Royalists, possession of this Capital on the 13th of last month, the French having retired into the Castle of St. Elmo and the Jacobins into the Castles Nuovo, del Ovo, and del Carmine, where they were besieged by Cardinal Ruffo's Army. Lord Nelson after his return to Palermo and having disembarked the Hereditary Prince and the Sicilian Troops as mentioned in my last proceeded with his Squadron to Maritimo on the Coast of Sicily towards Malta to look after the French Fleet, but having had certain advice that L^d St. Vincent's Fleet had been very considerably reinforced and that the French Fleet had been seen showing a different course from that of Sicily His Lordship returned to Palermo the 19th of June. Their Sicilian Majesties having received alarming accounts from Naples that the Calabrian Army after their Entry into Naples, instead of protecting, was plundering the houses of that City and setting fire to them under the pretence of their belonging to Jacobins, and that The Cardinal Ruffo, elated with his unexpected Successes, was taking upon himself a power far beyond the positive instructions of his Sovereign and was equally Treating with His Sicilian Majesty's subjects in arms and in open rebellion against Him, who earnestly entreated of Lord Nelson that he would go with His Majesty's whole Squadron

to Naples and prevent if possible the Cardinal from taking any steps or coming to any terms with the Rebels that might be dishonorable to their Sicilian Majesties and hurtful to their future Government, and to assist in reducing the French garrison of the Castle of St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta and in bringing the Jacobin Rebels to justice, Lord Nelson readily undertook to go and do all that was possible for the Service of Their Sicilian Majesties, having had, as his L^p said, full instructions so to do from the King Our Royal Master and Their Majesty's most sincere and faithful Ally. The King of Naples entreated of me also to accompany Lord Nelson, as it might be of great Service to him, having been so long acquainted with Naples and particularly as Lord Nelson was not much versed in the Sicilian Language I might be of much use to his Lordship.

“Accordingly on the 20th of June we set sail from Palermo with the whole Squadron of 19 Sail of the Line including the Portuguese Ships, and were four days on our passage to the Bay of Naples. We received from the Governor of Procida just before we got into this Bay a Copy of a most shameful Treaty that Cardinal Ruffo had made with the French and His Sicilian Majesty's Rebellious Subjects, who were by that Treaty to march out of the Castles of Naples with all their property and all the full honors of war, and at their option either to return to their own homes or be transported to Toulon at His Sicilian Majesty's expense. As a Copy of this Treaty is enclosed your Lordship will see that had not His Majesty's Fleet arrived in time and the Treaty been carried into execution, all the Chiefs in the Rebellion would have escaped and others would have remained unmolested in the Kingdom to propagate at their leisure the same pernicious maxims that have brought about this kingdom to the brink of destruction, and Their Sicilian Majesty's honor would have remained for ever sullied by so unwarranted a stretch of Power of Cardinal Ruffo's auxiliary. Their Vicar General, whose views were certainly to favour the nobles, put himself at their head to re-establish the feudal system and oppress the People, which is diametrically opposed to their Sic. Majesties' intentions, who wish to make the nobles feel their indignation for their late Treachery, ingratitude, and disloyalty and to reward the People

by whose loyalty and bravery with the aid of their good allies the Kingdom of Naples has been so speedily recovered.

“ When we anchored in this Bay the 24th of June the Capitulation of the Castles had in some measure taken place. Fourteen large Polucks or Transport Vessels had taken on board out of the Castles the most conspicuous and criminal of the Neapolitan Rebels that had chosen to go to Toulon, the others had already been permitted to return with their property to their own homes in this Kingdom, and Hostages selected from the first Royalist Nobility at Naples had been sent into the Castle of St. Elmo that commands the City of Naples, and where a French garrison and Flag of the French Republic was to remain until the news of the safe arrival of the Neapolitan Rebels (always called Patriots by the Cardinal) at Toulon, and who were, agreeable to the Cardinal’s Treaty, to have been convey’d by a British Marine Force.

“ Lord Nelson on our first interview with Cardinal Ruffo told his Excellency without any reserve in what an infamous light he view’d the Treaty and how disgraceful it would be to their Sicilian Majesties, whose opinions and injunctions we both knew were directly contrary to such a Treaty, and which if carried into Execution would dishonor their Majesties for ever. The Cardinal persisted the support of what he has done, as his Eminency said, to prevent the Capital from becoming a heap of Stones.

“ There was no time to be lost, for the Transport Vessels were on the point of sailing for Toulon when Lord Nelson ordered all the Boats of his Squadron to be manned and armed and to bring those vessels with all those Rebels on board directly under the Stems of his Ships, and there they remain, having taken and secured on board his Majesty’s Ships the most guilty Chiefs of the Rebellion. Lord Nelson assured the Cardinal at the same time that he did not mean to do any act contrary to His Eminency’s Treaty, but as that Treaty could not be valid until it had been ratified by His Sicilian Majesty his Lordship’s meaning was only to secure his Majesty’s Rebellious Subjects until his M^y’s further pleasure shou’d be known. Admiral Caracciolo, the Chief of the Rebels of His Sic. Maj^y’s Marine, not having been comprised in the Cardinal’s Treaty, but had been

taken trying to make his escape by land, was by Lord Nelson's orders tried on board the *Foudroyant* by a Court Martial composed entirely of Neapolitan Marine Officers, was condemn'd to be hung up at the yard arm of the Neapolitan Frigate the *Minerva*,—the very same Ship he had fired upon with the Gun Boats of the Neapolitan Rebels—at 5 O'clock of the Evening of the same day, where he hung until sun set, to the great satisfaction of his Sicilian Majesty's Loyal Subjects, thousands of which came off from Naples in boats with loud applause at so speedy an act of Justice, for this happened the day after the King's Squadron came into Naples. His body was afterwards thrown into the Sea. We found on our arrival in this Bay a general discontent of the people and of his Sicilian Majesty's most loyal Subjects of the higher Class, complaining of the rapine and plunder committed daily at Naples by the Calabrese and of the evident partiality shown by the Cardinal to the Jacobin party, whilst the Royalists and loyal people were browbeaten and denied access to His Excellency at his head Quarters at the Porte Maddalena in the suburbs of Naples; not that they accused him of being a Traitor, but that he was surrounded by Jacobins and Venal Evil Counsellors; in short, your Lordship can have no conception of the Anarchy and Confusion at Naples. Lord Nelson, by sending immediately a Garrison of British Marines into the *Castle del Oro* and another of Sailors under the Command of Lord Hood of the *Zealous* into the Castle Nuovo, immediately restored Tranquillity to the distracted Capital and that such of His Sicilian Majesty's Rebel Subjects who according to the Cardinal's Treaty might escape with Impunity Lord Nelson on the Cardinal's refusing to do it, published at Naples a Notification, a printed Copy of which is inclosed, and which the Cardinal had refused to publish. The Cardinal, finding soon that the whole confidence of the people was withdrawn from him and reposed entirely in Lord Nelson and His Majesty's Fleet, endeavor'd to throw the whole weight of affairs on his Lordship and by that means cause inevitable confusion; but we continued to keep everything going on decently by supporting the King's Vicar General and preventing his doing any essential mischief until we had answers from Their Sicilian Majesties at

Palermo, to whom we had painted exactly the State of affairs and the Confusion at Naples and recommending in the strongest manner Their Majesties to show themselves without loss of time in the Bay of Naples, by which means and by that alone, all cou'd be calmed and the Cardinal's dangerous power die a natural death.

“By the return of the vessel that carried our letters to Palermo L^d Nelson received a Letter from His Sicilian Majesty in his own handwriting in which he thanked His Lordship for having saved his honor, approved of all that had been done, and sent Letters with full power to appoint a new Government and even to arrest the Cardinal and send him to Palermo in a British Ship if L^d Nelson thinks it necessary to come to that Extremity. His Sicilian Majesty acquainted us also that He was coming Himself directly with Gen^l Acton and Prince Castalcicala into the Bay of Naples according to our advice. His Majesty embarked on the 3rd inst. at Palermo on board the *Sirene*, one of His own Frigates,¹ accompanied by His Majesty's Frigate the *Sea Horse*; but having a Numerous Convoy by bringing with Him from Sicily 1,400 Infantry and 600 Cavalry, and meeting with calms, His Majesty did not arrive in this Bay until the 11th inst. in the afternoon and wou'd not suffer His Royal Standard to be Hoisted until He got on board the *Foudroyant*, when it went up to the mainmast head and was immediately saluted by the King's whole Fleet and by Castles at Naples in our Power, which with the Multitude of boats covering the Sea and surrounding the Ship all full of loyal subjects calling the King their Father was such a sight as never can be forgotten.²

“At the same time Captains Troubridge and Hallowell that Lord Nelson had detached with all the Marines of the Fleet, the

¹ The name of this Frigate *La Syrene* caused a writer to make a singular mistake which from frequent repetition is now an accepted tradition. The story goes that the King of Naples, angered at the execution of Caraccioli, refused to board the *Foudroyant*, but that *the syren* Lady Hamilton (!) said she would go and bring him. Sir William makes no mention of any such nonsense—the syren that brought him was his own boat and Caraccioli was never considered.

² When on board the *Foudroyant* the King and guests dined midday on the quarter-deck; during dessert Lady Hamilton would play graceful airs on the harp.

500 Russians and some Portuguese Artillery men were keeping up a heavy fire of mortars and battering Cannon against the Castle of St. Elmo, into which Strong Fortress the only remaining French had taken refuge, in number about 800, and the only Castle at Naples in which the French Republican Flag was flying. The next morning at daybreak Captain Troubridge unexpectedly open'd a new mask'd Battery within less than 200 yards of the walls of the Castle, which in two hours obliged the French to hang out a Flag of Truce, and about 11 O'Clock yesterday morning His Sic. Majesty had the complete satisfaction of seeing from this Ship His own Flag Triumphant on the Castle of St. Elmo. Inclosed is a printed Copy of the Capitulation and which, as your Lordship will observe, is a complete contrast to the Cardinal's Capitulation with the Castles del Ovo and Castel Nuovo.

“As His Sicilian Majesty Himself writes to the King by this Messenger it is not necessary for me to say anything of the Gratitude daily expressed by their Sicilian Majesties, their Family, and their Loyal Subjects for the Signal Services which have been rendered to them by the King's Fleet under the Command of the incomparable Lord Nelson, and particularly for this last, which, as to all appearances, has seated them again upon their Throne at Naples. Nothing remains to complete the business but the reduction of Capua and Gaeta, in which fortresses there are small French garrisons. To-morrow a proper force goes to Capua under the command of Capts. Troubridge and Hallowell, who express'd to L^d Nelson a desire of being so employed, and as Gaeta is closely pressed by Sea and Land, all our business in this Quarter will probably be completed and Satisfactory in a few days. In the meantime His Sicilian Majesty holds his Councils with His Minister on board the *Foudroyant* for the Police and better Government of this Capital and Kingdom. Your Lordship may well conceive the labour Lord Nelson and I have undergone in the space of time between the arrival of the King and the Cardinal his Vicar General's having declined all business.

“I have thus given your Lordship as well as I can recollect the Substance of what has happen'd during the 17 days we have been at an anchor in this Bay and have the honor to be, my Lord,” etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“ON BOARD THE *Foudroyant*,

“BAY OF NAPLES, *Aug. 5th, 1799.*”

“MY LORD,—I have the satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship that the siege of Capua, carried on under the directions of Captains Troubridge and Hallowell, has been attended with little loss and the most complete success, that Fortress having surrender'd to the Arms of His Sicilian Majesty and of His Allies on the 28th of July. A Printed Copy of the Capitulation is inclosed (N. 1). The French garrisons, consisting of more than two thousand men, were immediately embarked and sent Prisoners on their Parole to Toulon. Lord Nelson and General Acton wrote a Letter to the french Commander at Gaeta acquainting him of the surrender of Capua and to give up the place, and that Brigadier General Giradon, late Governor of Capua, and his Superiors had signed the Capitulation for Gaeta, a printed Copy of which your Lordship will find inclosed (N. 2). Lord Nelson having sent Capt. Lewis in the *Minataur* to take possession of Gaeta, the French Commander after some little altercation complied with the terms of M. Giradon's Capitulation, and the French Garrison, consisting of sixteen hundred men, were immediately embarked for France; the Garrisons of St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta having proved to be much stronger than was suspected, upwards of six thousand Frenchmen having been embarked for France from these three Fortresses only, and both Capua and Gaeta were found well stored with ammunition.

“Notwithstanding that Brigadier Girardon had given his word of honour that all His Sicilian Majesty's Rebellious Subjects in Capua shou'd be delivered up, about fourscore were detected in French uniforms and seemed as if they were embarking for France from the Mole of Naples.

“As there is not a Frenchman left in the Kingdom of Naples and His Sicilian Majesty, having had sufficient time to settle a Temporary Government at Naples until His Majesty shall think proper to return with the Queen and His Royal Family to this

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

Capital of Naples, has desired Lord Nelson to carry him back to Palermo in this Ship, and we are to sail this evening for Palermo accompanied by a Portuguese Ship the *Prince Royal* commanded by the Marquis of Niza.

“Your Lordship will naturally be surprised after the extraordinary conduct of Cardinal Ruffo to find that His Eminency is now appointed with a Captain General to govern at Naples during the King’s absence. Both Lord Nelson and I sensible that without some explanation of so extraordinary a measure and so contradictory to the reports we had made relative to the Cardinal to our Superiors at home in our dispatches of the 14th of July sent from this Ship. We applied to General Acton to explain to us this Enigma, and which His Excell^y has done very fully and Candidly in a Confidential Letter to Lord Nelson, a copy of which is inclosed (N. 3), accompanied with a copy of the Cardinal’s present appointment (N. 4), and a copy of His Sicilian Majesty’s Instructions to the Giunta di Stato (N. 5), for its Guidance during His Majesty’s absence. Your Lordship will observe that the Cardinal is tied up as tight as possible, but neither Lord Nelson nor I can be brought to relish such half-measures, which generally prove the worst though the only in vogue in this Country. General Acton’s Letter is so clear and fair that I need say no more on the Subject. Captain Troubridge in the *Culloden* with two or three of His Majesty’s Ships are to remain in this Bay and may be of infinite use in case the peace of the Capital should be disturbed. The Army brought by Cardinal Ruffo from Calabria to Naples consists now of upwards of Six Thousand Men. The Lazaroni or populace of Naples that are said to have hidden arms are more than twenty thousand; of His Sicilian Majesty’s Regular Troops brought from Sicily or raised here lately there are not more than three thousand, therefore until the Eleven Thousand Russians promised to the King of Naples (for eight years if His Majesty’s pleasure) by the last Treaty with Russia shall arrive This Government cannot be looked upon as very secure. These Russians are said to be at Ferrara.

“My former dispatches to y^r L^p have painted sufficiently the abominable and General Corruption of this Country, and it

has not been improved by the French Government of seven months.

“ Lord Nelson sends off Capt. Oswald with his Dispatches for London this day, and I profit by the opportunity and have entrusted to Captain Oswald (who has done himself great honor at the Sieges of St. Elmo and Capua) His Sicilian Majesty's ratification of our late Treaty, in a Box the Key of which is here inclosed, and I take the liberty to send by him also a Tin box containing three drawings, One of His Majesty's Fleet at anchor in this Bay in line of battle, and two views relative to the Siege of St. Elmo, and which I beg of your Lordship to present to the King most humbly in my name.

“ I do not enter into any naval operations, as Lord Nelson will have given a full and satisfactory account of his own proceedings, but I must say that had His Lordship detached any Ships from His Squadron soon after our arrival in this Bay, in all probability The Two Sicilies would have been lost.

“ Their Sicilian Majesties, Their Ministers, and all Naples are convinced of this truth, and there are no bounds to the gratitude they daily express towards the King, the British Nation, and to the incomparable Lord Nelson and the rest of the brave Commanders of this His Majesty's invincible Squadron, by which their Sicilian Majesties are now placed on their Throne of Naples and more than seven hundred of their rebellious subjects that would have Escaped have been secured and are now lying at the mercy of His Sicilian Majesty. I did not fail to obey your Lordship's orders when, at the moment I exchanged with Gen^l Acton the ratification our last Treaty, having given in to His Exc^y a solemn declaration in the King's name, a Copy of which is inclosed (N. 6). Your Lordship will also find (N. 7) a Copy of Gen^l Acton's answer to that declaration, the original of which is in the box with His Sicilian Majesty's Ratification of the Treaty.

“ I congratulate your Lordship on the Surrender of Mantua, the certain news of which was brought last night to the King of Naples from Leghorn in a Letter dated from thence the 1st of August.

“ Although I have not entered into Lord Nelson's Department

I know that His Lordship has sent a considerable naval force on the Coast of Genoa to assist Marshall Suwarrow¹ in his Operations against Gen^l Moreau, and a still larger to Minorca, the safety and protection of which His Lordship keeps ever in view.

“ I have the honor to be,” etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.²

“ PALERMO, Aug. 17th, 1799.

“ MY LORD,—His Sicilian Majesty arrived here in three days from the Bay of Naples in the *Foudroyant* on the 8th instant in the afternoon, when the Queen of Naples, the Hereditary Prince, and all the Royal Family immediately came on board to welcome His Majesty in His happy and Triumphant return to this Capital. In the Evening Lord Nelson and I had, by their own desire, the honor of attending their Majesties and the Royal Family in Lord Nelson’s barge to a superb landing-place, erected and decorated for the purpose on the shore of this City. Their Majesties were received with the loudest acclamations of Joy, and with a general salvo from the Castles of Palermo and from all the shipping in the Harbour. The Royal Family proceeded directly in great state to the Cathedral, when a solemn Te Deum was sung, and the whole city was illuminated for three nights on account of Their Majesties having been perfectly happily secured on their Throne of Naples, and the French having been completely beaten and driven out of that Kingdom. As the Fêtes of St. Rosalia, the Titular Saint of this City, had been deferred until His Majesty’s return, they have now taken place, and we are in the midst of Fireworks, Illuminations, and Processions every night. For the particulars of these uncommonly superb Fêtes I refer your Lordship to the Printed Relation enclosed (N. 1). His Sicilian Majesty on quitting the *Foudroyant* made Captain Hardy a present of his picture on a snuff-box richly set with large Diamonds, and a valuable Diamond Ring, and another Diamond

¹ A Russian General.

² In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

Ring was presented in his Majesty's name to Mr. Tyson, Lord Nelson's Secretary [the following few words are erased: 'With — ounces to be distributed to the Ship's Company']. A few days after our return the Duke of Ascoli, one of His Sic. Majesty's gentlemen of the bedchamber, presented to Lord Nelson, in his Majesty's name, a gold sword richly set with Diamonds, with a Letter in His Majesty's own handwriting, a copy of which, with the Translation, is enclosed (N. 2). The same day Lord Nelson received from the Prince Luzzi, Secretary of State in the Foreign Department, by order of His Sic. Maj., a Dispatch, a Copy of which, with the Translation, is likewise enclosed (N. 3), acquainting His Lordship that His Sicilian Majesty had been pleased to create him Duke of Bronte, with the rich estate of that name at the foot of Mount Etna, which, as I am credibly informed, is of the clear value of Eighteen Thousand Ducats per annum, although its nominal value is Twenty-four Thousand Ducats. On our late expedition his Sic. Majesty was more than a month on board the *Foudroyant*; the goodness and singular affability of His Majesty was such as to enchant every Officer and Sailor on board. On quitting the Ship at Palermo His Majesty left a present of Two Thousand Three Hundred Ounces to be divided among The Admiral Lord Nelson's Servants, and the Ship's Company. The King of Naples having remarked Lady Hamilton's Zeal for his service, and the trouble she took in receiving the Neapolitan ladies that came on board the *Foudroyant* to pay their Court to His Majesty during our stay in the Bay of Naples, and in keeping up a constant correspondence with the Queen of Naples at Palermo, was graciously pleased to present her with his Picture, richly set with Diamonds, on our return to Palermo, and the Queen of Naples has done Lady Hamilton the honor to make herself a present after of her Majesty's Picture and hair set in Diamonds in bracelets, with a pair of Ear Rings of Diamonds and Pearls, with an Egrette [aigrette], and Her Majesty's Cypher in Diamonds with a complete dress of the finest point lace. I know also that magnificent presents are preparing for all the Captains of Lord Nelson's Squadron that were employed in the sieges of St. Elmo.

“ Brigadier Gen^l Ross, charged with Letters from England to the King of Sardinia, arrived here this morning, and Lord Nelson will forward him this evening in the *Perseus*¹ so that His Sardinian Majesty will have timely notice to prepare for the arrival of the *Foudroyant*.

“ From the present most favourable appearances there is every reason to hope that by the end of next month the miscreant French will be completely driven out of Italy. God be praised.

“ From Letters received by Lord Nelson this day from Sir Sidney Smith dated from on board the *Tigre* off Cyprus July 16th, we find that Gen^l Buonaparte after prodigious losses raised the Siege of Acri the 21st of May, having left all his Artillery behind him, and was retreating towards Cairo so surrounded by numerous hordes of Arabs that it was judged impossible for him to reach Cairo; an advice boat from Alexandria bound to Constantinople assured Sir Sidney Smith that Damietta, Rosetta, and Aboukir were already in the hands of the Turks, and Alexandria near surrendering, all communication with Cairo having been cut off.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.²

“ DOWNING STREET, August 20, 1799.

“ SIR,—Your dispatches marked No. 22. containing an account of the Surrender of the Fort of St. Elmo and of his Sicilian Majesty’s return to the Bay of Naples has been received and laid before the King.

“ You will not fail to convey to His Sicilian Majesty the expression of the sincere satisfaction which has been occasioned by these interesting and important events.

“ His Majesty’s answer in return to the Letter of the King of Naples will be forwarded to you by the next opportunity.

“ I am, with great Truth and regard, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

“ GRENVILLE.”

¹ The name of this ship is inserted in the writing of Nelson.

² In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JAMES ST.
CLAIR ERSKINE.¹

"PALERMO, August 29th, 1799.

"SIR,—Although the late operations of His Majesty's Squadron in the Bay of Naples under the command of Lord Nelson of the Nile have been attended with the most complete success, the French have been entirely subdued and sent out of the Kingdom of Naples, and His Sic. Majesty's Rebellious Subjects having been placed in His Majesty's power and obliged to sue for pardon and mercy at the Foot of his Throne, yet Their Sic. Majesties not having received the promised Succour from Russia and finding that the few remaining French Troops in the Roman State, which in all may not exceed Fifteen hundred men, still excite dangerous mobs on the borders of the Kingdom of Naples which might increase and disturb the Repose of These Kingdoms which the assistance of Great Britain has lately given, their Majesties have in their present dilemma here turned their thoughts towards your Excell^y, and as your Predecessor Sir Charles Stuart had so nobly come forward to ensure the safety of this Kingdom at a moment of the greatest danger, applied to Lord Nelson and to me and desired us to explain their present Situation to your Excellency, not doubting but that if it is in your power you will grant the request they make to you of sending Two Regiments or Twelve hundred men for Two months only to act with the Neapolitan Troops against Civita Vecchia and Rome, and with which aid the Enemy wou'd in all probability be soon driven out of the Roman States and Their Majesties look upon themselves as securely seated again on their Throne of Naples. As Lord Nelson has written to your Excel^y it is unnecessary for me to say more on the Subject, not doubting of your readiness of doing all in your power for the good of the common cause and of their Sicilian Majesties in particular.

"I have the honor to be," etc.

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea. Sir James St. Clair Erskine was Commander of the Forces at Minorca, afterwards Earl of Rosslyn.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“PALERMO, *Sept* 7th, 1799.

“MY LORD,—As we have not any regular Post established as yet to the Continent I take advantage of every opportunity that offers to keep up my correspondence with your Lordship. I forward this Dispatch by means of Captain Dunn in the *Incendiary* that Lord Nelson sends down to Gibraltar this Evening.

“Since my last sent to Vienna by a Neapolitan Messenger we have had the glorious news of Marshal Suwarrow’s glorious Victory by a Letter wrote himself to Lord Nelson from Asti, where he was waiting to attack the French Reinforcement expected from Grenoble.

“The Russian and Turkish Squadrons from Messina are arrived here, and at the desire of His Sic. Majesty are to proceed immediately to the Bay of Naples. They are all fine Ships, particularly the Turkish, but the Russian are not copper-bottomed, and both Admirals declare that their Ships are not in a condition to be able to keep at Sea in Winter.

“Marshal Suwarrow on hearing of Lord Nelson’s complete success at Naples has detained the Eleven Thousand Russians destined by Treaty for Naples, not reflecting that his Sic. Majesty can as yet have no great dependence on his own Troops and that although the French have been driven out of the Kingdom of Naples, the pernicious maxims they have left behind them will require force and a watchful Eye, and that their Sicilian Majesties do not think it safe to return to their Throne of Naples until there shall be a strong foreign Garrison that they can depend upon to ensure the Police and good order of Their Capital. The Russian Minister here has been desired by their Government to represent their circumstances in the Strongest light to the Marshal, but I fear until the French shall have been completely driven out of Italy the King of Naples has not any chance of seeing the Russian land forces at Naples and therefore the quiet of that City must depend upon the Squadrons of Russians and Turks going to Naples under the command of Admiral Usacow

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

and who have not any regular Troops on board. Lord Nelson has been obliged to detach most of the Ships of his Squadron down to Gibraltar and Minorca and on the Coast of Genoa except the *Foudroyant* and the three Ships of the Line employed with the Portuguese Ships against Malta, which we flatter ourselves cannot hold out much longer.

“The Austrians are coming in numbers and with hasty strides to take possession of Tuscany, the Præsidii, and as much of the Roman States as they can. It is to be hoped that Admiral Usacow will assist as soon as he can His Sicilian Majesty’s Calabrese Army going under the command of Cardinal Ruffo into the Roman State, but unfortunately we hear that the Vanguard of the Calabrese Army has already met with a considerable check from the French and their Roman Partizans at Frescati and retreated as far back as Sora in Abruzzo.

“The whole and sole confidence of their Sic. Majesties appears to be placed in Lord Nelson; their Majesties are not easy if his Lordship is absent from them for one moment, and as Lord Nelson seems to think that my going home at this moment would distress him I have let the *Goliath* go down to Gibraltar without me altho’ Capt. Foley was so good, and as he said by the direction of Lord St. Vincent, to offer me and Lady Hamilton a passage home in the Ship under his Command.

“My own interest or conveniency shall never weigh with me when the King’s Service or that of His Sicilian Majesty is any way in question, of which I have given sufficient proofs already; and indeed I have been amply repaid by the very Great honors I have received from Their Sicilian Majesties, who were pleased to see my poor endeavours for their Majesties’ Service in the most favourable light.

“I have the honor to be,” etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“PALERMO, Oct. 14th, 1799.

“MY LORD,—Captain Hardy in his Majesty’s Ship the *Foudroyant* returned to the Harbour the 3rd instant, having executed the Commission given him by Lord Nelson to convey the King

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

and Queen of Sardinia to Leghorn, which Service was performed in three days, and to the complete satisfaction of Their Sardinian Majesties.

“The *Fordroyant*, having completed her Water, sail'd from hence on the 5th instant with Lord Nelson on board for Minorca, and it appears to be his Lordship's intention to collect the greatest part of his force at Minorca, except the Ships employ'd in the blockade of Malta.

“Commodore Troubridge in the *Culloden* had been directed by Lord Nelson to quit the Bay of Naples with the Squadron under his command as soon as the Russian Squadron under the Command of Admiral Usacow, and ordered there from hence, should appear in that Bay, and to try if he could reduce Civita Vecchia, already blocked up by Capt. Lewis in his Majesty's Ship the *Minataur*. The Active Commodore has not only obliged Civita Vecchia to capitulate, but contrived that Rome should be included in the same Capitulation, and acting in concert with General Bouchart, who commands His Sicilian Majesty's regular land forces at the Gates of Rome, put a strong Garrison of Neapolitan Troops into the Castle of St. Angelo, taking possession of both Rome and Civita Vecchia in the Pope's name, and His Sicilian Majesty has sent from hence Marshal Naselli to command at Rome, and with orders that the Flag of the Sede Vacante (the Pope being dead) should be put up in all the fortresses in the Roman States of which his Majesty, with the assistance of Great Britain, had taken possession.

“The Austrian General Froelick came into Rome soon after it had been taken possession of by His Sicilian Majesty, and we understand here that such places in the Roman State and Præsidii of Tuscany as have been protected by the Austrians remain under the Emperor's Flag.

“I most sincerely congratulate your Lordship on the great Event of the defeat and death of Tippoo Saib, and of his Two Sons taken prisoners at Seringapotam taken by Storm, and which, according to the accounts I have just received from Sir Sidney Smith in a Letter dated from Cyprus, Sep. 9th, happened in the Month of May last, and is particularised in the Gazettes of Bombay and Madras sent to Lord Nelson.

“Sir Sidney’s Dispatches for Lord Nelson and me were brought to Messina by a Turkish Corvette, commanded by a Mr. England, one of the Lieutenants of the *Tigre*, and order’d to join Lord Nelson with all speed, but as she wanted repairs Col. Graham advised the sending of these Dispatches by land to me; but as there is not any British Vessel in this Port at present, and this Government, to whom I applied, not having an Armed Vessel ready, I was obliged to return the Dispatches to Sir Sidney Smith’s Lieut. at Messina, who in his Letter to me said that he hoped to have the Turkish Vessel sufficiently repaired in a few days for him to be able to go on to join Lord Nelson at Mahon. By Sir Sidney Smith’s dispatches to me I find that He does not doubt but that Buonaparte must soon be reduced to the last Extremity, and take shelter with the remains of his Army in Alexandria, now in a good state of defence, and notwithstanding his having completely beaten the Vanguard of the Grand Signor’s Army which is at Damascus, and which consisted of five thousand men, and allowed themselves to be cut to pieces by a small body of French Cavalry without ever daring to look them in the face. The Gun Boats, however, under Sir Sidney Smith’s direction, did so much execution on the Enemy in this Action near Aboukir that He says that two or three such victories as Buonaparte now boasts of would annihilate his army altogether.

“I mention this circumstance least by chance no fresh accounts from Sir Sidney Smith should have reached England, although I imagine as this affair at Aboukir happened the 29th of July such an account must have reached your Lordship long ago.

“I have the honor to be,” etc.

NOTE.—Referring to the Capitulation of the Roman States Sir William Hamilton has written the following on the margin: “By Captain Troubridge’s account the French garrisons of Rome and Civita Vecchia consisted of about six hundred men, all of which are to be embarked for France and sent off directly without being considered as Prisoners of War. This Capitulation was made by M. Garnier, the French Commanding Officer at Rome, who came to Civita and settled all with Commodore Troubridge on board the *Culloden* in that Port.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE,¹

"PALERMO, Dec. 19th, 1799.

(Secret.)

"MY LORD,—I profit of Lord Nelson's Dispatching a Frigate to Gibraltar to send your Lordship this Letter through the Channel of Gen^l O'Hara, and which allows me to write with more freedom than I could do by the common Post.

"Nothing can be more evident than the Necessity of His Sicilian Majesty's speedy return to Naples; the actual State of the Kingdom of Naples, and of the Capital, from the accounts (a Copy of which is enclosed), I have received from one, as I believe, to be well inclined to Their Sicilian Majesties, and their Government is really deplorable. The Prisons are full, and every day fresh prosecutions are begun against persons of every class suspected to have been more or less concerned in the late Rebellion and Revolution, or against zealous Royalists that, during the Rebellion, committed some acts that cannot legally be justified.

"No kind of provision having been made for the families and dependants of the principal Rebels that have been executed or banished, or have absconded, and whose Estates and property have been either confiscated or Sequestred, there are a great many people in want of their daily bread. The Nobility having been justly deprived of their feudal power are silent but sulky. The absence of the Court from Naples causes an universal languour there, and of course much discontent, and the arrival of the Prince Cassero from hence as a sort of Vice Roy, though styled only Captain General, confirms the Neapolitans in the opinion that His Sicilian Majesty has not the Intention of returning soon to Naples. Lord Nelson and I have spoken our minds very freely on the Subject both to the Queen of Naples and Gen^l Acton, who allow of the necessity of the Court's returning soon to Naples, but say that the King will not hear of it at present. I must do justice to the Queen by assuring your Lordship that she often declares her readiness to return to Naples if thought needful, confessing at the same time that, after the ingratitude

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

and ill-usage she has met with from the Neapolitans, she never shou'd be happy there. I can well conceive the King of Naples not liking to return to Naples at this moment. His Majesty is sensible that he could not with propriety lead the same dissipated life there as formerly, and he does not yet see such a military force at Naples as he can rely on for his own personal security, and which I have observed always had a great influence upon His Majesty. At Palermo His Majesty diverts himself much the same as he did at Naples by going from one Country House to another, and by shooting. His Majesty has been for the last ten days on the mountains and in the Woods after wild Boars and Woodcocks.

“In my former Letters I must have more than once mentioned to your Lordship my observations on the general corruption at Naples and the infinity of defects in Government, and I am sorry to say I do not yet see any intention of endeavouring to reform it. At this moment when the most energetic Government is wanting there appears to be little or no Government, for the Queen and General Acton are at variance and His Sicilian Majesty being now in possession of Gen^l Acton's advice without the medium of the Queen has withdrawn much of his former attention to her Majesty. The Prince Belmonte and Prince Castelcicala seem to possess most of the Queen's confidence at present, but His Sicilian M^y having secured to himself Gen^l Acton now as to all appearance takes the whole of business on his own shoulders without consulting the Queen.

“Although it is impossible to defend Gen^l Acton's conduct throughout, I must own my partiality for him. I think him an honest man and truly attached to what he thinks their Sicilian Majesties' interest. He is the only man of business that I have met with in this Country, and although a Slave to his Office he is reproached by the Opposite party of undertaking everything, of excluding everybody else and not finishing anything himself.

“They do not say which party is in the right, but I lament that there shou'd be such a division at this moment in a Government where the utmost temper and unanimity is requisite to retrieve the nation from anarchy and confusion and restore to it Peace and good order. I lament that the good heart and most

excellent head of Her Sicilian Majesty shou'd be so little consulted. Party in opposition to the Queen allow of Her Majesty's very superior understanding, but say that her passions being very strong and getting the better of her judgement she is led but too often to open her mind and put her trust in persons very unworthy of her confidence who betray and deceive her, and I fear that the King is of the same opinion.

"I sent a Copy of the paper that I received from Naples to Gen^l Acton, and your L^p will see in his Excel^y's answer to me inclosed (N. 2) his remarks upon it. It is clear that Gen^l Acton's Idea is to keep down the Nobility and favor the people as much as possible. Was I to be called upon for an opinion it would be that the King shou'd return to Naples immediately and grant himself the general pardon and put an end to the infamous prosecutions on foot and apply himself seriously to the formation of a better Government, inciting the Nobility to assist him in so salutary a measure, assuring them that what had passed should be entirely forgotten and that He wished to live upon a Friendly footing with them. I am convinced that all would go right, whereas by following the present Plan I should fear that Their Sicilian Majesties will meet with more intrigues and opposition from the Barons at Naples than they are aware of and will never enjoy a moment of Tranquillity, and that either the Court of Vienna or Madrid will endeavour to profit from these discontents. Your Lordship will see in Gen^l Acton's billet that the application I made to His Exc^y in favor of Colonel Mahary according to the instructions your Lordship was pleased to give me in your Dispatch of the 28th of October (N. 6) has been properly attended to, and that as soon as his Sicilian Majesty returns from his shooting party I shall probably be authorised to send your Lordship an official and favourable answer. Lest your Lorship should not have heard of the late most important successes of the Emperor of Germany's Army in Italy, Three Printed Bulletins which I receiv'd yesterday from Leghorn are inclosed.

"Brigadier Gen^l Graham, with his detachment from the Citadel of Messina, is safely landed at Malta, but we have no account of the Russians, long expected there from Naples Bay.

Whatever request Brig. Graham has made to this Government for Artillery, Artillerymen, etc., has been granted.

"The Marquis Niza, with the Portuguese Squadron, is on the point of returning here according to the orders he has received.

"I have the honor to be," etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

"PALERMO, *Jan^y 17th, 1800.*

"MY LORD,—I have the honor of inclosing to your Lordship my advice to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury that I have this day drawn upon their Lordships for the sum of Two thousand Pounds, on account of the Pensions and subsistence of the French and Corsican Emigrants on my list here.²

"I am under the necessity, as your L^p will see, of giving my Bills on Their Lordships for a more considerable sum of money to prevent the absolute loss of the Island of Malta, and which would not admit of a moment's delay.

"I have the honor of inclosing a Letter which I received lately from Capt. Ball, and a Copy of a Letter which Lord Nelson has written to me, which Letters, I hope, will plead my Cause with your Lordship, and excuse my having taken upon me so unauthorised a liberty, but which I conceived to be absolutely necessary for the King's Service.

"I must entirely rely on your Lordship's goodness to explain this business to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury that the Bills which I have given this day to Abraham Gibbs, Esq^r., for the value of the Eight Thousand Neapolitan ounces which he has furnished me with, and which I shall send to Capt. Ball by the first safe opportunity, may be duly honored by their Lordships of the Treasury.

"Lord Nelson sailed from hence last night in the *Foudroyant*, saying that he should not be absent long.

"The complaint of the great want of Corn at Malta mention'd in Captain Ball's Letter to me have, by Lord Nelson's and my

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

² Three bills for £1,000, £600, and £400.

strong remonstrances to this Government, been entirely removed, and They are now amply supplied with that necessary article, and we have the promise that in future nothing that may be necessary, either for the subsistence or Comfort of the King's Troops or the poor Islanders that are fighting in the good cause at Malta, shall be denied to them by the Ports of Sicily.

"I have the honor to be," etc.

[The following is written on the same paper.]

"PALERMO, *Jan. 17, 1800.*

"MY LORDS,—As I have been under the necessity of supplying instantly Captain Ball, Governor of the Island of Malta, with the sum of Eight Thousand Ounces and which I thought indispensably necessary for the King's Service, as I have fully explained to Lord Grenville in my Dispatch of this Day's date and which I have begged the favour of His L^p to communicate to your Lordships, I have this Day taken the liberty to give to Mr. Abraham Gibbs Thirteen Bills on your Lordships amounting together to the sum of Four Thousand five hundred and forty Pounds fourteen shillings and nine pence, and Equivalent to the Eight Thousand Ounces furnished me by Abraham Gibbs, Esq^r, to whose Order my Bills on your Lordships as I specified in the inclosed note.

"I have the honor to be," etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

"PALERMO, *Feb. 11th, 1800.*

"MY LORD,—(Secret) My Dispatch to your L^p of last year (N. 32) which I sent home by the way of Gibraltar, and that of this year (N. 1) Jan^y 16th, sent to Mr. Walpole at Lisbon to be forwarded to your Lordship, will have given your L^p the present and true state of affairs at Naples and Palermo.

"Lord Nelson returned here from Leghorn in company with Lord Keith the 3rd instant, and I had the honor of attending their Lordships immediately to the Palace and of presenting Lord Keith to their Sicilian Majesties and Royal Family.

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding Esq., Southsea.

“Their Majesties were pleased to express to Lord Keith in the strongest terms their heartfelt gratitude to the King and British Government for the numerous and signal Services They had received from them, and that indeed they ow’d the re-possession of their Kingdoms to Great Britain and the constant indefatigable zeal of Lord Nelson in the executing of the orders of His Court.

“His Sicilian Majesty having expressed a strong desire of seeing His Majesty’s Ship the *Queen Charlotte*, and Lord Keith having answered that the Ship was at His Majesty’s disposition and entreating of His Majesty to invite his own Company, the Appointment was made for last Saturday, when their Sicilian Majesties, The Hereditary Prince and Princess with all the young Royal Family, the Foreign Ministers, The Secretaries of State and all the Principal Officers of this Court, attended at the request of Their Majesties and had the honor of dining at the same Table with their Majesties and Royal Family.

“In the middle of dinner Their Sicilian Majesties, rising up, proposed to drink the Health of the King our Royal Master and of all His Royal Family, which they did with tears of Gratitude in Their eyes. At the same moment there was a Royal Salute from all the Ships of His Majesty’s Squadron at anchor in this Bay; but Lord Keith, the weather being uncertain, had for the greater conveniency of Their Sicilian Majesties drawn his Ship into the Mole of Palermo, where it was not possible to salute with Guns, and which circumstance was, I believe, very pleasing to the young Princesses, who are rather alarmed at the near report of a Cannon.

“Their Sicilian Majesties and Royal Family visited every part of the Ship and expressed their astonishment at its dimensions and at the extreme cleanliness and order which they remarked everywhere.

“Yesterday morning Their Sicilian Majesties did Lord Nelson the honor of going on board the *Foudroyant* and partaking of a breakfast with his Lordship. The King of Naples was pleased to take notice of all the Officers and many of the private men of the *Foudroyant*, with whom his Majesty had been acquainted during his six weeks’ residence on board this Ship in the Bay of Naples, which his Majesty is pleased to call his own Ship.

“Brigadier General Graham having expressed to me a desire of getting immediately a batillion of His Sicilian Majesty’s Infantry from Sicily for the Service of the blockade of the Valetta at Malta, I applied accordingly to this Government, and a baullion consisting of Eight hundred men was immediately prepared, and they were embarked yesterday on board the *Queen Charlotte*, the *Foudroyant*, and a British Frigate, and they are now under Sail for Malta.

“The last Letters I received from Governor Ball and Brig. Gen^l Graham were dated from Malta the 22nd of Jan^y. The Blockade is carried on with great assiduity and the distresses of the weak French Garrison of the Valetta must be very great, as not even a small boat has entered the Port for many months.

“I have the honor of inclosing Brig. Gen^l Graham’s last private Letter to me, which will give your L^p a better idea of the present situation of Malta than any words of mine. I likewise inclose a confidential billet which I received from Gen^l Acton after having communicated the Brig^rs Letter to this Exc^y, for with Gen^l Acton I have always found that the best way of doing business is to place an entire confidence in him, and altho’ His Excel^y must often in my communications find some severe remarks on the Corruption and bad Government of these Kingdoms, yet the knowledge of it coming to the Ears of the first Minister may be of Service.

“The Maltese Peasantry in Arms against the French and His Majesty’s Troops under the Command of Col. Graham owing to accidents have been lately rather in distress for want of Corn and Provisions from Sicily, but now as your Lordship will see in an Article of Gen^l Acton’s letter to me that all direct applications for provisions authorised by Governor Ball for the use of the British Troops and Maltese acting under him will in future be duly attended to in the Ports of Sicily.

“We hear nothing certain yet of the return of the Russian Troops destin’d for Malta and who were carried off from Messina to Corfu by Ad^l Usacoff.

“Lord Keith was already personally acquainted with Gen^l Acton, and his Lordship has had many interviews with His Exc^y, and with our late Treaty in hand they have settled the

proportion of the Maritime force that his Sic. Majesty is bound and willing to furnish for the good of the common cause during the next campaign in the Mediterranean, and it is a fortunate circumstance that His Sicilian Majesty is able to supply just what Lord Keith is in want of on the Coast of Genoa, Gun Boats, and small armed Vessels, and I was much pleased to find this morning that Lord Keith was perfectly satisfied with the agreement settled and the promise that Gen^l Acton has given to his Lordship under his own handwriting.

“I have the honor to be,” etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

“PALERMO, *Feb* 26, 1800.

“MY LORD,—I have the infinite satisfaction of inclosing to your Lordship a Copy of a Letter from Lord Nelson which I received the 22nd instant by an Estafette from Syracuse sent to me by His Lordship’s Order by Capt. Martin of His Majesty’s Ship *Northumberland*, who brought into that Port the French Ship *Genereux* taken by Lord Nelson. By letters which this Court has received from the Governor of Siracusa we are informed that the French Rear Admiral Perier died of his wounds on board the *Genereux* before his arrival at Siracusa, where, by the permission of this Court, he is to be buried. There are private letters from Ghirgenti that say that the other three Frigates (which, with the *Genereux* and the Frigate mentioned to be taken in Lord Nelson’s Letter, comprised the whole of the French Squadron sent from Toulon for the relief of Malta) had been captured near the island of Paulelevia, and carried into the Bay of Marcia Scirocco in the Island of Malta; but this report wants confirmation. However, from Lord Nelson’s satisfactory letter it is plain that the Enemy’s design for the present relief of Malta has been completely defeated, and that in all probability the Valetta will soon fall. I most heartily rejoice with your Lordship on this happy occasion.

“A messenger arrived here lately from St. Petersburg, and

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

brought a Letter from the Emperor of Russia to Lord Nelson acquainting his Lordship that he had named Captain Ball of His Majesty's Ship the *Alexander* a Commandant of the Order of Malta, and sent him the Cross, and also that His M^y had named Lady Hamilton a Chevalier of the Order of Malta and sent her the little Cross, and Sir Charles Whitworth has informed me that he has, by the desire of His Imperial Majesty, written home to solicit the King's permission for Captain Ball and Lady Hamilton to wear such an honorable testimony of His Imperial Majesty's approbation. I have the honor of inclosing to your Lordship a Copy of the Emperor of Russia's Letter to Lady Hamilton sent with the Cross.

"On Saturday last his Excellency General Sir John Acton, Bart., was married to Miss Acton, daughter of Major General Acton, in the Service of His Sicilian Majesty. His Excellency was married at my House in the morning by a Protestant Clergyman, and was married again in the Evening, according to the rites of the Church of Rome, in a private Chapel of the Royal Palace, and in the Presence of Their Sicilian Majesties and all the Royal Family, His Sicilian Majesty himself having given away the young Lady to His Excellency.

"P.S.—I had the honor last week to present the King's Letter brought by Mr. Campbell to His Sicilian Majesty, and in the usual Form I can assure your L^p that the contents of His Majesty's Letter have given infinite satisfaction at this Court."

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

"PALERMO, April 7th, 1800.

"MY LORD,—I have the great satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship that Lord Nelson of the Nile received the day before yesterday a letter from Sir Edward Berry to inform his Lordship that the French Ship *Guillaume Tell* came out of the Harbour of Malta on the 30th of March, and was soon after chased by His Majesty's Frigate the *Penelope*, and by His Majesty's Ships the *Foudroyant* and *Lion*, and that, after a gallant resistance of

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

three hours and being dismasted she struck to the *Foudroyant*, and boats were sent for from Syracuse to carry her into that Port. Sir Edward gives no other particulars than that there were about forty men killed or wounded on board the *Foudroyant*, and as many on board the *Lion*. As there were one Thousand two hundred Men on board the *Guillaume Tell*, the loss of the Enemy must have been very considerable, and it is probable that some of the rich spoils of Malta will be found on board this prize. As the *Guillaume Tell* was the only Ship that remained of the French Mediterranean Squadron, Lord Nelson having given a good account of all the rest, Her Capture is particularly pleasing to His Lordship, by having now completely executed the orders he received from His Friend, Earl St. Vincent. Lord Nelson's health is somewhat better than it was by the little rest he has had here, but still at times troubled with pains in his head or swelling of the heart, and inflammation in his Eyes.

“The Eye that was totally blind has been, however, by Electricity recovered sufficiently to distinguish objects, and hopes may be entertained of His Lordship recovering that Eye.

“By the letters from Malta I find that Governor Ball, after having received the news of the Capture of the *Guillaume Tell*, is more sanguine in the hope of the speedy surrender of the Valetta, but Brig. Gen^l Graham seems to think that unless a reinforcement should arrive the French garrison will not surrender to the small force under his command unless compelled to it by famine. Lord Nelson applied to this Court for an armed Brig and Four Gun Boats to assist in the blockade of the Harbour of Malta, which has been granted, and they are now to sail to-morrow.

“Mr. Paget¹ is arrived at Naples, and expected here daily.”

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.²

“PALERMO, April 22nd, 1800.

“MY LORD,—I have this day had the honor of presenting The King's Letters with my Recredentials to their Sicilian Majesties

¹ Sir Arthur Paget.

² In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

in the usual Form, and soon after Mr. Paget presented his credential Letter to His Sicilian Majesty and is to have the honor of presenting His Majesty's Letter to the Queen of Naples To-morrow.

"I have the honor to be," etc.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO THE QUEEN OF NAPLES.¹

"LIVOURNE, 17 *Juin*, 1800.

"MADAME,—C'est impossible d'Exprimer par des paroles les Sentiments de mon ame en recevant ce matin la precieuse Lettre de votre Majesté avec les Portraits de votre Majesté et du Roi de Naples. L'approbation de Leurs Majesté Siciliennes après un Sejour de plus de 36 Ans à la Cour de Naples et le desir que Leurs Majestés ont bien voulu témoigner pour mon retour à Naples est surement la plus grande Gloire que je peux recevoir dans ce Monde. Je suis, j'ose le dire, attaché à votre Majesté, au Roi, et à leurs Royaumes autant qu'il soit possible de l'être. Si non, je serais le monstre le plus ingrat de la Terre, et si Leurs Majestés pensent réelemment que mon retour à Naples pourrait être de la moindre utilité à Leurs Majestés et Leur Royaumes, malgré mon age et mes infirmités que je sens augmenter tous les jours, je me ferais un devoir de faire tout mon possible pour pouvoir retourner à ma Poste Ministeriale. En même temps il faut que je confesse à votre Majesté que mon objet favoris servit de

¹ In possession of J. C. Holding, Esq., Southsea.

Admiralty Full

Dr. E. T. PARKER.

34987	Ship's Name	As	From	To	Full	Deductions	Nett
	Trimmer	Adv.	22 Feb. 1801	—22 May	£33 12 0	£0 10 0	£33 2 0
	Trimmer	Assessed	3 March— 1801	25 April	—	—	—
	Amaranthe	—	25 July 1801	—27 Sept.	—	—	£27 6 6

retourner à Naples et passer les peu de jours qui me restent on tranquilité et sans Caractère Public.

“J’ai l’honneur d’être, Madame, de Votre Majesté Le très humble, reconnaissant, et éternellement attaché Serviteur,

“WILLIAM HAMILTON.”

It is worthy of remark that both the husbands of Frances Herbert Woolward could claim descent from the Plantagenet Kings of England. Dr. Nisbet, through the marriage of his grandfather, Alexander Nisbet, with Emilia, daughter of the Hon. Archibald Douglas, R. N., fourth son of Francis, seventh Earl of Moray, sixth in descent from the Regent Moray, son of James V., King of Scotland, by Margaret, daughter of John Lord Erskine. Through James V. Dr. Nisbet was, of course, descended from several Kings of Scotland, and from the kingly Houses of Lancaster, York, and Tudor.

Lord Nelson’s descent from the Plantagenet Kings of England has been traced by four different lines. His grandfather, the Rev. Maurice Suckling, was equally descended, through both father and mother, from King Edward I. of England.

We give two of those Tables of Descent, the other two are, first, through De Bohun, Butler, Boleyn, Carey, Wodehouse, and Suckling,¹ and, secondly, through Mowbray, Howard, Boleyn, etc.

¹ From a volume by Mr. George Russell French, on *The Royal Descent of Nelson and Wellington from Edward I., King of England.*

Day Ledger, 1801

Observation	Ship for which Certificate is granted	From	To	Nett Amount and Certificate	Date of Certificate	Abatement	Nett due on Certificate
20 March 1801							
25 Aug. 1826	8489 Trimmer	3 March—	25 Apr. 1801	£24 12 10	16 Aug.	£24 12 0	
25 Aug. 1826	90 Amaranthe	25 July—	27 Sept. 1801	£35 15 8	„	£8 9 2	£27 6 6

The Descent of Nelson from King Edward the First

BY BEAUFORT, SPENCER, CAREY, WODEHOUSE, AND SUCKLING.

NAME.	RANK.	CONSORT.	PARENTAGE OF CONSORT.
Edward I.	King of England, died 1307	Eleanor of Castile	Ferdinand III. and Joan of Portugal
Edward II.	King of England, died 1327	Isabella of France	Philip IV. and Joan, Queen of Navarre
Edward III.	King of England, died 1377	Philippa of Hainault	William, Earl of Hainault, and Jane of Valois
John of Gaunt	Duke of Lancaster, K.G., died 1399	Catherine Swynford	Sir Payn Roet, Knt.
John Beaufort	Earl of Somerset, K.G., died 1410	Margaret Holland	Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and Alice Fitzalan
Edmund Beaufort	Duke of Somerset, K.G., died 1445	Eleanor Beuchamp	Richard Beuchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Elizabeth Berkeley
Eleanor Beaufort	Eldest daughter and coheir	Sir Thomas Spencer, Knt.	Of Spencer, Combe, Devon
Margaret Spencer	Second daughter and coheir	Thomas Carey	Sir William Carey, and Alice, dau. of Sir Baldwin Fulford, Knt.
Sir William Carey	Esquire of the Body to Henry VIII., died 1528	Mary Boleyn	Sir Thomas Boleyn and Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk
Sir Henry Carey	1st Lord Hunsdon, K.G., died 1596	Anne Morgan	Sir Thomas Morgan, Knt.
John Carey, 2nd son	3rd Lord Hunsdon, died 1617	Mary Hyde, widow of Richard Peyton	Leonard Hyde, Esq., of Hyde Hall, Herts.
Blanche Carey	Lady Wodehouse	Sir Thomas Wodehouse, Bart., of Kimberley	Sir Philip Wodehouse, Bart., and Griemel, dau. of Will. Velverton
Anne Wodehouse	First wife, died 1653	Robert Suckling, Esq., Sheriff of Norfolk, 1664	Charles Suckling, Esq., and Mary, dau. of Stephen Drury, Esq.
Robert Suckling	Sheriff of Norfolk, 1701, died 1708	Sarah Shelton	Maurice Shelton, Esq., and Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Robert Kemp, Bart.
Rev. Maurice Suckling, D.D.	Rector of Barsham, died 1730	Ann Turner	Sir Charles Turner, Bart., and Mary, dau. of Robert Walpole, Esq.
Catherine Suckling	Died 1767	Rev. Edmund Nelson, Rector of Burnham Thorpe	Rev. Edmund Nelson, and Mary, dau. of James Bland
Horatio Nelson	Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronte, K.C.H.		

The Descent of Nelson from King Edward the First

BY DE CLARE, AUDLEY, STAFFORD, MORLEY, PARKER, SHELTON, AND SUCKLING.

NAME.	RANK.	CONSORT.	PARENTAGE OF CONSORT.
Edward I.	King of England	Eleanor of Castile	Ferdinand III. and Joan of Pontien
Joan of Acres	Princess of England, died 1307	Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester	Richard de Clare and Maud Lacy
Margaret de Clare	Widow of Piers Gaveston	Hugh de Audley, Lord Audley	James, Lord Audley
Margaret de Audley	Only daughter and heir Countess of Stafford	Ralph de Stafford, K.G., 1st Earl of Stafford	Edmund Lord Stafford and Margaret Basset
Hugh de Stafford	2nd Earl of Stafford, K.G.; died 1386	Philippa Beauchamp	Thomas Beauchamp, K.G., Earl of Warwick, and Catherine Mortimer, his wife
Katherine Stafford	Countess of Suffolk	Michael de la Pole, 2nd Earl of Suffolk, died 1415	Michael de la Pole, 1st Earl of Suffolk, K.G., and Catherine Wingfield
Isabel de la Pole	Lady Morley, died 1466	Thomas Morley, 5th Lord Morley, died 1435	Thomas Morley and Elizabeth Molins
Robert Morley	6th Lord Morley, died 1442	Elizabeth de Ros	William de Ros, Lord Ros
Eleanor Morley	Baroness Morley, died 1475	Sir William Lovel, Knt., Lord Morley <i>jure ux.</i>	William, Lord Lovel, and Alice Deincourt
Alice Lovel	Baroness Morley	Sir William Parker, Knt.	
Sir Henry Parker	Lord Morley <i>jure matris</i> died 1555	Alice St. John	Sir John St. John, and Sibill Morgan, ap. Jenkin, ap. Philip
Margaret Parker	Lady Shelton	Sir John Shelton, Knt.	St. John Shelton, Knt., and Anne, dau. of Sir William Boleyn, Knt.
Sir Ralph Shelton, Knt.	Sheriff of Norfolk 1570	Anne Barrow, 2nd wife	Thomas Barrow, Esq.
Henry Shelton	Of Shelton and Barningham	Elizabeth Kemp	Sir Robert Kemp, Bart.
Sarah Shelton	Died 1695	Robert Suckling	Robert Suckling and Anne Wodehouse
Rev. Maurice Suckling	Died 1730	Anne Turner	Sir Charles Turner, Bart.
Catherine Suckling	Died 1767	Rev. Edmund Nelson	Rev. Edmund Nelson

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