

The background of the image is a large Union Jack, the national flag of the United Kingdom, featuring its characteristic red, white, and blue colors and saltire design.

2000
TRAFALGAR AND NELSON

200 TRAFALGAR AND NELSON



BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

PRESENTED BY
THE LONDON & WESTMINSTER LITERARY CLUB, FOUNDED 1825.
ON THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY, 1805-1905.
PRINTED BY T. FISCH, LONDON & PARIS.

2000 TRAFALGAR AND NELSON

Catalogue of an Exhibition of
Rare Books, Maps, Charts, Prints, Models, and Signal Flags
Relating to Events and Influences
of the
Battle of Trafalgar and Lord Nelson

by

JOHN B. HATTENDORF

E. J. King Professor of Maritime History

Chairman Maritime History Department



The Naval War College Museum
Newport, Rhode Island
October 2005 to March 2006

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MICHEAL CARDIN

Copy Number _____ of Thirty signed and numbered copies

“Nelson and Trafalgar – 200 Years”

One of the greatest naval battles in history occurred on 21 October 1805, when Vice Admiral Lord Nelson defeated the Combined French and Spanish Fleet under Admiral Villeneuve in the Atlantic off Cape Trafalgar.



This exhibit features more than 30 Rare Prints
from the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

•

Rare Materials from the Naval War College's own collections
illustrating 125 years of our own interest in the subject

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A Sampling of Mahan's Original Research Materials on Nelson

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Nelson's Influences on U.S. and General Naval History

The Exhibit Layout is cataloged Alphanumerically

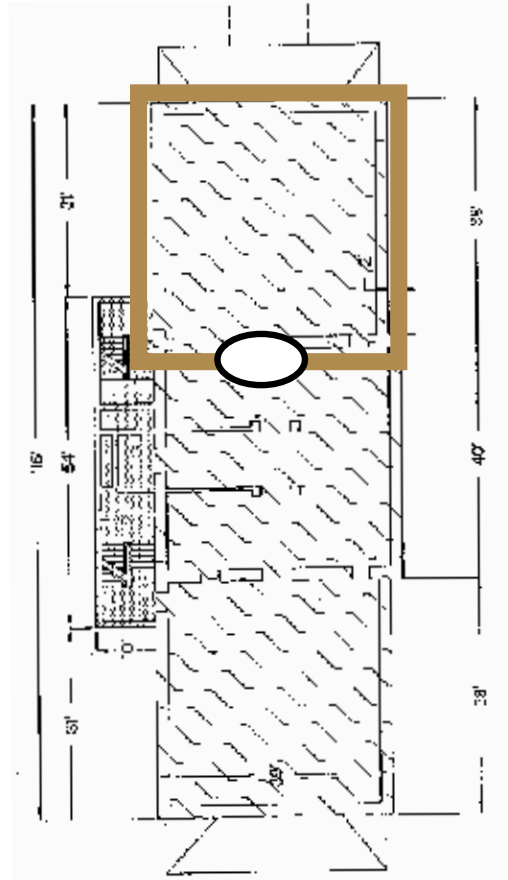
Museum

Display Area

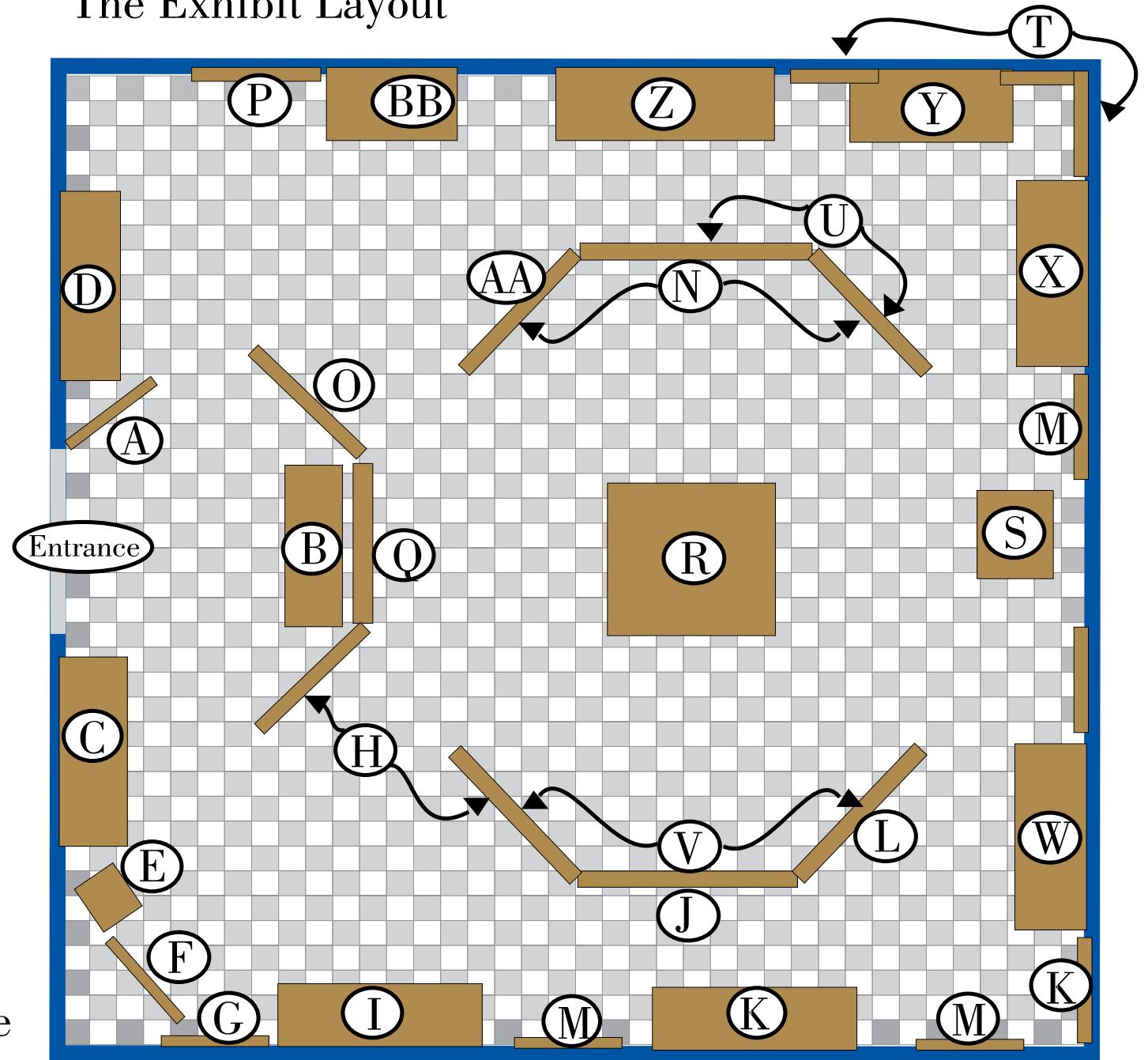
Display type and Title

A	Portrait of Nelson
B	Victory Model
C	Display Case “The Naval War College and Nelson 1880 – 1930
D	Display Case “The Naval War College and Nelson 1930 – present”
E	Kiosk video of “Explore <i>HMS Victory</i> ”
F	Victory Deck Layouts
G	Eighteenth-century French Navigation Chart
H	Movable Walls “Battle of St. Vincent”
I	Display Case “Navy and the Age of Nelson”
J	Movable Wall “Navy and the Age of Nelson”
K	Display Case “Nelson in America”
L	Movable Wall “Royal Navy and the Age of Nelson”
M	Posters “North American Sailors in the Battle of Trafalgar”
N	Movable Walls “Battle of Nile”
O	Portraits “Great Adversaries”
P	Portraits of Nelson’s Mentors
Q	Painting Battle Scene on Victory Deck
R	Floor Diorama Battle of Trafalgar
S	Display Case “Peep Show”
T	Charts of various ship positions during the Battle of Trafalgar
U	Movable Walls “Campaign of Trafalgar”
V	Movable Walls “Death of Nelson”
W	Display Case / Posters “Death of Nelson”
X	Display Case “Influence of Nelson and Trafalgar on the United States”
Y	Display Case “The Impact of Nelson and Trafalgar on the World”
Z	Display Case “Mahan and Nelson”
AA	Movable Wall “Portraits of Nelson”
BB	Display Case “Current Scholarship on Nelson and Trafalgar”

The Exhibit Layout



Founder's Hall
Naval War College



Admiral Lord Nelson
Tinted lithograph, undated

This is based on the pencil and watercolor drawing by Henry Edridge, 1802. The original showed Nelson's left hand on a cannon. A stipple engraving by Anthony Cardon was published in 1802 and it was used again in half-length as the frontispiece of the 1810 edition of Clarke and M'Arthur's biography.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

Portrait of Nelson



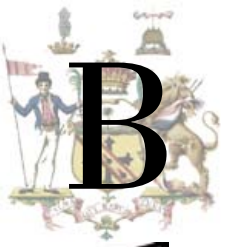


Model of HMS Victory

This ¼-inch-to-one-foot scale model of HMS Victory was presented to the Naval War College in 1953 by Lieutenant Francis L. Higginson, Jr., of the NWC Class of 1944. It was built and rigged by Captain Frederick E. Story and Captain Sumner.

NWC Museum Collection

Victory Model



B



Charles Ekins, *The Naval Battles of Great Britain from the Accession of the Illustrious House of Hanover to the Throne to the Battle of Navarin*. London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1828

War College Founder Admiral Stephen Luce was particularly critical of Ekins's understanding of Nelson's tactics. In a lecture that Luce gave during the Naval War College's first academic year in 1885, "On the Study of Naval History as Grand Tactics," Admiral Luce referred to this book and contrasted Howe and Nelson, whom he considered to be the great exemplars of two different branches of tactics—Howe representing "minor, elementary or evolutionary tactics" and Nelson representing "Fighting or Grand Tactics or the Tactics of Battle." Nelson, he said, was also a great naval strategist, but this, Luce pointed out, is a professional branch distinct from the grand tactics of fleet fighting. Ekins had misunderstood Nelson and applauded the old tactical concept of close action, ship to ship. Luce argued that this was "a principle directly opposite to what Nelson and his school taught. His teaching and the teachings of all great captains, both on shore and afloat, is to put two against one."

Henry E. Eccles Library, NWC

The Rev. James Stanier Clarke and John M'Arthur, *The Life and Services of Admiral Lord Nelson, Duke of Bronte, Vice Admiral of the White, K.B. etc., From his Lordship's Manuscripts*. London: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1840

The frontispiece of this volume shows the church rectory at Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, where Nelson was born on 29 September 1758.

Clarke and M'Arthur's biography of Nelson first appeared in 1809 and had immense influence on later studies of Nelson. M'Arthur had been Nelson's secretary, naval prize agent, and the purser of HMS Victory, and was in a position to know what he was writing about. However, Nelson's brother, the Rev. William Nelson, who had inherited Nelson's titles and papers, was anxious to create a good impression and worked with the Prince of Wales's chaplain, the Rev. James Stanier, to ensure that this happened. Intended as a pious monument to a hero, it became instead a major source for future historians. Current historical research has now shown the many fabrications this book created and sustained for nearly two centuries.

This 1840 edition documents the Naval War College's long-standing interest in Nelson. The College acquired it on 11 November 1885 as one of the very first books in the College's Library.

Henry E. Eccles Library, NWC

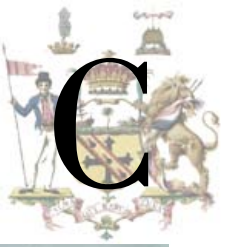
"A Review of the Naval History of the Eighteenth Century." Written and Presented before the Staff and Classes by the Department of Intelligence, Naval War College, Newport, R.I., in 1928 – 1929

During the academic year 1928-1929, the members of the Naval War College's Intelligence Department presented a series of illustrated lectures on naval history. The final two lectures of the series were devoted to the Campaign of Trafalgar as the pinnacle of naval warfare under sail and these were given personally by the head of the department, Captain Edward C. Kalbfus, a future four-star admiral and battle force commander as well as a future President of the Naval War College, 1934–1937, 1939–1942. Later, as a retired officer, Kalbfus became the first officer to hold the position of Director of Naval History. In the preface to this work, Kalbfus wrote:

When the plane of knowledge of naval history shall have been elevated to the point where all officers who begin the War College course are completely grounded, the College need allot no time to a review. Until that day arrives, there will be found profit in devoting part of the time here to retrospective contemplation of the experiences of those who have preceded us.

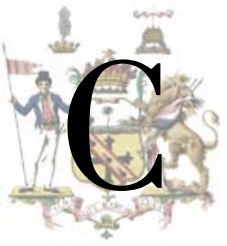
NWC Museum Collection

The Naval War College and Nelson 1880 – 1930





The Naval War College and Nelson 1880 – 1930



Lectures on Nelson by Admiral Mark Kerr, RN

As attested by the statement shown, when the battleship HMS Nelson was being prepared for her first commission in 1927, her commanding officer requested Admiral Mark Kerr, RN, to prepare a series of lectures on the “godfather” of the ship for the edification of the ship’s company. By 1930 these lectures were known to Rear Admiral Harris Laning, USN, then President of the Naval War College, who requested a copy for the College’s use.

NWC Archives
Naval Historical Subjects: Nelson

Letter from Admiral Mark Kerr, RN, to the President, Naval War College, Rear Admiral Harris Laning, USN, 22 January 1932, with an illustration of Nelson’s “Trafalgar Signal.”

In addition to sending a replacement typescript copy of his lectures that had been lost in the mail en route to Newport, Kerr also sent this drawing of Nelson’s famous signal.

NWC Archives
RG 28: President’s File: Laning

Mark Kerr, *The Sailor’s Nelson*. London: Hurst & Blackett, Ltd., 1932

Struck by the professional relevance of what Kerr had written in his lectures, Laning, in a reply to Kerr’s January 1932 letter, apparently promised to reproduce the lectures and send them to every ship in the U.S Fleet. Although no documentary evidence has yet been found to show this actually happened, Kerr wrote on page 9 of this volume:

“Admiral Laning, the Head of the U.S.A. Naval College at Newport, Rhode Island, expressed a wish to have them [the lectures] AND When I sent them to him, he had them reproduced and sent a set to every ship in the U.S. Navy. I was then asked . . . to publish the collection in a book.”

Henry E. Eccles Library, NWC

The Campaign and Battle of Trafalgar (1805)
Newport: Naval War College, March 1937

This 41-page typescript is the text of a historical presentation given by a Naval War College staff member in March 1937.

Naval War College Archives
RG 4C

G. J. Marcus, *The Age of Nelson: The Royal Navy in the Age of Its Greatest Power and Glory, 1793–1815*. New York: The Viking Press, 1971

In 1972/1974, when Naval War College President Vice Admiral Stansfield Turner revolutionized the College curriculum, this volume was the most recent historical study of the Nelson period and it was immediately adopted for use as assigned reading in the new Strategy and Policy course.

Professor John B. Hattendorf

Piers Mackesy, “*Problems of an Amphibious Power: Britain against France, 1793–1815*,” *Naval War College Review* XXX, no. 4 (Spring 1978), pp. 1625

David Syrett, “*The Role of the Royal Navy in the Napoleonic Wars after Trafalgar, 1805–1814*,” *Naval War College Review* XXXII, no. 5 (September–October 1979), p. 7184

These two articles in the *Naval War College Review* were originally given as lectures in Spruance Hall as part of the College’s Strategy and Policy course. At that time, the major lectures in that course were nearly all given by invited outside lecturers. Dr. Piers Mackesy of Pembroke College, Oxford University, and Dr. David Syrett of Queens College, City University of New York, were two of the leading historians of this period in the late 1970s.

Professor John B. Hattendorf

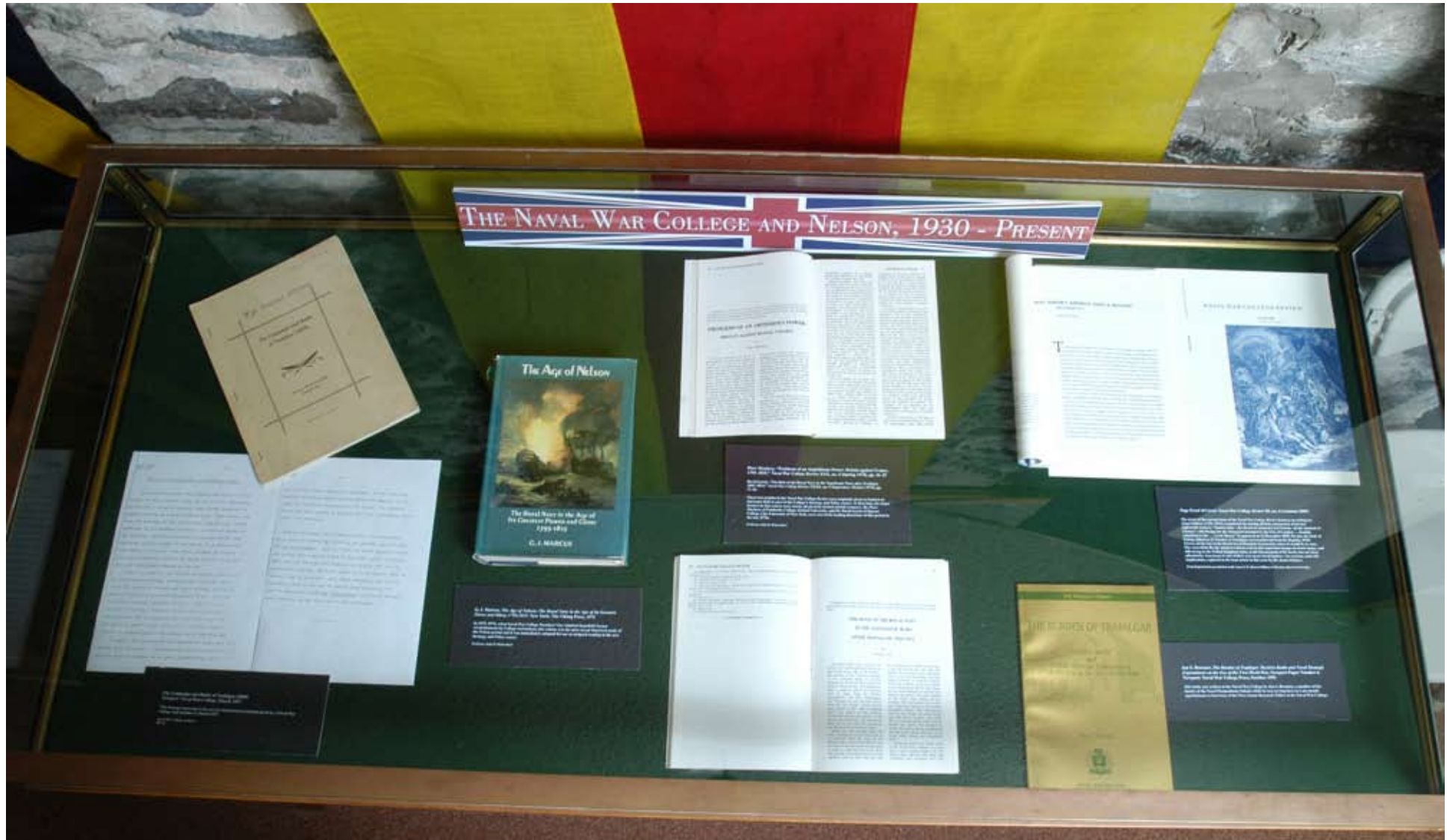
Jan S. Breemer, *The Burden of Trafalgar: Decisive Battle and Naval Strategic Expectations on the Eve of the First World War*. Newport Paper Number 6. Newport: Naval War College Press, October 1993

This study was written at the Naval War College by Jan S. Breemer, a member of the faculty of the Naval Postgraduate School, while he was serving here on a six-month appointment as Secretary of the Navy Senior Research Fellow at the Naval War College.

Page Proof of Cover. *Naval War College Review* 58, no. 4 (Autumn 2005)

The cover of the current issue of the *Naval War College Review* features an etching by James Gillray (1756–1815), considered the leading British caricaturist of the late eighteenth century: “Immortality the Death of Admiral Lord Nelson in the moment of Victory this Design for the Memorial intended by the City of London . . . humbly submitted to the . . . Lord Mayor.” It appeared on 23 December 1805, the day the body of Nelson, killed on 21 October at Trafalgar, was transferred from his flagship, HMS Victory, on its way to the Royal Naval Hospital, Greenwich, where it would lie in state. The veneration for the admiral evident even in this somewhat tongue-in-cheek image, and still strong in the United Kingdom today at the bicentennial of his death, has not been afforded by Americans to any of their own great naval leaders for reasons, and with implications, explored in the lead article in this issue by Dr. James Holmes.

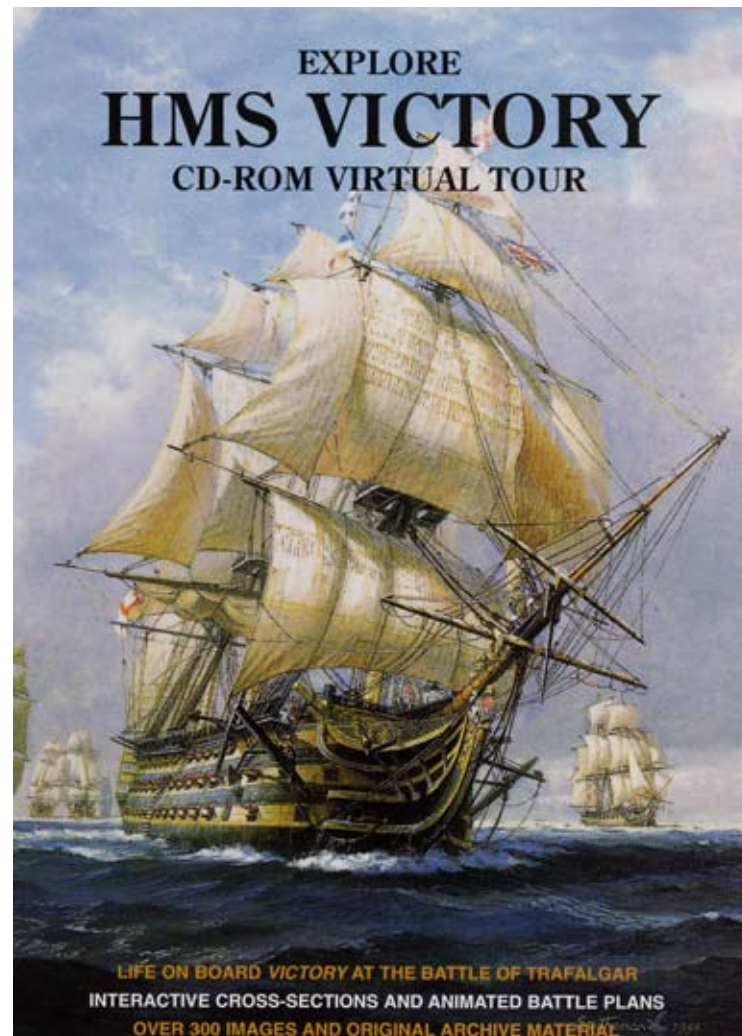
The Naval War College and Nelson 1930 – present



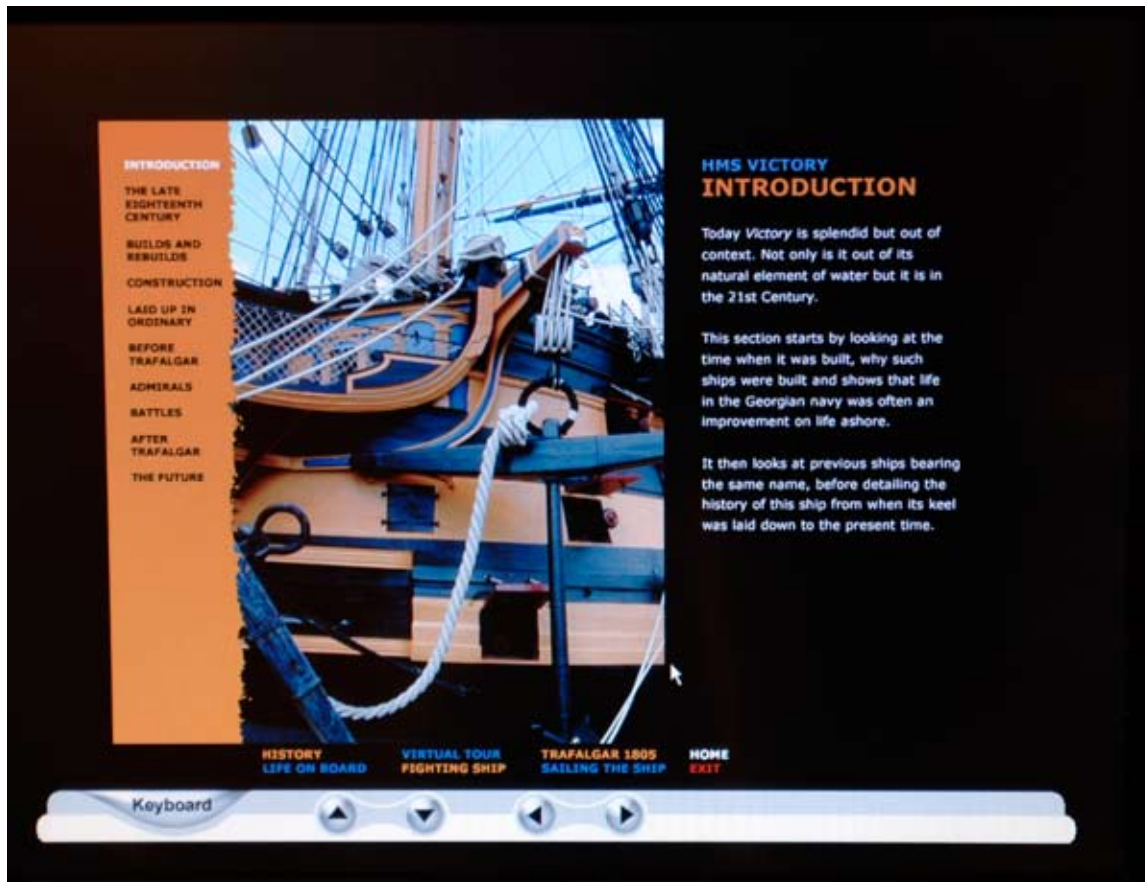
HMS *Victory* Virtual Tour

HMS *Victory* was Lord Nelson's flagship when he died, having won a decisive victory at the Battle of Trafalgar. This, the official HMS *Victory* CD-ROM, tells you everything you want to know about the ship, including her history, the men who sailed her and how she fought. Explore at your leisure all aspects of this unique 18th-century warship using hundreds of images, historic documents, interactive cross-sections and much more.

Published and produced by Pembroke Interactive Ltd.



Explore HMS *Victory*



Printed pages from the pamphlet one receives upon boarding HMS Victory in Portsmouth Naval Shipyard, Portsmouth England

MASTS

These towering timber structures carry the yards and breams the movement generated by the sails down to the bottom deck in the hull. Each of the 3 masts and the bowerport is made of 3 overlapping sections. The lower sections could be taken down for repairs or in bad weather.

RIGGING

There are four types of rigging:

- **standing rigging** is made of substantial fixed forest rigging which supports the masts and bowerport.
- **running rigging** is made of untanned flexible ropes and was used to hoist, take down and adjust the angle of the yards and sails. The sections were attached quickly from the deck and the head of the rope hoisted from one ship to another.

SALES

Victory carried 37 sails with a total sail area of 6,500 square yards (5,400m²) and could sail at up to 13 knots. Different combinations of sails were set according to the wind direction, strength and the manœuvres required. Handling each vast area of canvas required carefully co-ordinated effort using large numbers of men. Ingenious use of blocks, pulleys and capstans helped, but in the end sailing the ship relied on muscle power.



A line-of-battle ship, like HMS Victory, was one of the great technological achievements of the early Industrial Revolution

HULL

The hull required nearly 6,000 tons for its construction of which some 90% is oak. The hull is about 38 (38m) thick near the bow. Victory needed a depth of water of just over 14ft (7.3m) to float. In 1780 the area below the waterline was sheathed with 3,000 sheets of copper to protect her hull from ship worms and marine growth. Over half a million copper nails held these 33 tons of copper in place.

ANCHORS

Victory could stop - leave to - by carefully balancing her sails so that they counteracted each other. However in certain conditions and for longer periods of time it was necessary to drop an anchor, even though raising it was a slow labour intensive task. One of the ship's original 1800 anchors can be seen on the waterfront at Southsea.

FIGUREHEAD

In this faithful replica of the one that during the ship's 'great repair' of 1800-5, two liquids support the royal coat of arms of George III.

THE GREAT GUNS

At the Battle of Trafalgar, Victory carried thirty 36-pounder guns, twenty-eight 24-pounders, forty-four 12-pounders and two 68-pounder carronades. A total of 244 guns capable of firing a combined 1,144 lbs (522kg) of shot. 3000 fresh gun crews these could be released in 90 seconds. At the beginning of the battle all her guns, except the carronades were loaded drilled underneath 5.5 tons of cord. To give the ship stability, the heaviest guns are fired down, whilst for the less massive carronades on the forecastle.

POOP DECK & MASTS

The poop deck provided an elevated viewpoint. It was used for controlling the sails on the masts and mast made and for signalling. The space under the forward edge provided protection for the sailor and foremastmen.

Like all large ships of her time, Victory relied on wind power to move. The sailing force on the masts was transferred to the yards and down into the hull. Skilled handling of the sails, by means of ropes, enabled the direction of head of the ship to be controlled and even allowed her to sail without drawing anchor.

MASTS
Each of the masts is made up of three overlapping sections. The upper masts could be raised or lowered at sea to repair or in bad weather.

MAST
These masts are fixed at the top of the main masts. Apart from their use for the movement of rigging they also provided an elevated viewpoint and provided the ship's masts and foremastmen and other sails with the deck of an enemy ship.

SMALL LOCKER

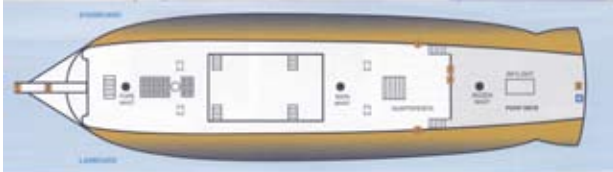
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MIDDLE GUN DECK

Basically a gun deck, which housed the 24-pounder guns, the galleys were situated on this deck. The Royal Marine detachment lived in the deck space forward of the officers' quarters which occupied the deck.

THE GALLEY
Food was cooked on the coal fire underneath the mainmast. The galley was also used for the preparation of food. The galley was situated on the middle gun deck. The galley was situated on the middle gun deck. The galley was situated on the middle gun deck.

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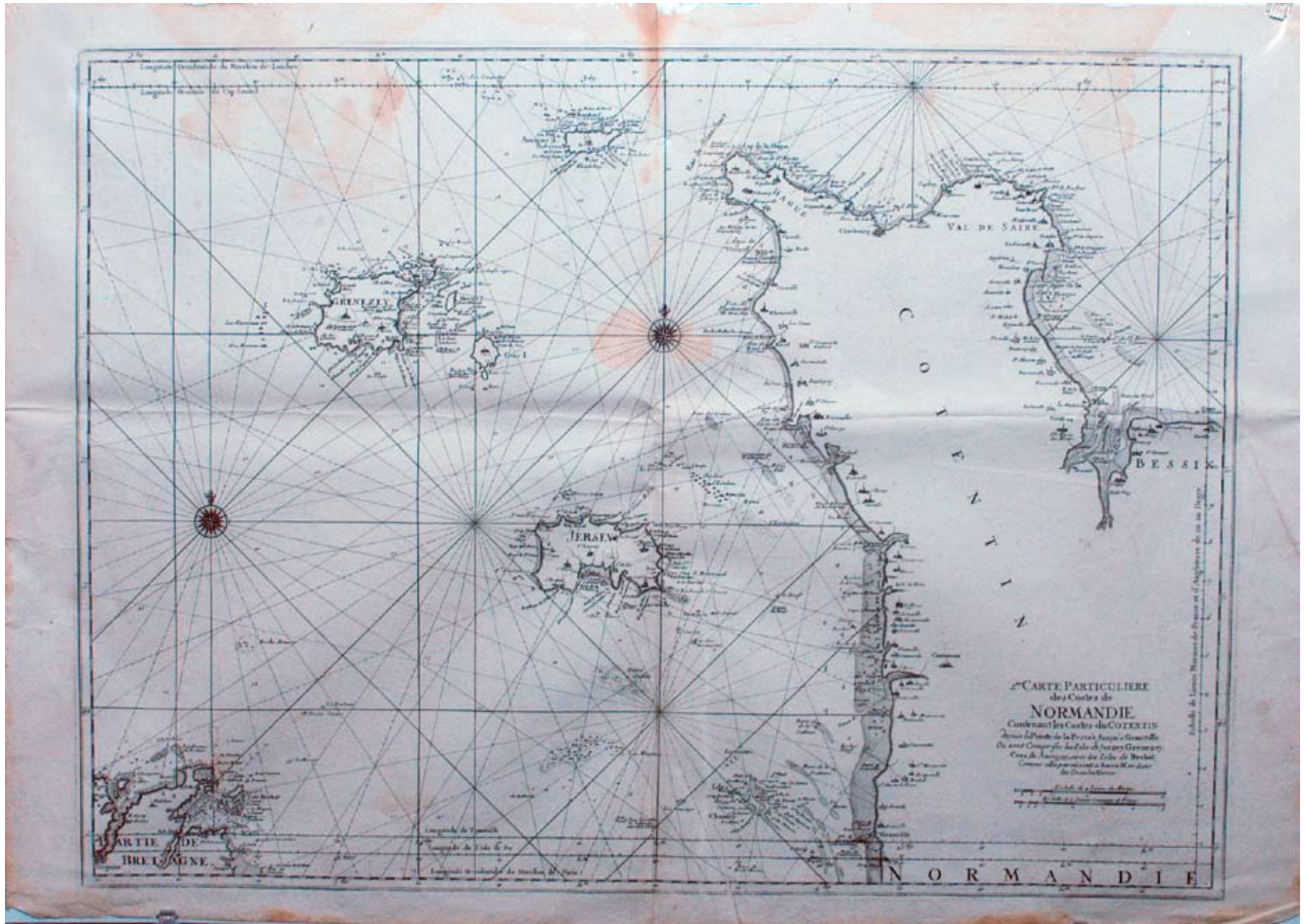
A large, stylized graphic of the Union Jack flag, composed of diagonal stripes of dark blue, red, and white, occupies the left side of the page.

Herman van Loon, 2me. *Carte Particulière des Costes de Normandie*. Paris, Ca. 1753

This mid-eighteenth-century French nautical chart of the south coast of the Channel showing part of Normandy, including the port of Cherbourg and The Channel Islands, is typical of the late hydrographic information available at the time. This chart was apparently used off the French coast in a British warship in the late eighteenth century.

Naval Historical Collection, NWC
Whitshed Papers

Eighteenth-century French Navigation Chart





**This Historical Engraving of that unprecedented Event in Lord St. Vincent's Victory of
Admiral Nelson's boarding of the TWO SPANISH SHIPS and the Reception of the Spanish
Admiral's Sword on board San Josef on the 14th of February 1797**

**Engraving by Daniel Orme from a Painting by Daniel Orme, under the direction of Lord
Nelson and officers of HMS *Captain***

London: Edward Orme, June 21st, 1800

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

The Distinguished Action of the Gallant Nelson
Engraving by James Daniell from a Painting by Henry Singleton
London: James Daniel, November 4, 1798

This view illustrates Nelson's heroic action at the battle of St. Vincent, when, as a Commodore, he leapt on board the 80-gun Spanish ship *San Nicholas*, while under heavy fire, hauled down her colors, and then dashed across her deck to board the 112-gun *San Josef*, which then surrendered to Nelson.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

Battle of St. Vincent



In the Battle of St. Vincent, the British Victory of 1797.
THE DETERMINED ACTION OF THE GALLANT NELSON.
He could stand firm against the superior force of the Spaniards.
By John Mordaunt, Esq. (1797).



A Naval Telescope

Typical of the telescopes used in the Royal Navy in Nelson's time, this instrument was manufactured by Dollard in London. As Nelson was leaving England to return to the fleet in September 1805, he had ordered a large number of telescopes from the same firm that made this one to be delivered to HMS *Victory* for distribution to his fleet.

NWC Museum Collection

His Royal Highness Prince William Henry Serving as a Midshipman on Board His Majesty's Ship *Prince George* Engraved by F. Bartolozzi and colored by F. Sandby from the painting by Benjamin West London: A Poggi, 1782

Prince William was the third son of King George III. From 1788 to 1830, he was known as the duke of Clarence. He succeeded to the throne as King William IV on the death of his brother, George IV, in 1830. He reigned from 1830 to 1837 and was succeeded by his niece, Victoria.

Known as the "sailor-king," Prince William went to sea in 1779 and in 1782 was a midshipman in Hood's flagship. Nelson first met him in New York harbor. Several years later in the West Indies, the two became good friends, and Prince William served as Nelson's best man at his wedding to Fanny Nisbet on the island of Nevis. In the end, Prince William led Nelson to make some bad judgments that, for a time, put him out of favor with some at the Admiralty, who had expected him to exercise stronger control over the young prince.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

A Vice Admiral's Commission, 1804

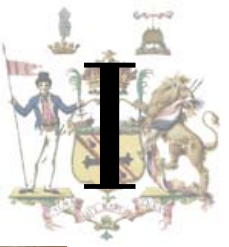
The document is the original, signed commission for a vice admiral, given to one of Nelson's colleagues, Vice Admiral James Hawkins Whitshed. The document is signed in the left corner by the Secretary of the Admiralty, William Marsden. To the right, it is signed by three of the Admiralty commissioners. Among the signatures here are the first Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of St. Vincent, and Captain Thomas Troubridge.

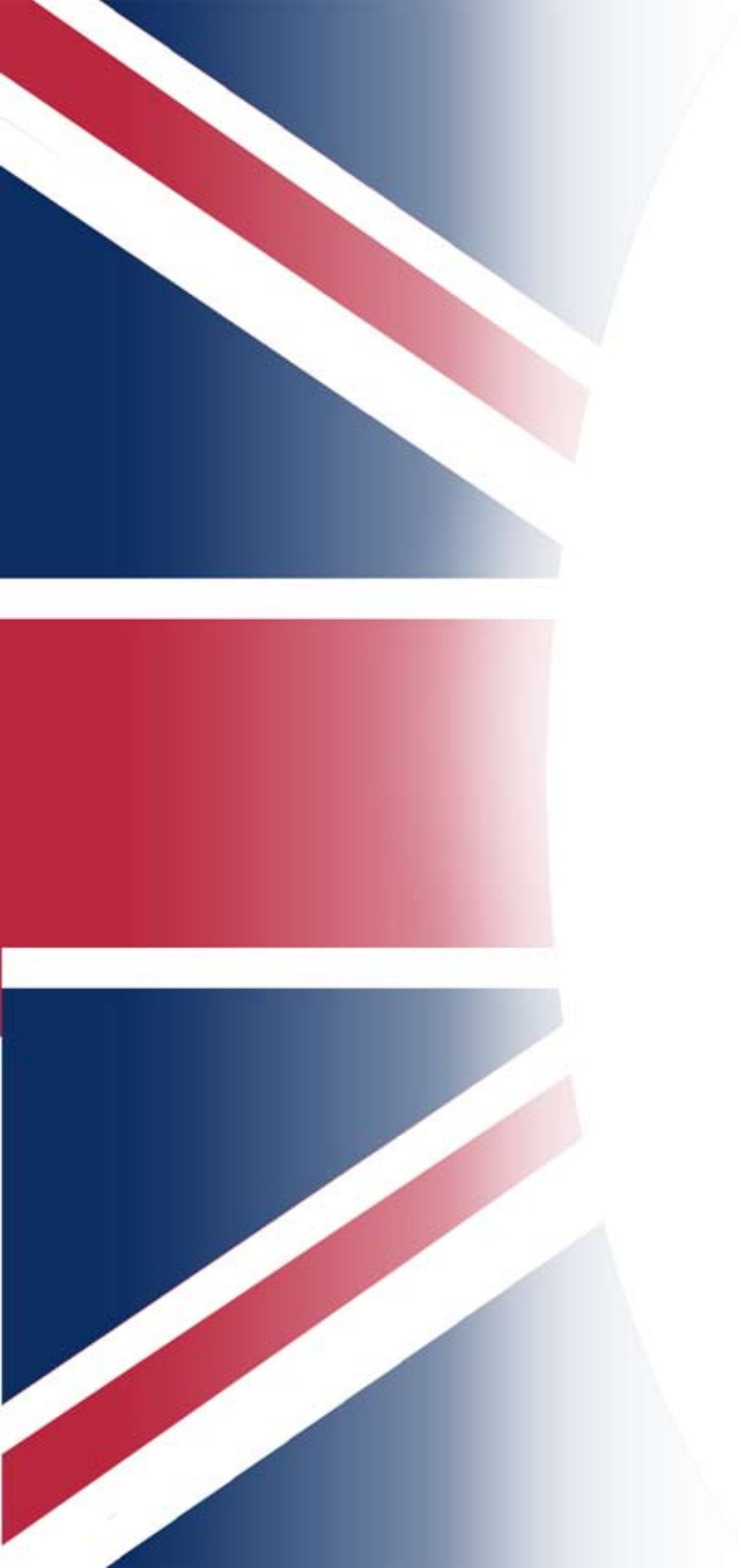
St. Vincent was a harsh disciplinarian and Nelson was one of the few officers who was able to stand up to him, although they were completely opposite in temperament. St. Vincent had more influence on Nelson's career than any other person did.

St. Vincent initially thought Sir Thomas Troubridge was a superior officer to Nelson and pushed Troubridge's career ahead, but later he proved to have extreme views. Troubridge and Nelson served together as midshipmen in *Seahorse* in 1773 and he commanded ships at Cape St. Vincent, Tenerife, and the Nile, but Nelson found him to be a man "extremely hasty on duty."

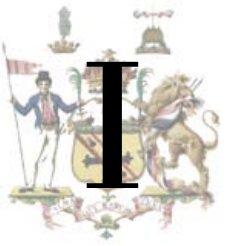
Naval Historical Collection, NWC
Whitshed Papers

Navy and the Age of Nelson





Navy and the Age of Nelson



Instruction for the Conduct of Ships of War, Explanatory of, and Relative to the Signals Contained in the Signal-Book Herewith Delivered. 1795

Signal-Book for the Ships of War. 1795

These two small volumes were the official signal books issued in 1795. These two lack the hand-painted colored flags and cross-indexing that such books would have had in use at sea. At this point, flag signaling was still awkward and had little flexibility.

Naval Historical Collection, NWC
Whitshed Papers

Sir Home Popham, *Telegraphic Signals: or Marine Vocabulary*. London: T. Egerton, Military Library, 1803

Captain Sir Home Popham's signaling system using numbered flags was not the official codebook, but it offered a much more flexible means of communicating. This work had several versions, and the one shown here predated the version that Nelson and his flag lieutenant John Pasco used to compose the famous signal, "England expects that every man will do his duty." The book is open to the page that has two of the number sequences that Nelson used: 253 (England) and 261 (Every). In the next edition, 296 would be added to this page to mean "Expects."

Naval Historical Collection, NWC
Whitshed Papers

Regulations and Instructions Relating to His Majesty's Service at Sea. Established by His Majesty in Council, 1808.

This thick book contained all the regulations and procedures for serving in ships at sea. Its contents range from the relative seniority and of flag officers to gun salutes, the duties and responsibilities of junior officers down to those of the schoolmaster, chaplain, and cook as well as pay, pensions, convoys, courts martial, and prize money.

Naval Historical Collection NWC
Whitshed Papers

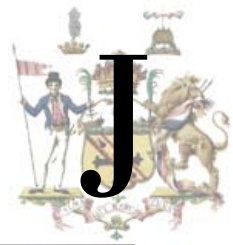


Dinner. Fetching lee-way; or One of the Comforts of a Channel Cruise in November. London: William Holland, 1 June 1810. Engraved by Stadler

This colored aquatint of a wardroom in a small warship is reminiscent of life in small warships in any period. At the same time it illustrates the point that despite wear and tear, the Royal Navy's persistence in keeping its warships on blockade station and patrolling off the French coast throughout the period, while French warships were kept in port, kept British officers and men at a relatively higher state of skill and readiness.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

Navy and the Age of Nelson



The Press-Gang or Cruel Separation

This 1795 caricature looks at naval impressment and the effect it had on the home front. Impressment was the compulsory recruitment of men into the Navy by a “press gang,” a party of seamen commanded by an officer. It was legally based on the royal right to call all men for military service, and this practice was confirmed by many legal opinions. Impressment lasted until the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, because the British government could not then devise a better way of providing the number of men needed to man warships. In theory, only seamen should have been pressed and most of them were taken at sea from merchant vessels just as they were returning to British home waters. However, as manpower needs increased in the Royal Navy through the eighteenth century, all types of men were drawn into the Navy. Due in part to the political issue involved in the Royal Navy’s practice of searching American ships for deserters in the period leading up to the War of 1812, the estimated numbers of men who had been impressed became highly inflated. Recent research shows that in the Napoleonic War period that the number was significant, but not higher than about 25 percent.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



Some Contemporary Critics Of Nelson

A Mansion House Treat. Or Smoking Attitudes
London: S. W. Fores, Nov. 18th, 1800

This caricature that shows Prime Minister William Pitt in the center and Nelson and Lady Hamilton to the right, expresses some criticism and ridicule of that relationship.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

J. F. W. Des Barres, *The Atlantic Neptune*. London, 1778

Nelson visited the region that is now the United States only once in his career. While in command of the 28-gun *Albemarle* in the very last stage of the American Revolution, Nelson had crossed the Atlantic with a convoy to Canada. He cruised off Cape Cod from mid-July through the end of August, then visited Quebec.

In late October, Nelson sailed with a convoy to New York, then the Headquarters of British Forces in North America. Nelson anchored in the East River on 13–15 November, shifted anchorage to the North River on 16–19 November, then sailed to Sandy Hook, where he anchored for the night of 21 November, before sailing for the West Indies with Admiral Samuel Hood. It was at New York that Nelson first met Hood, who was to become one of his most influential patrons.

In 1774, the Admiralty ordered Colonel J. F. W. Des Barres of the Engineers to compile an atlas of the charts that he had been surveying for the Royal Navy to use in North American Waters. This 1778 edition is the first partial edition of a work that was published in full in 1780.

Naval Historical Collection, NWC
Whitshed Papers

Geoffrey Rawson, ed., *Nelson's Letters from the Leeward Islands and other Original Documents in the Public Record Office*. London: Golden Cockerell Press, 1953

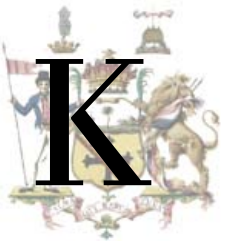
While Nelson was in command of the frigate *Boreas* in the West Indies in 1784–1785, he took exceptional initiative in trying to suppress the long-standing direct American trade with the West Indies, which was now banned by the Navigation Acts to the newly independent republic. In one of the letters Nelson wrote at that time, dated 15 January 1785, he expressed his view of Americans:

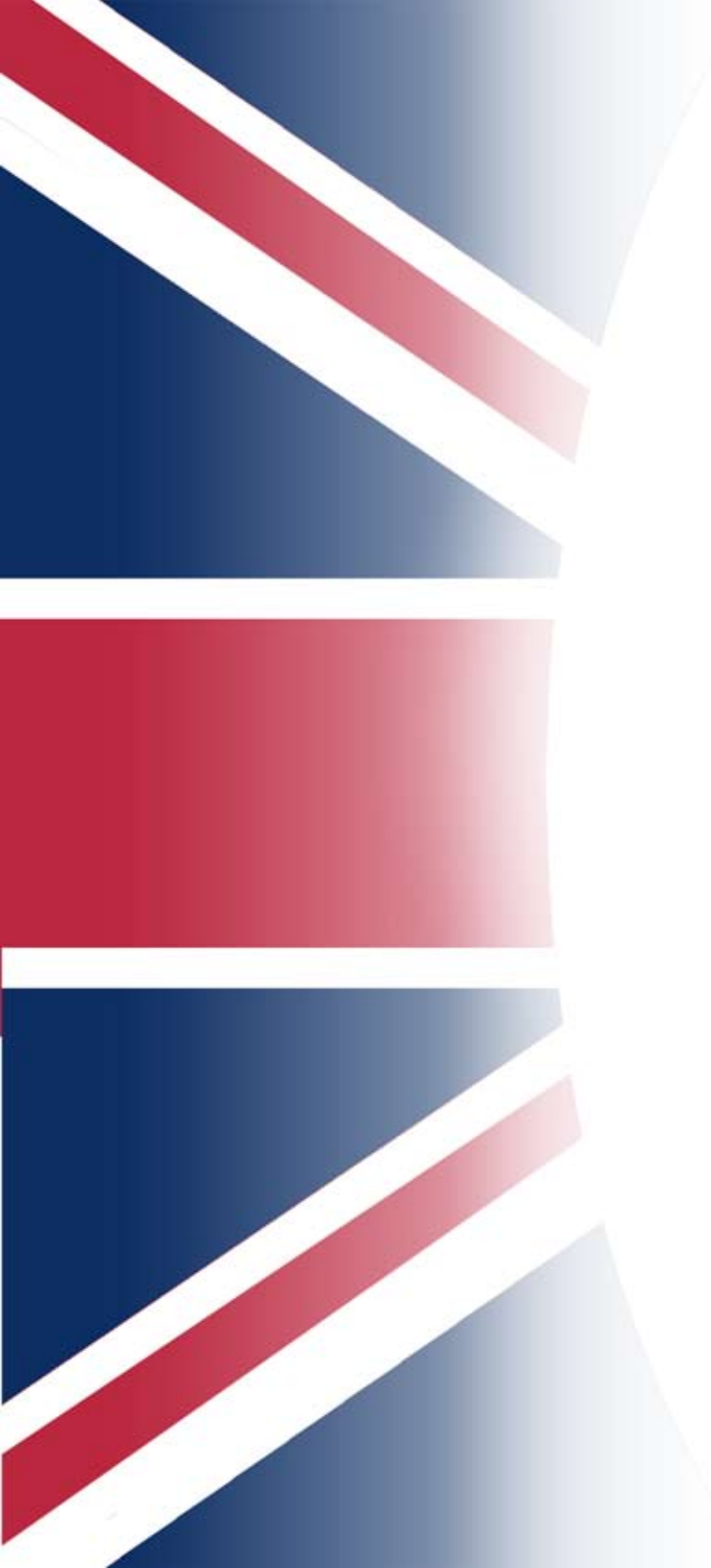
I, for one, am determined not to suffer the Yankees to come where my ship is, for I am sure if once Americans are admitted to any kind of trade they will first become the carriers and next have possession of our Islands, are we ever again embroiled in a French war. The residents of these Islands are Americans by connexion and interest, and are inimical to Great Britain. They are as great rebels as ever were in America, had they the power to show it.

This copy is number 279 of a limited edition of 300 copies printed on pure rag paper in Perpetua type.

Professor John B. Hattendorf

Nelson in America



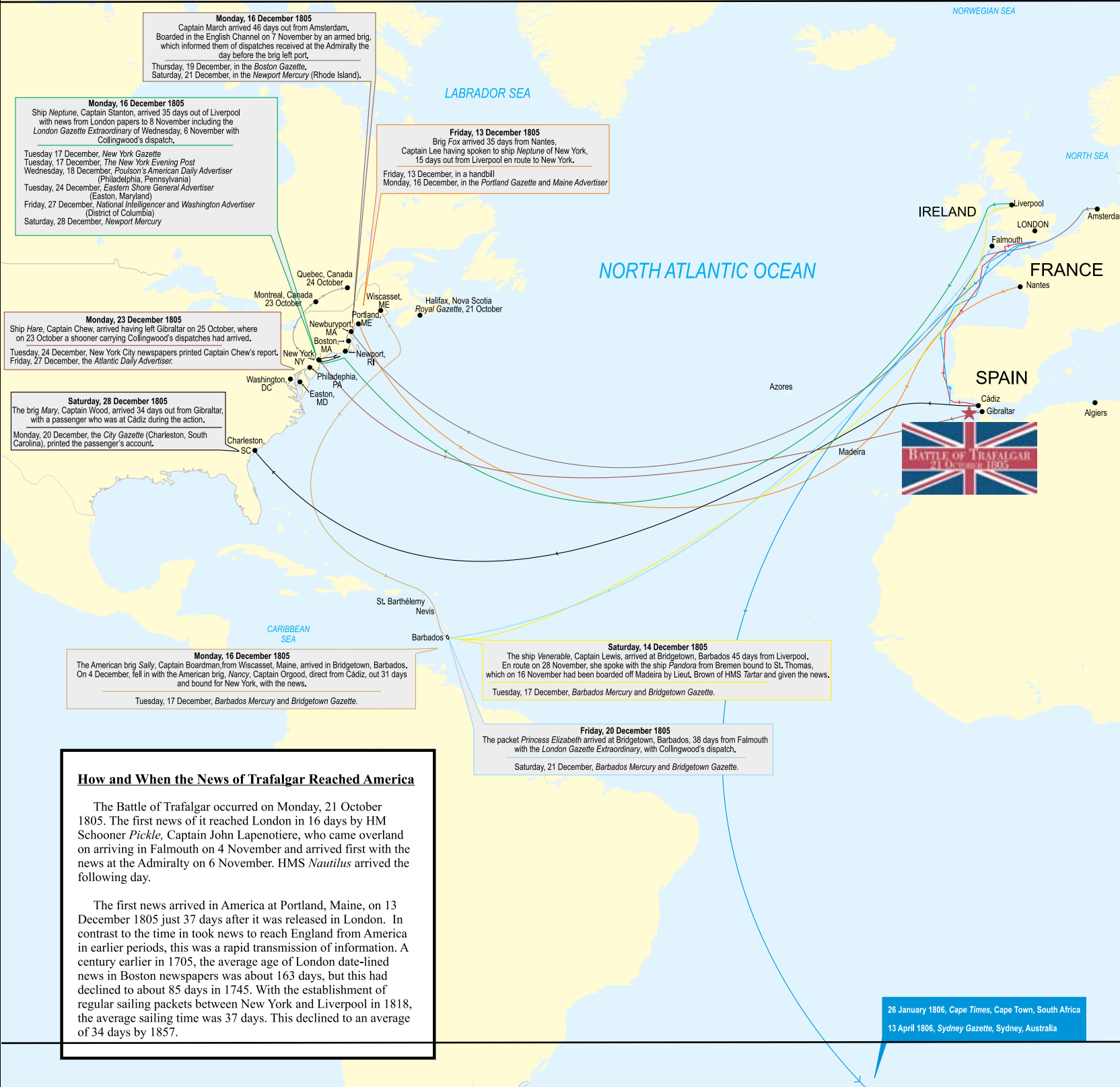
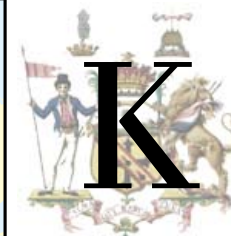
A stylized, abstract graphic of the Union Jack flag, featuring diagonal stripes of red, white, and blue, positioned on the left side of the page.

Nelson in America

How and When the News of Trafalgar Reached America

The Battle of Trafalgar occurred on Monday, 21 October 1805. The first news of it reached London in 16 days by HM Schooner *Pickle*, Captain John Lapenotiere, who came overland on arriving in Falmouth on 4 November and arrived first with the news at the Admiralty on 6 November. HMS *Nautilus* arrived the following day.

The first news arrived in America at Portland, Maine, on 13 December 1805 just 37 days after it was released in London. In contrast to the time it took news to reach England from America in earlier periods, this was a rapid transmission of information. A century earlier in 1705, the average age of London date-lined news in Boston newspapers was about 163 days, but this had declined to about 85 days in 1745. With the establishment of regular sailing packets between New York and Liverpool in 1818, the average sailing time was 37 days. This declined to an average of 34 days by 1857.



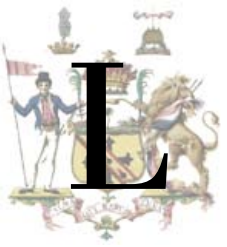


Royal Marines

This print shows the evolution in uniforms for the Royal Marines from 1785 to 1834.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

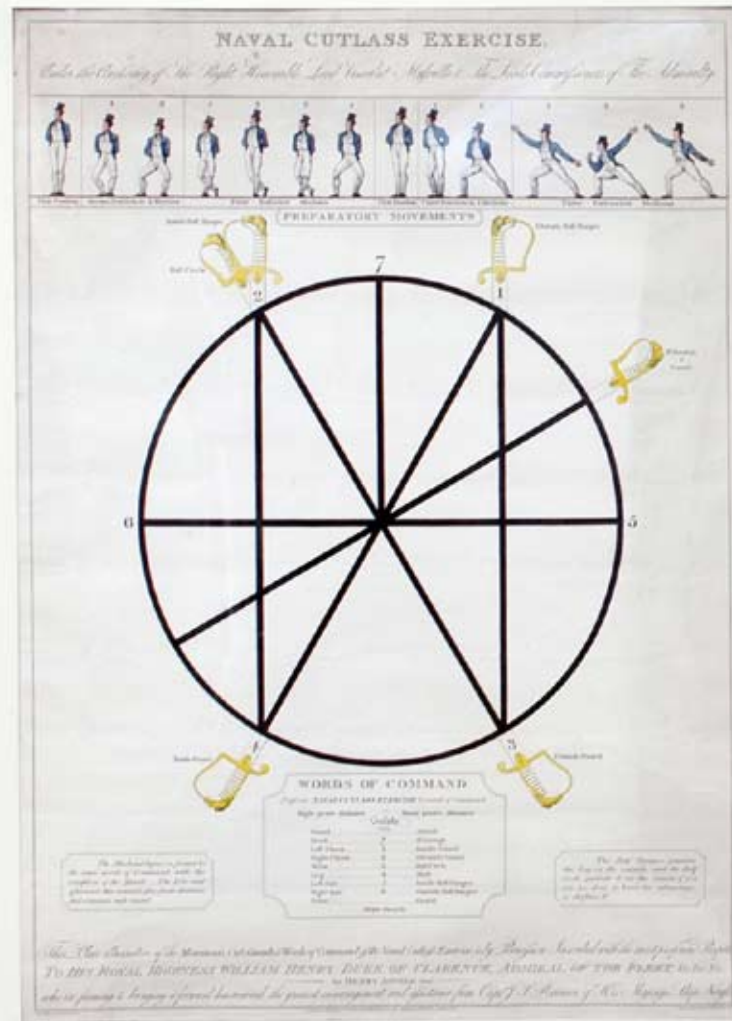
Royal Navy and the Age of Nelson



**Thomas Rowlandson, *Naval Cutlass Exercise*,
London: T. Egerton, Military Library, 31 December
1813**

The naval cutlass was a short, single-edged weapon used for hand-to-hand fighting. Henry Angelo, Jr., who provided the information for this colored etching, was a well-known fencing instructor in London in this period. The well-known artist Thomas Rowlandson made the drawings. In 1814, the Board of Ordnance decided that the cutlass that had been used up to that point in the Royal Navy and illustrated here was not as efficient a weapon as they had hoped. At that point, the Royal Navy adopted a model with a cup-guard hilt, similar in style to the type that was then in use in the U.S. Navy. The drill shown here was not formally adopted by the Royal Navy until about 1820.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



Who else was at the Battle of Trafalgar?

For over 20 years Pam and Derek Ayshford have been collecting information about the men who fought at Trafalgar they have consulted not just the election returns at the National Archives in Kent, but surviving events held at the Royal Naval Museum in Portsmouth, the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, and the Royal Maritime Museum at Exeter. Details recorded in the Ayshford Trafalgar Roll about each man include the ship on which he served, his rank or rating, and in most cases his age and place of birth. When the documents contain other details they include family background, former trades, previous awards, medals, physical descriptions, previous injuries sustained, illnesses and date of death.

The Ayshford Trafalgar Roll contains 21,118 names from the master books of the British ships off Cadix on 21 October 1805. Because some men had been discharged before the battle or were absent on other duties, the actual number of men at the battle on 21 October 1805 is 17,118 officers and sailors and 2,261 marines.



Diagram 1 (Information taken from the Ayshford Trafalgar Roll)

Diagram 1 shows these men by their nationalities. As might be expected the largest number of men came from England, but the overall proportion of English was only a little more than a half. Of these, 1,286 came from London, reflecting the dominant role which the city and the river Thames played as a port, a trading centre, and the capital of a burgeoning commercial empire. The next most significant places of origin in England were the ports of north and south Devon (5,116). These came: Looe (406), Plymouth (341), Cornwall (189), Kent (188), Hampshire (82) and Somerset (80). These figures, of course, reflect the location of large ports like Liverpool, Cheshire, Portsmouth and Bristol and, in the case of Gloucester and Worcester, good mooring grounds for mariners.

About a fifth of the men came from Ireland, which, of course, had entered the union in 1801. The major recruiting centres were, as in England, ports like Dublin (505) and Cork (170). About one tenth of the men came from Wales and Scotland, which by 1805 of their 19th century populations were to have been under-represented in the fleet. However the Scottish diaspora was already under way and there were more Scotsmen from the ports of England than from Scotland itself.

Almost one in twenty one men in the British ships were foreign born, though their nationality must be treated with caution. For example, the Indian-sounding name of 23 year old Private Peter Calvert in the 14 gun Africa and his description when he first joined as "dark complexion and brown eyes" probably indicates that he was, as he claimed, from Barbados. On the other hand 31 year old Lieutenant William Morris, who was wounded while the 74 gun Ajax fought the French flagship, gave his place of birth as Bristol, though from his name he was neither of Spanish nor of indigenous descent.

Much is made by some commentators that there were 88 Frenchmen in the British side at Trafalgar. However close study of the Ayshford Trafalgar Roll shows that many apparently French men had undoubtedly English names, while others had their names anglicised by 19th century ship's clerks. For example, 20 year old John Hastings, a private man, who gave his place of birth as France, spent several years in the Navy, made a permanent settlement in his wife Betty who died at 13 George St, London, and was presumably a shrewdly bred Englishman. On the other hand, the splendid name of the 26 year old French 81 days Franchise, who was an Able Seaman in Orion, suggests he was probably from France, except that in an earlier commitment in HMS Aurora he gave his place of birth as India. What then are we to make of Lieutenant Pierre Pollet, who was 22 years old at the battle, whom he lost his right arm at the shoulder joint (in March). He was born at Versailles, his parents were the French consul, Nicolas and Jeanette Pollet, but young Pierre joined the Royal Navy in Bristol, southern Spain, never returned to France after 1804 and was living in England as a naval gunner in the late 1810s when he claimed his naval general service medal with Trafalgar clasp. And while some Frenchmen were discharged to a prison ship before the battle, others like Jean Baptiste and Jacques (sic) Burti were clearly deserters who had taken refuge in British ships.

One can only imagine the tortured existence of 20 year old Able Seaman Peter Anderson from Stockholm, who was captured while serving in a French ship after the Peace of Amiens collapsed, and served some five years in the Royal Navy when he was awarded his share of the prize money amounting to £2 17 shillings and 8 pence.

Royal confusion overmuch the North Americans at Trafalgar: there are 472 men from the United States of America and 53 from Canada in the master books, but there were no detailed political concepts in 1805 and a shipboard clerk's view of geography was sometimes only hazy. The Virginia born Captain Francis Lathrop of the 74 gun Aquitaine, one of an admiral in the Royal Navy and who died at Blytheham in 1830 would have considered himself an Englishman. William Graham Rutherford Johns spelled Rutherfordly, though he was born in Williamsburg, North Carolina and buried in St Margaret's, Westminster, was noted as his family name as Edinburgh and educated at St Andrew's University, and would undoubtedly have considered himself a native Briton, so, a Scotsman. The 18 year old Blacksmith Richard Bullocky's place of birth is simply given as America. He was one of the last people to speak to the dying Nelson and is whom the admiral replied "Remember me to your father", his father was a lawyer whose family first fled to Nova Scotia before settling in Haverford.

Diagram 2 (Summary of Derek and Pamela Ayshford)

It is a wrong to think that the men in Nelson's fleet were there against their will. In the whole fleet there were only 1,027 pressed men or about one sixth. (The figure might be slightly low because men taken in the prize gangs were often given the chance to volunteer when they became entitled to a bounty). However the overwhelming number of men were volunteers. They were in the Royal Navy for the pay, their regular meals a day and the chance of prize money.

Diagram 3 (Summary of Derek and Pamela Ayshford)

The youngest person at the battle was 8 year old Roy, but Oliver William Wilcott in Neptune, and there were also three 8 year olds. The possibility exists that one of them, Joseph Gully, also in Neptune, who was born at sea, had been at sea the most of his life. The oldest man at the battle was 67 year old Private William Barker, whose memorial at St James', Westminster, Kent records that "in his name the immortal Nelson died".

The Ayshford Trafalgar Roll gives the reader and the serious historian, the genealogist and the novelist access to more information about the men who fought at the Battle of Trafalgar, and in some detail, there has never been possible before. It is an important research tool and its exploration over the coming months and years is going to reveal a great deal more Nelson's navy, and to replace some pre-warrior ideas with hard facts about history.

Ayshford Trafalgar Roll, copyright Pam & Derek Ayshford

North Americans at the Battle of Trafalgar



**Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B., who
gloriously defeated the French
Fleet off the Mouth of the Nile
August 1st 1798.**

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown
University



**Admiral Lord Nelson
Tinted lithograph, undated**

This is based on the pencil and watercolor drawing by Henry Edridge, 1802. The original showed Nelson's left hand on a cannon. A stipple engraving by Anthony Cardon was published in 1802 and it was used again in half-length as the frontispiece of the 1810 edition of Clarke and M^rArthur's biography.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

Battle of the Nile



Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B.

Stipple engraving by Robert Cooper from a drawing by W. Evans, based on a sketch in oils by Sir William Beechy painted in 1800. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 21 June 1815

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



The HAZARDS of WAR, or NELSON WOUNDED
London: J. Fairburn, 24 November 1798

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



The Gallant Nelson bringing home two uncommon fierce French crocodiles from the Nile as a Present to the King

London: S. W. Fores, 7 October 1798

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

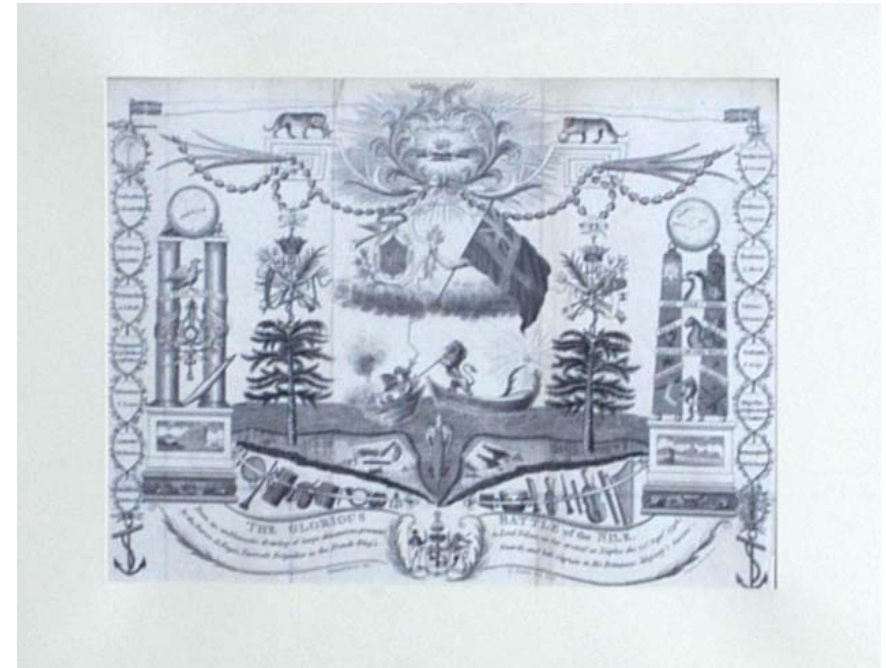
Battle of the Nile



The Reward of Courage, or Nelson Triumphant
London: J. Fairburn, 14 November 1798

Admiral Blanquet, shown here surrendering to Nelson, was second in command of the French Fleet under Vice Admiral Brueys at the Battle of the Nile.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



The Glorious Battle of the Nile: From an Emblematic Drawing of Large Proportions Presented to Lord Nelson on his arrival at Naples by Baron de Fages

London: Bunney and Gold, 1 April 1800

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



**Battle of the Nile . . . This print Representing the Quarter Deck
of Lord Nelson's ship, the Vanguard, on the ever Memorable
first of August 1798**

**Engraving by Danial Orme and Robert Cooper of a painting by
Daniel Orme**

London: Edward Orme, January 1st, 1805

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

Battle of the Nile



ADMIRAL NELSON recreating with his BRAVE TARS after the GLORIOUS BATTLE OF THE NILE

Woodcut by Thomas Rowlandson

London: Ackermann's Gallery, 20 October 1798

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



JOHN BULL taking a Lunch or Johnny's Purveyors pampering his appetite with Dainties from all parts of the World

London: S. W. Fores, November 1798

Nelson offers John Bull a dish of "Ragout from Aboukir" while holding a pot of "Hash Crocodile" in his hooked right.

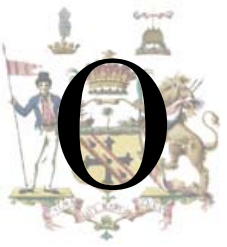
Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B.

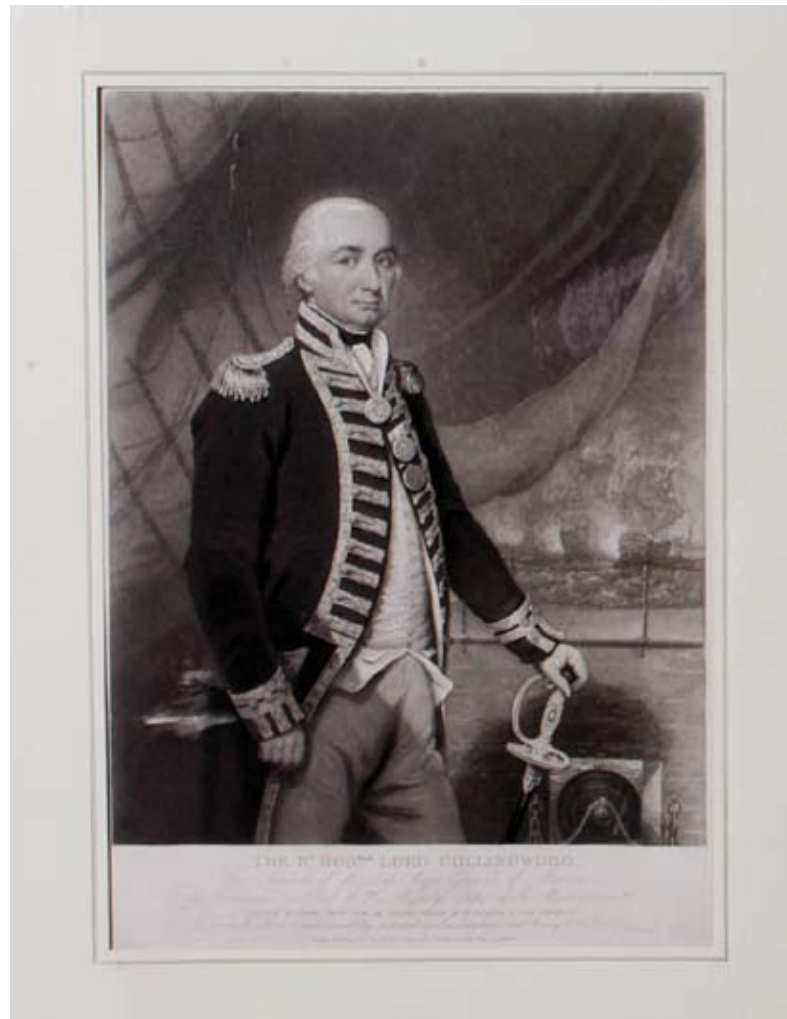
Stipple engraving by Robert Cooper from a drawing by W. Evans, based on a sketch in oils by Sir William Beechy painted in 1800. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 21 June 1815

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



Napoleon Bonaparte (1769 150 - 1821) and Horatio Nelson (1758 -1805)

Nelson and Napoleon represent the great rivalries of their age. While they never met in person or in battle, Nelson, the British naval commander, and Napoleon, the French military commander and Emperor, have come to be symbols of the opposing sides and the opposing nations, along with their essential strengths and strategies, despite the significant differences between them.



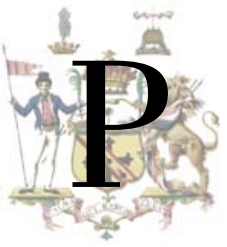
The Rt. Honble. Lord Collingwood

Engraving by J. Colnaghi

London: Messrs Colnay Printsellers, July 1st 1811

Cuthbert Collingwood, who was Nelson's second in command at Trafalgar, was one of Nelson's earliest and closest friends. The two first met as midshipmen in 1773 and they served together in the West Indies. On Nelson's death, Collingwood became Commander in Chief of the Mediterranean Squadron and died in the post off Minorca in 1810. After seventeen years of war, he died worn out, having spent only one year ashore.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

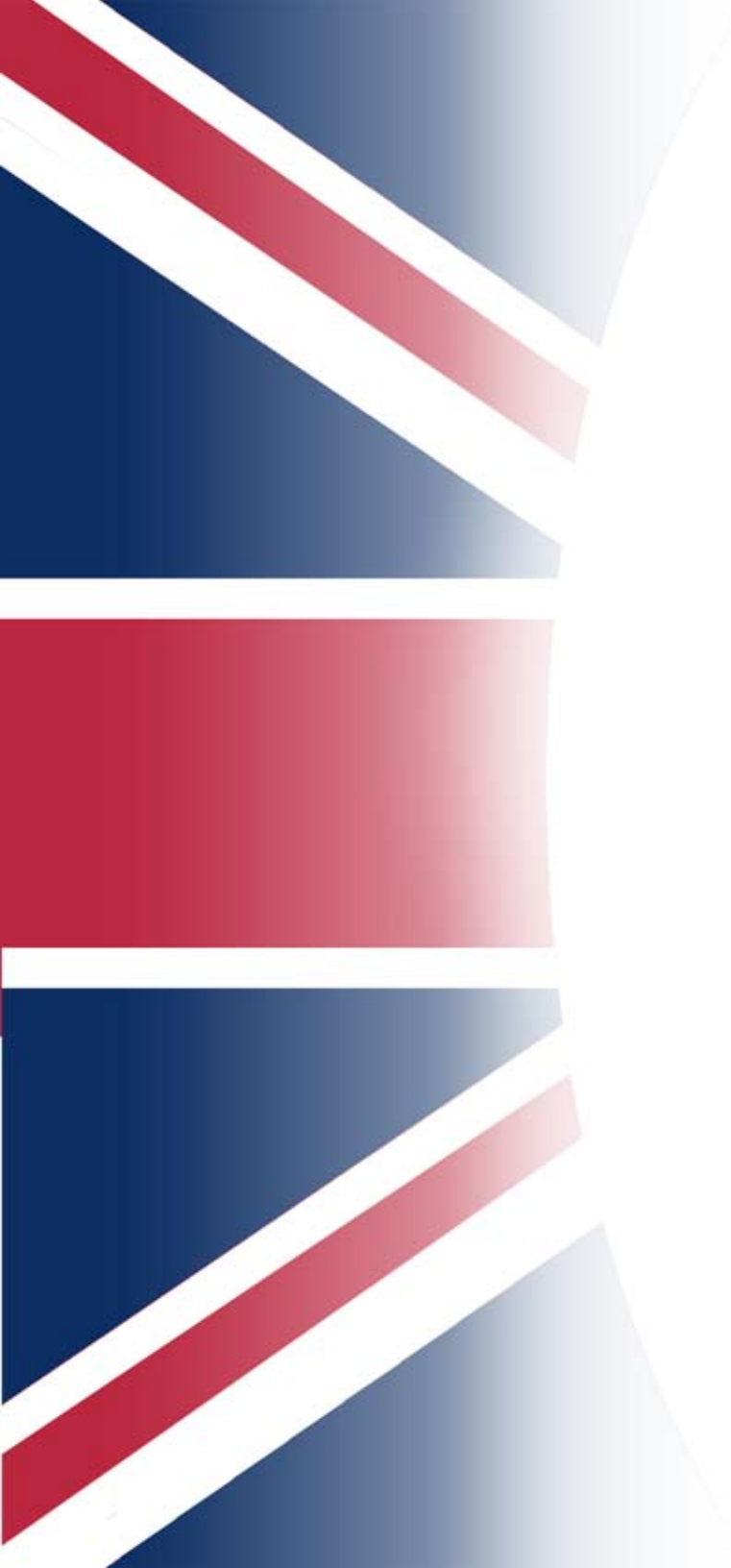


Admiral Viscount Samuel Hood
Mezzotint engraved by N. Green from the portrait
by L.F. Abbott
London: L. F. Abbott, 1 December 1795

From 1782, Lord Hood was Nelson's patron, or what in the modern U.S. Navy today might be called his "Sea Daddy." Nelson served under him in the West Indies and again in the Mediterranean. To Nelson, Lord Hood was "certainly the best Officer I ever saw. Everything from him is so clear it is impossible to misunderstand him." Collingwood and others did not agree with Nelson on this point, but Nelson learned some of his key attributes from Hood, particularly the clarity of expressing his orders to his officers, his coolness under fire, and his attention to training younger officers.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University





Battle of Trafalgar

**Heliograph print by Dr E. Albert of painting by Pierre Jazet
1882**

NWC Museum Collection

Battle Scene on *Victory*'s Deck

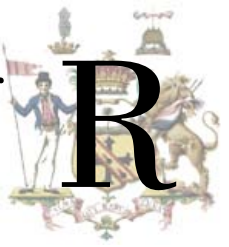




The Opening Phase of the Battle of Trafalgar

These paper cutout models have been used during this anniversary celebration to war-game the Battle of Trafalgar. In the layout shown here, the illustrated the two separate columns of the British Fleet, on led by Nelson in HMS *Victory* and the other by Collingwood in HMS *Royal Sovereign* as they approached to break the ragged line of the Combined Franco-Spanish Fleet.

Floor Diarama Battle of Trafalgar



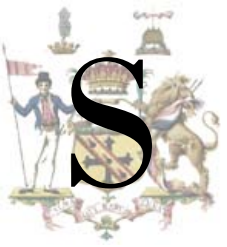


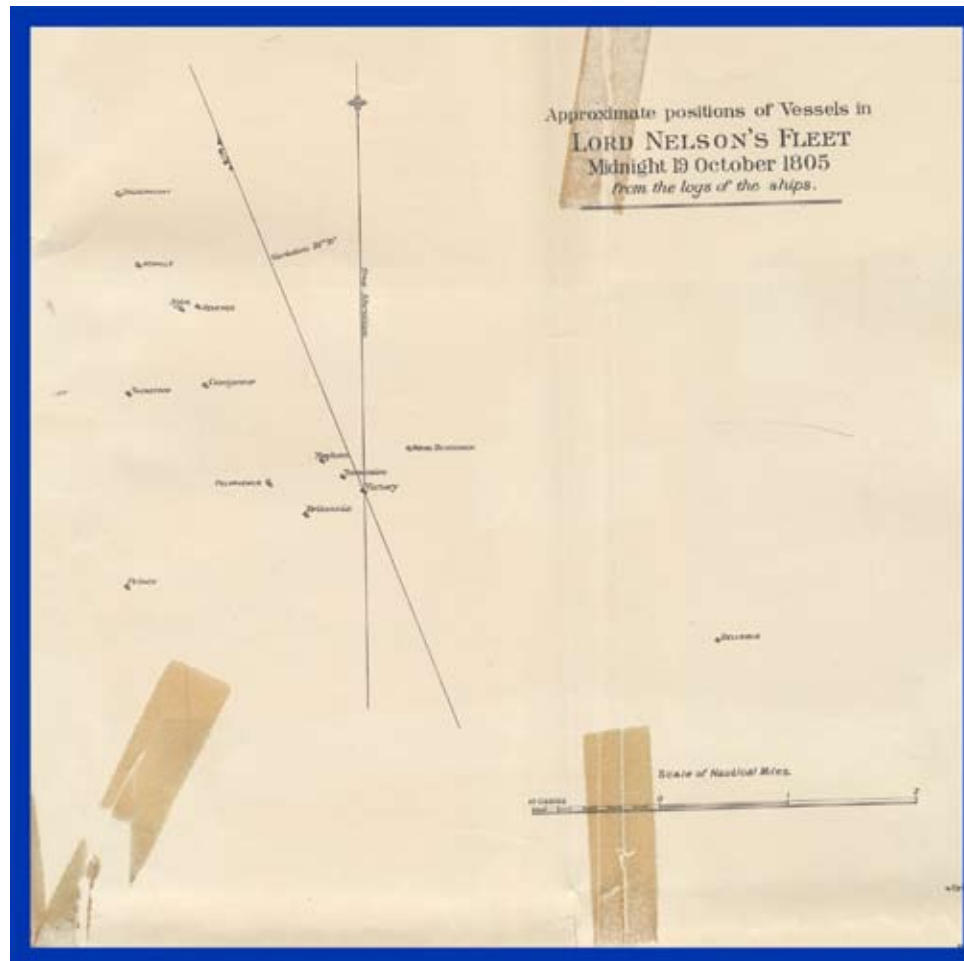
An “Optique” or “Peep Show” of the Battle of Trafalgar, ca. 1825–1843

An “optique” or “peep show” was an attempt to make a three-dimensional representation of the battle of Trafalgar. It folds flat into a small paper box and consists of seven colored plates, all but the last with the center cut out. Each are mounted on paper strips folded accordion style, and measuring approximately 42 cm. when extended. The back image was changeable and this version has two scenes. The view shown here is that of Nelson wounded and supported on deck in battle. The alternative shows the explosion of the French ship *Achille* at the end of the battle.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

Peep Show



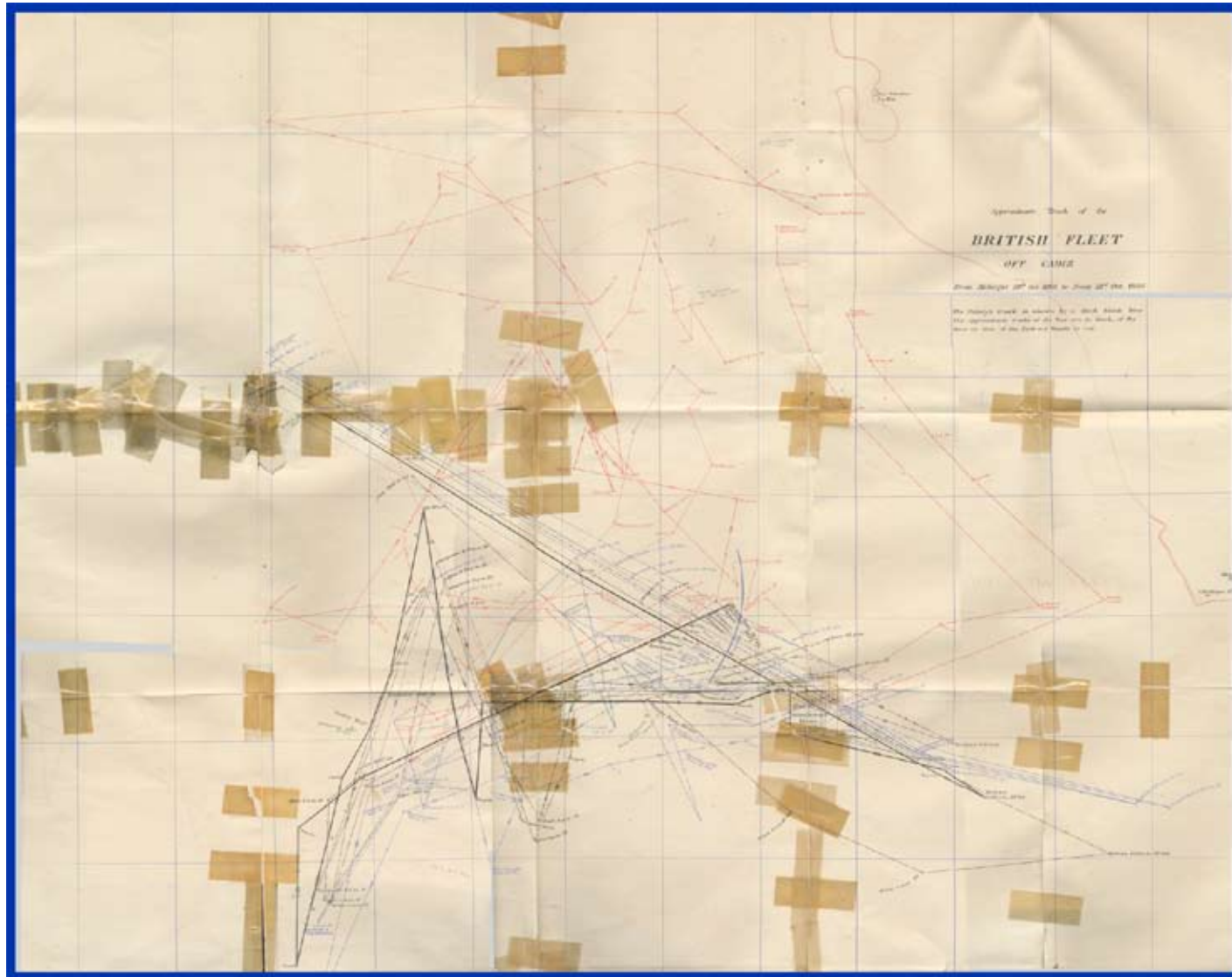


Position of the British Fleet at Midnight, 19–20 October 1805

Reproduced from Great Britain. Admiralty. Committee on tactics of Nelson at battle of Trafalgar. Navy (Trafalgar: Report of a committee appointed by the Admiralty to examine and consider the evidence relating to the tactics employed by Nelson at the battle of Trafalgar. London: H.M. Stationery off., Eyre and Spottiswoode, ltd., printers, 1913. The numerous repairs of this set of Charts documents their heavy use at the Naval War College.

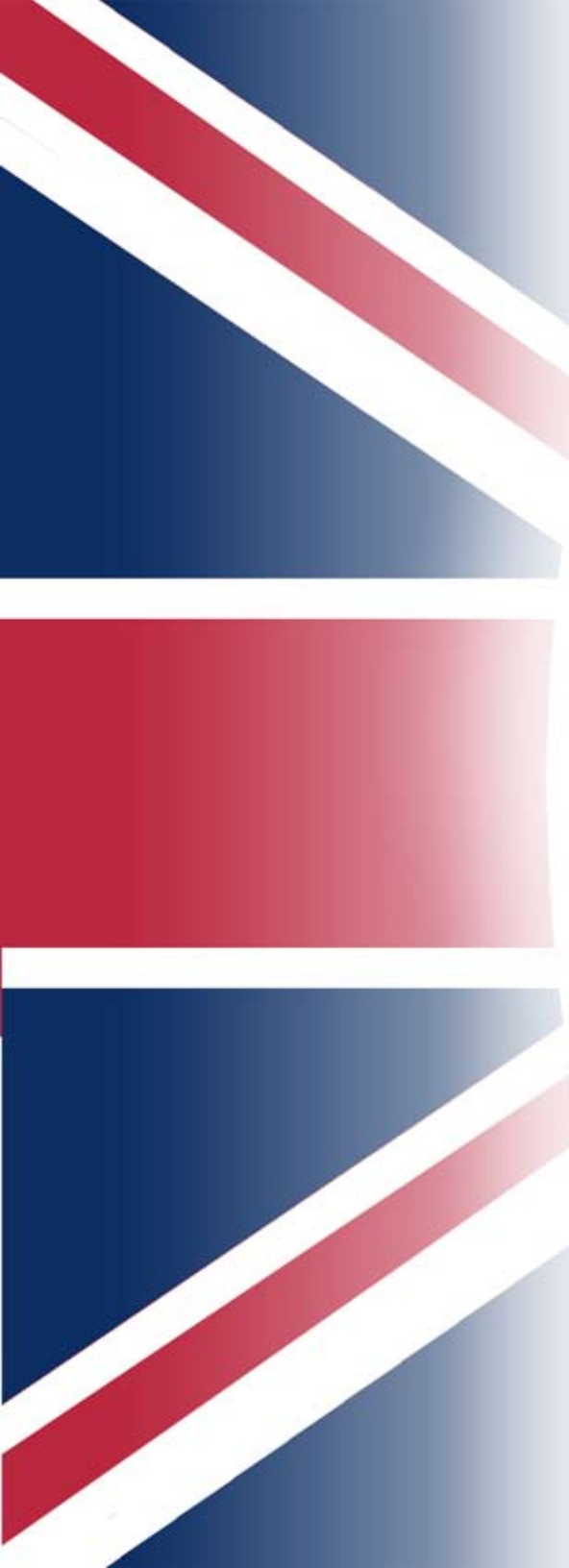
Henry E. Eccles Library, NWC

Charts of various ship positions during the Battle of Trafalgar



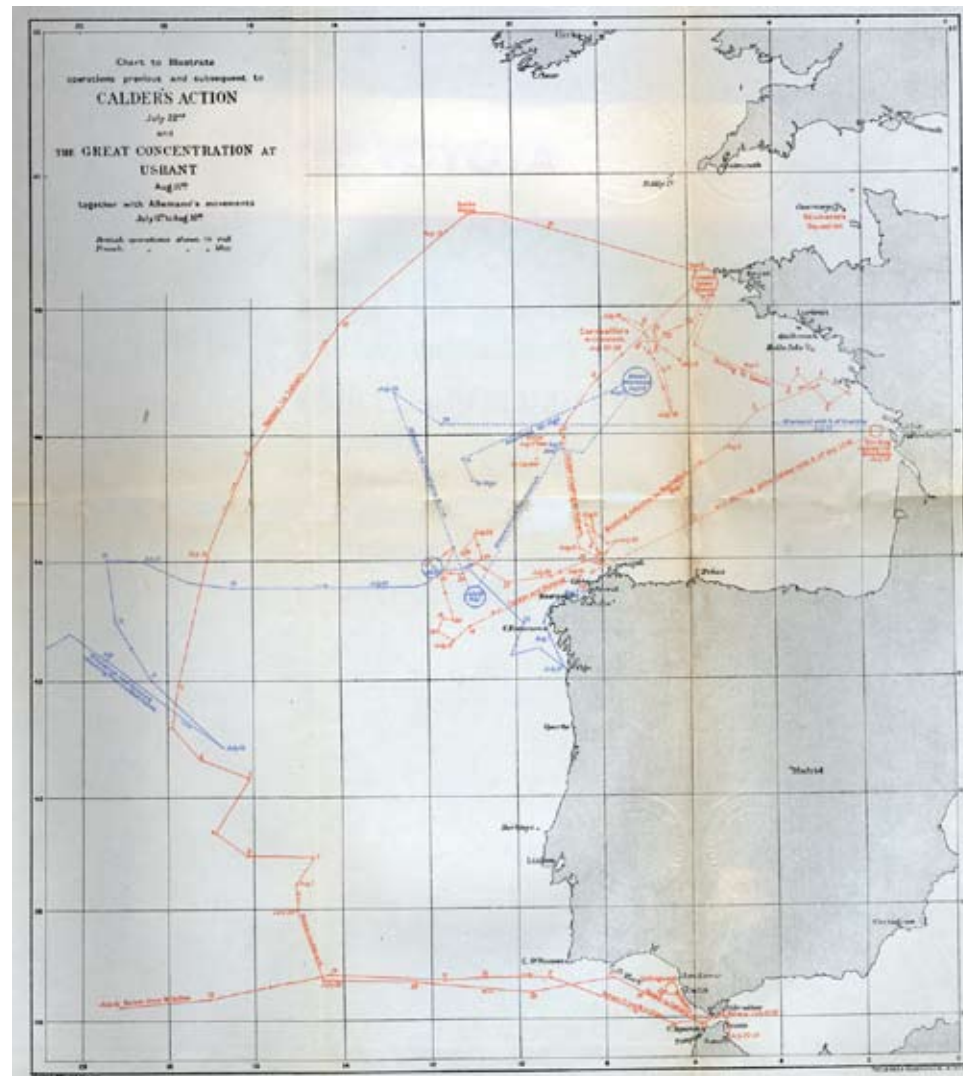
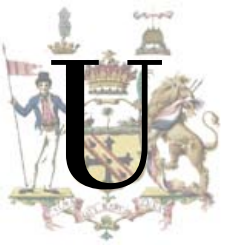
Approximate Track of the British Fleet off Cadiz, from Midnight, 19 October to Noon, 21 October 1805

Following the centenary of the Battle of Trafalgar in 1905, a historical controversy arose over the tactics that Nelson had employed at Trafalgar. To resolve this issue, the Admiralty appointed a committee to examine the logbooks and evidence from the battle, headed by Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, Admiral Sir Reginald Custance, and Professor Charles Firth of Oxford University, with the Admiralty Librarian, W. G. Perrin, as the Committee's Secretary. With the help of Captain T. H. Tizard, RN, the results of their research was reported in a series of track charts that showed the actual movements of vessels as shown in the ships' logs. The work of this committee, although it has often been ignored by historians, is the most accurate and detailed study.



Reproduced from Julian S. Corbett, *The Campaign of Trafalgar*. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1910), facing p. 154.

Campaign of Trafalgar



Calder's Action, 22 July, and the Great Concentration at Ushant

Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder with fifteen ships of the line engaged Villeneuve and Gravina's twenty ships off Finisterre, as they returned from the West Indies. To support Calder, Rear-Admiral Charles Stirling raised his blockade of Rochefort, allowing Allemand to put to sea with five French ships of the line. After the inconclusive action with Calder, the Franco-Spanish forces gathered at Vigo and then moved to Ferrol and later Coruña. Then, Nelson moved north from the Straits of Gibraltar to join Cornwallis and Calder off Brest, making a concentration of thirty-six ships to block the Franco-Spanish fleet from either joining Ganteaume's Brest squadron or entering the Channel.

Reproduced from Julian S. Corbett, *The Campaign of Trafalgar*. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1910), facing p. 184.

Campaign of Trafalgar

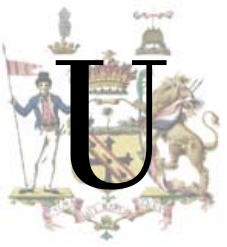


Chart to illustrate operations to intercept Allemand

From mid-July through mid-October 1805, Commodore Allemand, with his formidable small squadron that included a 120-gun ship, four 74s, three frigates, and some sloops, had been attempting to rendezvous with Villeneuve in the Bay of Biscay, while at the same time evading battle and remaining a threat to British operations. The whereabouts of Allemand remained a continual uncertainty as General Sir David Baird's Expedition sailed from Ireland in mid-August to retake the Cape of Good Hope and, in early September, Nelson sailed from England to join Calder and Collingwood off Cadiz.

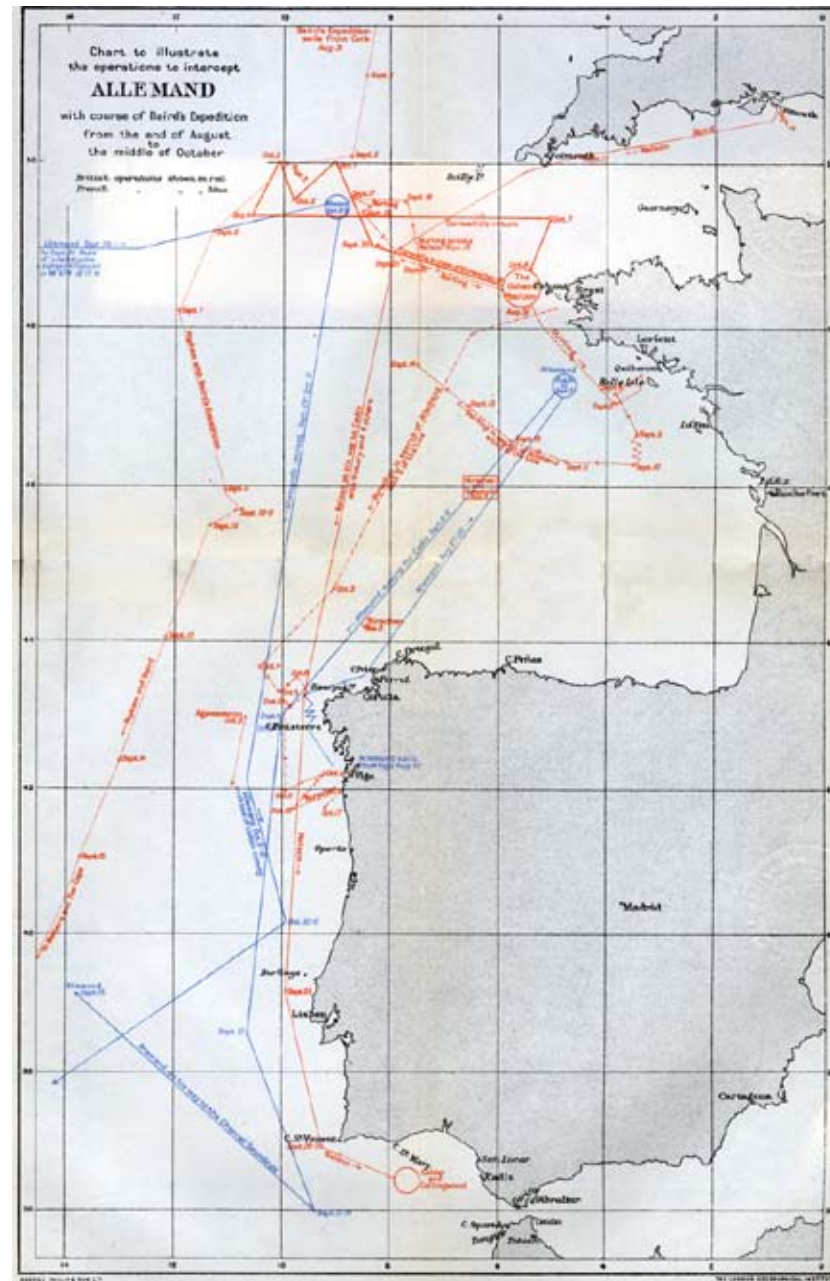
Reproduced from Julian S. Corbett, *The Campaign of Trafalgar*. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1910), facing p. 302.

Calder's Retreat to Ushant and Return in Pursuit of Villeneuve's Sortie from Ferrol and Retreat to Cadiz

Napoleon waited in vain at the Headquarters of the Army of England at Boulogne for Villeneuve to join Ganteaume off Brest and to enter the Channel. On 10 August, Villeneuve left Ferrol, first sailing west as if initially reaching for Brest. Deciding this was not feasible, he fell back on contingency orders to concentrate his forces at Cadiz. Meanwhile,

Allemand continued to try to find and join Villeneuve, while Calder pursued Villeneuve and joined Collingwood off Cadiz, blocking entry into the Mediterranean and any attempt of the French to interfere with Anglo-Russian military plans in Italy.

Reproduced from Julian S. Corbett, *The Campaign of Trafalgar*. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1910), facing p. 254.





Battle of Trafalgar, Death of Lord Viscount Nelson

Engraving by R. Cooper of a painting by W. M. Craig

London: Edward Orme, June 1st, 1806

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

Death of Nelson



Daniel Maclise
“The Death of Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar”
London, 1874

This engraving depicts the monumental painting that the Irish painter, Daniel Maclise (1806-1870) did for the new Palace of Westminster, which replaced the Houses of Parliament that had been destroyed by fire in 1834. In 1858 Maclise commenced the first of two great monumental works of his life, “The Meeting of Wellington and Blücher,” on the walls of Westminster Palace. It was begun in fresco, a process which proved unmanageable. The artist wished to resign the task; but, encouraged by Prince Albert, he studied in Berlin a new method of water-glass painting, and carried out the subject of its companion, the “Death of Nelson”, in that medium, completing it in 1864.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronte

Drawn by G. Ballisat and engraved by T. Wageman
Newington Butts: G. Ballisat, 1 November 1808

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

Death of Nelson



The Death of Lord Viscount Nelson. K.B.

Engraved by James Heath from the painting by Benjamin West

London: Benjamin West, May 1st 1811

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

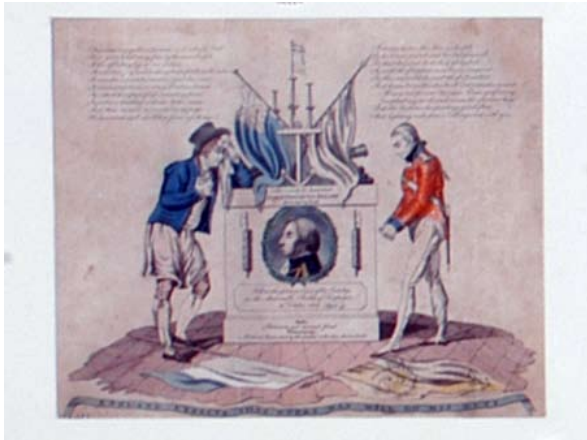


**Admiral Lord Nelson Mortally Wounded
by a Musket Shot**

London: W. B. Walker, 5 December 1805

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

Death of Nelson



The Ever to be Lamented Lord Viscount Nelson
London: Laurie & Whittle, 12 December 1805

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



Admiral Lord Nelson mortally wounded on the quarter deck of the Victory in the Battle of Trafalgar

Drawing by W. M. Craig and engraved by J. Brown
London: T. Kinnerseley, 20 August 1815

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

NELSON'S LAST HOMECOMING

Spectacular
re-enactment of
the grand funeral

1987) and 1.25 to 1.50 (1988) in the United States. The incidence of the disease is increasing in the United States and in other countries. The disease is caused by a virus, which is transmitted by mosquitoes. The disease is characterized by fever, headache, muscle pain, and joint pain. The disease is usually self-limiting and resolves within a few days. However, in some cases, the disease can lead to severe complications, such as encephalitis and death. The disease is most common in children and young adults. The disease is more common in the tropics and subtropics. The disease is caused by a virus, which is transmitted by mosquitoes. The disease is characterized by fever, headache, muscle pain, and joint pain. The disease is usually self-limiting and resolves within a few days. However, in some cases, the disease can lead to severe complications, such as encephalitis and death. The disease is most common in children and young adults. The disease is more common in the tropics and subtropics.

On Friday, 16 September 2005, Nelson's funeral procession up the Thames by water from Greenwich to London was reenacted, as described in this newspaper report. An image of the actual event from January 1806 is shown in the case below.

The *Weekly Telegraph* issue 737

Death of Nelson



Lord Nelson's Funeral Procession by Water

Bound in a copy of Edward Orme, *Orme's Graphic History of the Life, Exploits, and Death of Horatio Nelson*. London: Edward Orme, 1806

Henry E. Eccles Library, NWC

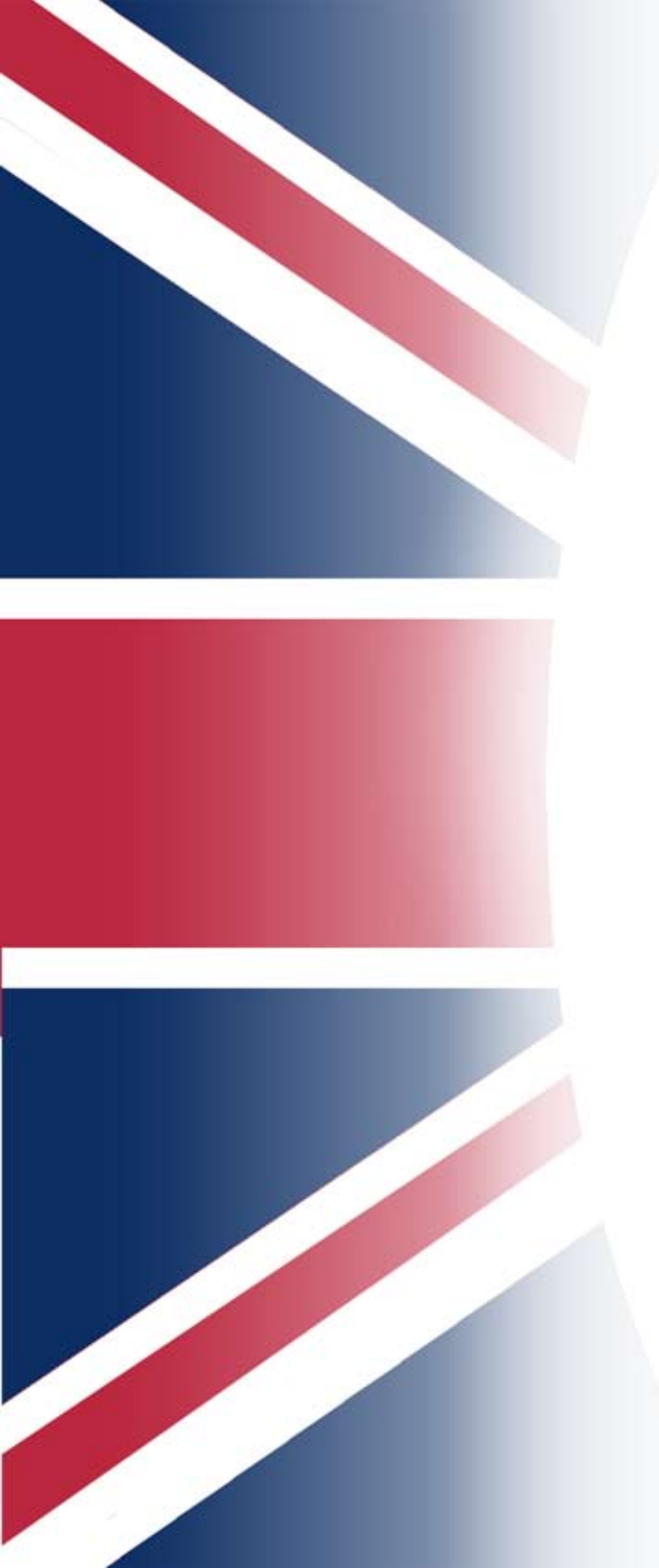
An Exact Representation of the Grand Funeral Car which carried the Remains of Lord Nelson to St. Paul's on Thursday, January 9th, 1806

London: S. W. Fores, 13 January 1806

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

The Times. London, Friday, January 10, 1806

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



Commodore Thomas Truxtun and his book on Naval Tactics

One of the first professional naval books to appear anywhere in the world following the battle of Trafalgar was compiled by Commodore Thomas Truxtun of the U.S. Navy. Truxtun had been one of the original six captains that President George Washington appointed to the newly established U.S. Navy in 1794. During the Quasi War with France in 1798–1801, Truxtun had compiled the U.S. Navy’s first signal book, had commanded the U.S. frigate *Constellation* in some of her most famous actions, and was well known for being a close observer of European naval events.

In retirement, Truxtun published in Philadelphia during February 1806 a small volume entitled *A Few Extracts, from the Best Authors, on Naval Tactics*. Interestingly, ‘Truxtun’s focus was not on Nelson, but on how the French and Spanish defended themselves from Nelson’s attack. In this, the principal lesson that Truxtun took from Trafalgar was the idea that a crescent formation was an effective way to prevent an enemy from doubling one’s line.

Truxtun’s intentions in publishing his study and in drawing attention to Trafalgar was to encourage young American naval officers to study tactics and to become proficient in the art of war, just at a time when the administration of President Thomas Jefferson seemed to be favoring a navy composed of gunboats alone and when American naval officers seemed to be ignoring tactical thinking in general.

The Battle of Lake Champlain, 1814

Another prominent instance of Nelson’s influence on the U.S. Navy can be found at the battle of Plattsburg Bay on Lake Champlain on 11 September 1814. There, Captain Thomas Macdonough’s small squadron of U.S. naval vessels faced the squadron under Captain George Downie, RN. Preparing for the battle that played a key role in General Provost’s decision to withdraw British forces from the area, Macdonough hoisted a signal on board his anchored flagship, the 24-gun corvette *Saratoga*: “Impressed seamen call on every man to do his duty.” Macdonough’s alteration of Nelson’s signal carried with it not only a reflection of current American foreign policy in denouncing British impressment of American sailors, but it also transmitted a sense of Macdonough’s caring support and concern for the ordinary seaman.

In preparing to fight British forces on Lake Champlain, Macdonough decided to fight with his squadron in a defensive formation at anchor. Clearly, Macdonough was aware of Nelson’s successful tactics against an anchored enemy at the Nile in 1798 and at Copenhagen in 1801. Macdonough used descriptions of those battles to guide his defensive planning on Lake Champlain, so as to avoid the French and Danish weaknesses in those engagements and to better a British officer, whom Macdonough expected would use Nelsonian tactics. Macdonough carefully guarded against having his anchored squadron doubled, as Nelson had doubled Bruey’s anchored ships in Aboukir Bay. In an innovative approach, the American commander ensured that his ships could use capstans and kedge anchors with carefully submerged spring lines to their anchor cables to turn themselves and to maintain broadside fire against the attacking British.

Admiral David Glasgow Farragut, U.S. Navy

The Civil War was a conflict that brought with it many professional innovations and developments for the U.S. Navy. One of them was the creation of the rank of admiral, a title never before used in the American service, but brought about by the practical need to divide the fleet into several operating squadrons. Initially given the title “Flag Officer,” David Glasgow Farragut was the first of nine officers who were eventually commissioned as rear admirals during the war. Congress created for Farragut the rank of vice admiral in 1864, and finally, in July 1866, admiral. With his new rank, Americans quickly compared and contrasted Farragut to Nelson.

At the end of the war in 1865, on the day that Farragut returned his flagship USS *Hartford* to her homeport and hauled down his flag, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus Vasa Fox wrote to the hero of Mobile Bay and New Orleans, “It is a source of very great happiness to me that you have come back with the laurels of Nelson without leaving any limbs or eyes. . . .”

Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, U.S. Navy

Winfield Scott Schley, who would later become one of the leading American admirals in the Spanish-American War, had served as a lieutenant under Farragut in the Civil War and reflected in his memoirs that Nelson and Farragut were much alike. He compared them favorably in their restless energy of purpose, bravery, and self-poise. Yet, in the American’s opinion, “Farragut’s private life and high ideals. . . gave him preeminence over his great English compeer.”

Influence of Nelson and Trafalgar on the United States Navy



The Battle of Lake Erie, 1813

During the War of 1812, Nelson's influence seems to have been clear at the Battle of Lake Erie on 10 September 1813, when the American commander, the 28-year-old Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, USN, faced his 27-year-old opponent, Acting Commander Robert Heriot Barclay of the Royal Navy, who had been commended for his action at Trafalgar as a lieutenant in HMS *Swiftsure*. Perry's biographer Alexander McKenzie wrote in 1843 that on the night before the battle, Perry's "last emphatic injunction with which he dismissed them was, that they could not, in the case of difficulty, advise them better than in the words of Lord Nelson, 'if you lay your enemy close alongside, you cannot be out of your place!'"

Admiral Heihachirō Tōgō (1847–1934)

The image of Nelson had a large impact on the Imperial Japanese Navy, which seems to arise from the personal experience of Count Heihachirō Tōgō, the Japanese admiral who had commanded the fleet in the Russo-Japanese War, bombarded Port Arthur, and defeated the Russians at Tsushima in the centenary year of Trafalgar on 29 May 1905. His initial training had been spent in England as a cadet on board the training ship HMS *Worcester* in 1871–1874. On the sixty-eighth anniversary of Trafalgar in October 1873, Tōgō observed a commemorative ceremony that deeply influenced him and reputedly led him to pattern himself on Nelson. Through Tōgō, Nelson became a key part of Japan's naval heritage. Most dramatically echoed at the battle of Tsushima, Tōgō ordered the “Zed” flag hoisted, meaning: “The country's fate depends upon this battle: let every man do his utmost.”
Naval War College Museum Collection

Eberhard v. Mantey, *Seeschlachten-Atlas: Eine Einführung in die Lehre vom Seekriege*. Berlin: E.G. Mittler & Sohn, 1928, Second edition, 1937

In Weimar, Germany, Eberhard von Mantey included the battles of St. Vincent, Aboukir, and Trafalgar in his 1928 illustrated atlas for students of naval history and tactics. Similar studies looking at Nelson in the context of the broader development of naval tactics appeared in many navies, usually at the entry level of cadet or midshipman.

Professor John B. Hattendorf

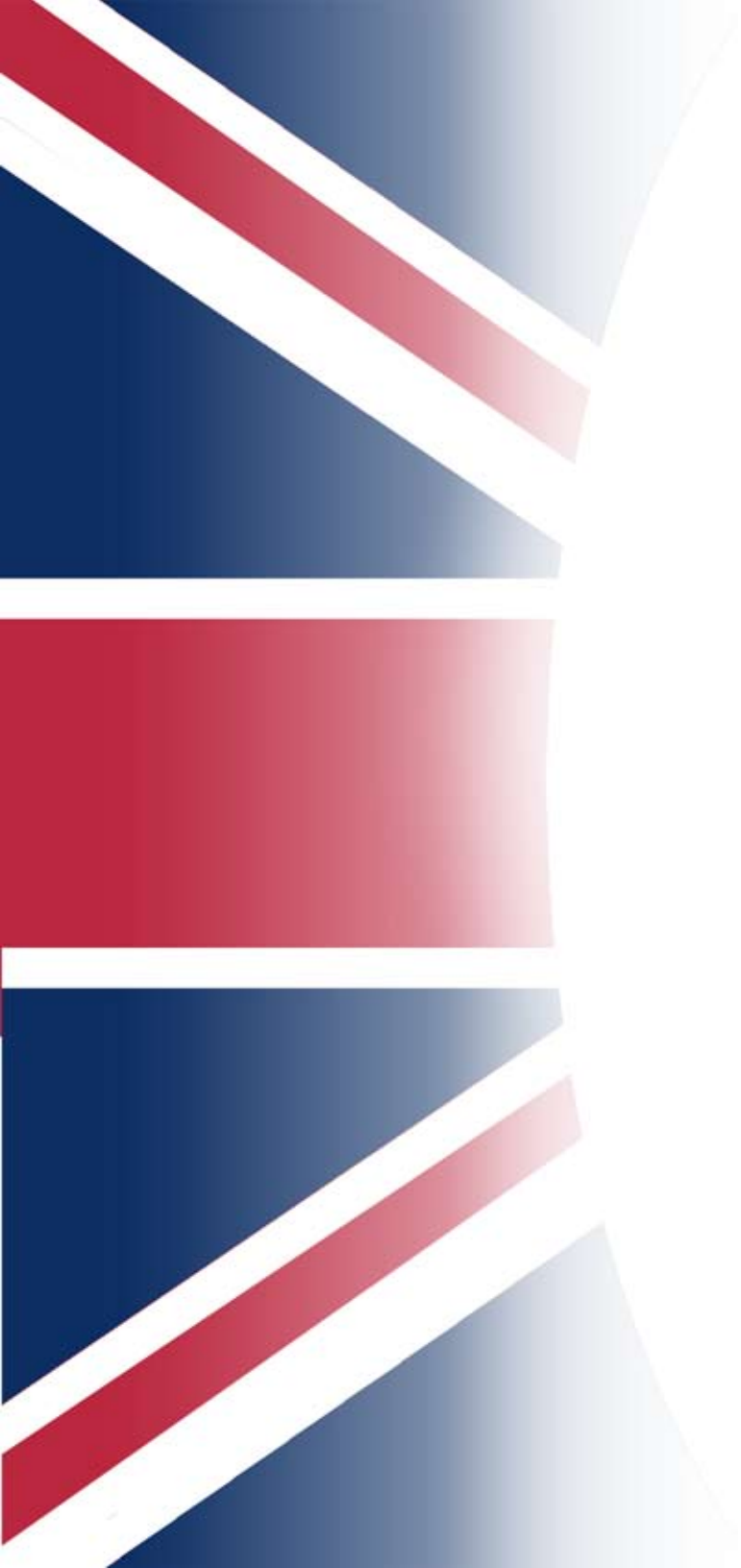
Sergei G. Gorshkov, *The Sea Power of the State*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1980

Following on from earlier precedents in Soviet naval thinking, Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union Sergei Gorshkov criticized western naval theory. In 1972/1983, Gorshkov wrote a series of articles that appeared in the Soviet naval journal *Morskoi Sbornik* and were eventually republished in book form under the title *The Sea Power of the State*. On a single page, Gorshkov summarized his understanding of the Wars of the French Revolution, which had been organized by “the English bourgeoisie, seeking to gain a complete hold on the colonial possessions still left to France.” In this struggle, the weakness of the French fleet played a fatal role for France. Napoleon's Egyptian expedition had been initially saved by Nelson's “chain of errors” that delayed his attack on the French squadron in Aboukir Bay by two and a half months. Trafalgar, Gorshkov believed, “like the role of the English fleet in the struggle with Napoleon, has been enormously exaggerated by Anglo-American ideologists.” Clearly making a point that could be translated into Cold War context and the need for the Soviet Union to develop a strong navy, he noted that it was Russia's victory over Napoleon on land that had provided the most decisive effect on European politics, but at the same time Trafalgar showed the total inability of France to wage war at sea against the more sophisticated English fleet consisting of better-quality ships manned by better trained crews and employing tactics new for that time. England and her colonies became practically invulnerable to strikes from the sea. This untied the hands of the English bourgeoisie to organize and finance new alliances for continuing the struggle.

Professor John B. Hattendorf

The Impact of Nelson and Trafalgar on World Navies





The Impact of Nelson and Trafalgar on the World



Entry on H. Nelson: “Na’erxun, H.,” *Zhongquo Haijun Baike Quanshu [Chinese Naval Encyclopedia]* Beijing: Sea Tide Publishers, 1998–1999, Volume 2, page 1,366

If Japanese interest in Nelson follows a tradition that is more than a century old, Chinese interest seems to be much more recent. Lin Hsiang-kuang published a 120-page Nelson Biography only as recently as 1961; based largely on the works of Robert Southey, A. T. Mahan, and Sir Geoffrey Callender, it is a fairly straightforward factual account that does not make any distinctive China-related interpretation of its own. In 1999, however, the Chinese People’s Liberation Army-Navy published this western-style *Chinese Naval Encyclopedia* that contained two entries relating to our subject, one on Nelson and another on Trafalgar. These both extolled Nelson for his courage in battle, trail-blazing spirit, flexible leadership, rapid concentration of forces, well-conceived tactical planning, and for breaking away from the yoke of traditional naval tactics. The latter, illustrated here, shows a not altogether flattering portrait, as Nelson is shown at a slight angle with a huge nose, perhaps emphasizing the fact that the Chinese often refer to foreigners as “Da Bizi” which means “Big Noses.”

Professor Bruce A. Elleman

**A. T. Mahan, “The Battle of the Sea of Japan,” *Collier’s Magazine*,
17 June 1905**

In this 1905 summary of the recent news about the Battle of Tsushima during the Russo-Japanese War, Admiral Mahan noted the similarity in Togo’s signal with Nelson’s exactly a century before.

Naval War College Museum Collection

**The Battle of Chemulpo, 8 February 1904
Woodcut. Tokyo: Published by Hatsujiro Fukuda, 1904.**

This view shows the opening battle in the Russo-Japanese War that culminated with Tōgō’s victory at Tsushima in the following year.

NWC Museum Collection

Diagram of the Battle of Trafalgar

This is a reproduction of a manuscript diagram of the battle of Trafalgar. It is authenticated by Captain Jean-Jacques Magendie, French Navy, the captain of Vice-Admiral Villeneuve's flagship, Bucentaure. Completed while Captain Magendie was held as a prisoner of war along with Admiral Villeneuve at Reading, England, it was drawn to justify their view that they lost to a tightly massed, overwhelming British fleet. It is not done to any scale. This version should be contrasted with the results of the Admiralty Committee's research done in 1913, shown on the accompanying panels.

NWC Museum Collection

A. T. Mahan, *Futsukoku Kakumei Jidai Kaijo kenryoku-shi Ton*, volume 1 translated for Nippon Suiko-sha by Tsunetaro Saito; volume 2 translated by Narumichi Uchida and Shigenobu Terajima. Tokyo: Kakubunkan, 1900.

This Japanese translation of Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution and Empire* was presented to Mahan and inscribed "Captain A. T. Mahan, with respectful regards of the translator."

Henry E. Eccles Library, NWC

Alfred Thayer Mahan Autographed photograph taken in Newport, ca. 1910

When in 1885 Admiral Luce directed the newly promoted Captain Mahan to undertake for the Naval War College a series of lectures on naval history and tactics, Mahan himself was initially very skeptical of what Luce wanted to achieve. As Mahan later admitted, "I shared the prepossession, common at that time that the naval history of the past was wholly past; of no use at all to the present." He recalled escorting a journalist through the College building at one point in 1886, a man "of magisterial condescension which the environment of the Fourth Estate nourishes in its fortunate members," who noticed a plan of Trafalgar hanging on the wall. "Ah," he said, with superb up-to-date pity, 'you are still talking about Trafalgar;' and I could see that Trafalgar and I were henceforth on the top shelf of fossils in the collections of his memory." Yet, Mahan went on follow Luce's direction and produced some of the most important works in naval history.

NWC Museum Collection

A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1805*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1892

Mahan's study of naval history during the Nelson era was the second of his sea power series. It was first delivered in 1892 as a series of lectures in the newly opened Luce Hall at the Naval War College, while Mahan was serving his second period as its president.

In the preface to this two-volume work, Mahan gave specific credit to the Naval War College as a place "instituted to promote such studies." At the same time, he expressed his thanks to Admiral Luce "for guiding him to a path that he would not himself have found." These references proved invaluable to the institution and they were largely responsible for saving it in the eyes of Secretary of the Navy Hilary Herbert, who had been bent on abolishing the College. On leaving an inspection visit to the College, Secretary Herbert wrote "This book alone is worth all the money that has been spent on the Naval War College. . . . I had fully intended to abolish the college; I now intend to do all in my power to sustain it."

Henry E. Eccles Library, NWC



Captain Mahan's Manuscript Note to Himself Listing Nelson's Battles

These notes were found in Mahan's own copy of the first edition of the *Life of Nelson* (1897), when it was donated to the Naval War College Library.

Naval Historical Collection, NWC
Mahan Papers, Box 1, folder 7



Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *A Statement of the Means by which the Nelson Coat Presented by H.R.H. Prince Albert to Greenwich Hospital, was obtained . . .* London: T. A. Evans, 1846

This pamphlet, with Mahan's signature on the cover, also has a rare contemporary print of Nelson's funeral car attached to it. Nicolas was the editor of the seven-volume edition of *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Nelson* (1846). The coat that is the focus of this pamphlet is part of the collection of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Naval Historical Collection, NWC
Mahan Papers, Ms Coll. 17, Box 5, file 4

Transcript of a Letter from Sir James Saumarez, 5 August 1798, with his account of the Battle of the Nile, made for Mahan

Naval Historical Collection, NWC
Ms Doc. 110

Transcript of a Letter from Sir James Saumarez, Commanding the Advanced Squadron off Cadiz, 27 April 1797, made for Mahan

Naval Historical Collection, NWC
Ms Doc. 109

Mahan and Nelson



The Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents Formed by Alfred Morrison. The Hamilton & Nelson Papers. [London]: Printed for Private Circulation, 1893

Autograph collector Alfred Morrison presented this two-volume, inscribed set to Mahan on 2 September 1890, when he was at Southampton, England, in command of the cruiser USS *Chicago*.

Henry E. Eccles Library, NWC

Advance Sheets of Mahan's *Life of Nelson*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1897

This set of advance sheets was sent to the founder of the Naval War College, Rear Admiral Stephen B. Luce, in March 1897 with a request from the editor of the leading literary journal of the day, *The Critic*, to review the book. Luce's review appeared in its 3 April 1897 issue.

As shown here, Mahan's *Life of Nelson* was subtitled *The Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain* and it was meant to be the capstone to his four-book Sea Power series that dealt with the key issues of leadership not clearly apparent in the other volumes.

Henry E. Eccles Library, NWC

A Copy of the First Edition of Mahan's *Life of Nelson*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1897

From the time of its first publication in 1897 until the appearance of Carola Oman's *Nelson* (London, 1946), Mahan's biography was recognized as the most thorough study of the subject. Mahan revised a section of the book and published a second edition in 1899. While Oman's work was praised for its deeper appreciation of Nelson's personal characteristics, Mahan's work was universally recognized as being the best professional naval biography available until the newest studies appeared in connection with the 200th anniversary of Trafalgar in 2005.

Note the embossed gold portrait of Nelson on the original cover.

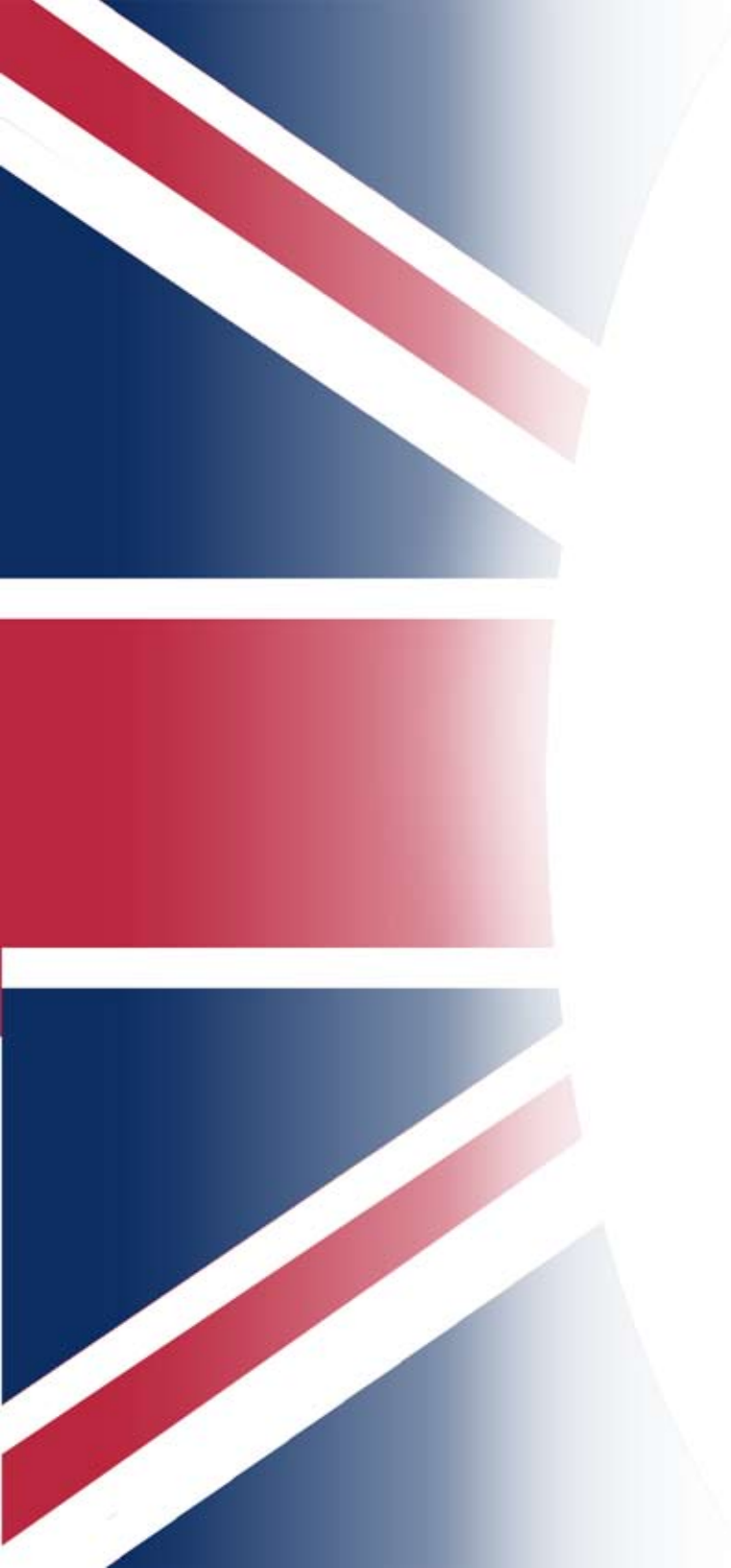
Naval War College Museum

A. T. Mahan, *Lord Nelson: Gründläggaren av Storbritanniens Herravälde över Haven* Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1913

This Swedish translation of Mahan's own work was presented to Mahan by the translator, Daniel Landquist, who at the time was the equivalent of an Ensign in the Royal Swedish Navy. Landquist inscribed the book to Mahan on the front flyleaf, as shown by the accompanying photocopy, and the book came to the Naval War College along with others after Mahan's death.

Daniel Landquist (1891–1962) rose in the Swedish Navy service to command the battleship *Drottning Viktoria* in 1940–1941, then became head of the Operations Section of the Swedish Naval Staff in 1941–1945. As a commodore in the Royal Swedish Navy, he was head of Sweden's Naval Staff College, 1947–1951. From the beginning of his publishing career with this volume, Landquist wrote several books on naval history and strategy during the course of his career.

Henry E. Eccles Library, NWC



Portraits of Nelson



Farewell to Nelson

**Engraving of the painting by Andrew C. Gow
from 1905**

London: Landecker & Brown, n.d.

This painting was made exactly a century after the event to commemorate Nelson's departure from England on 14 September 1805 as he left Portsmouth and was about to take his barge out to HMS *Victory* and to sail for Trafalgar. The Uniform and many details are correct, but the scene is entirely imaginary. Nelson did not embark at this site, but further down the shore.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University



Admiral Lord Nelson

Signed Mezzotint by Arthur Hogg after the portrait by L. E. Abbott

London: Messrs Frost & Reed Ltd, 1923

The original of this version of Abbott's portrait was painted in 1798 and owned by Lady Nelson. Since 1874, it has been in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

A Tsunami of Books about Nelson and Trafalgar

In 1990, when Leonard W. Cowie published his *Lord Nelson 1758–1805: A Bibliography*, he listed 1,344 items in his 190-page bibliography of books, articles, manuscript collections, and prints. Ten years ago, the decade between 1995 and 2005 was dedicated as the “Nelson Decade” and it has kept the promise of its name. This selection includes only some of the many works that have been published recently to mark the bicentenary of Nelson’s death at Trafalgar. And there are more to come!

Lent by Professor John Hattendorf

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Lincoln, Margarette, ed. *Nelson & Napoléon*. London: National Maritime Museum, 2005.

Monaque, Rémi. *Trafalgar: 21 Octobre 1805. Bibliothèque Napoléonienne*. Paris: Tallandier Éditions, 2005.

BB



Nicholson, Adam. *Men of Honour: Trafalgar and the Making of the English Hero*. London: Harper Collins, 2005; *Seize the Fire: Heroism, Duty, and the Battle of Trafalgar*. New York: Harper Collins, 2005.

Prentice, Rina. *The Authentic Nelson*. London: National Maritime Museum, 2005.

Rasor, Eugene L. *English/British Naval History to 1815: A Guide to the Literature. Bibliographies and Indexes in Military Studies, number 15*. Westport, Connecticut, and London: Praeger, 2004.

Rodger, N.A.M. *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815*. London: Penguin/Allen Lane in association with the National Maritime Museum, 2004; New York: W.W. Norton, 2005.

Rubenstein, Hilary L. *Trafalgar Captain: Durham of the Defiance*. Stroud: Tempus, 2004.

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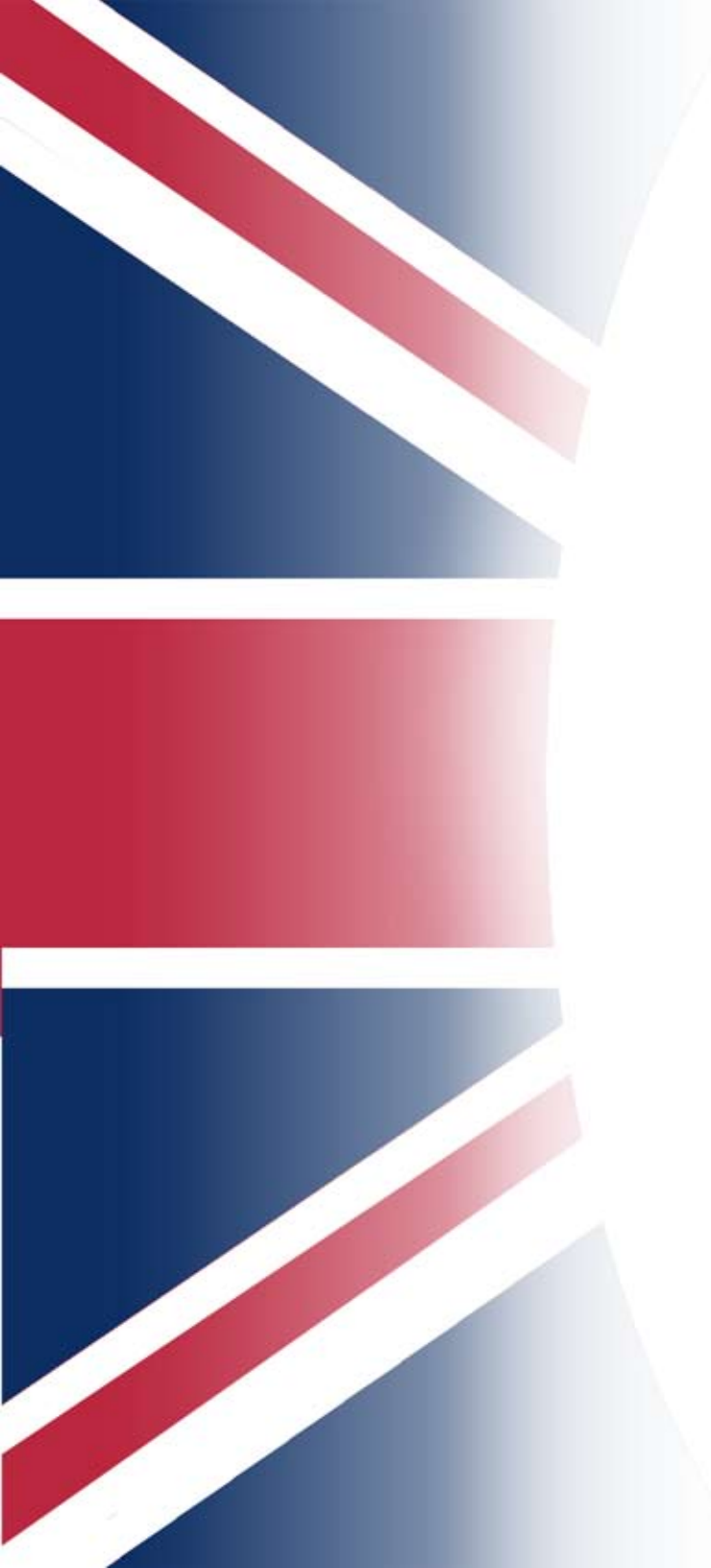


Trafalgar and Nelson 200 Exhibit opening remarks made by John B. Hattendorf.



Exhibit Opening October 21, 2005





TRADITION HAS IT THAT on a late October's day in 1884, Commodore Stephen B. Luce, USN, was rowed from the flagship of the North Atlantic Squadron anchored off Newport to Coasters Harbor Island two miles north of the center of Newport, a site designated earlier that month by the Secretary of the Navy for a new kind of college. Once on the island, Luce proceeded to a large stone building, the former Newport Asylum for the Poor, climbed its rickety stairs, and as he opened the front door solemnly announced to his few companions and the empty grounds, "Poor little poorhouse, I christen thee United States Naval War College."

Historic Landmark

Today the "little poorhouse" is a well preserved and stately structure, a National Historic Landmark and home to the Naval War College Museum. Named Founders Hall in honor of the founding fathers of the College, it is uniquely suited for its current purpose. In addition to being the original site of the College, it is where Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, USN, second president (1886-1889) and subsequently a renowned naval historian, first delivered his lectures on sea power—lectures which were first published in 1890 as the epochal *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*.

Collection and Exhibit Themes

The Museum's themes are the history of naval warfare, particularly as studied at the College, and the naval heritage of Narragansett Bay—a tale that begins with the nation's colonial roots. Its collection consists of items relating to these subjects that are perceived to be of value to scholarship, and it forms the core for exhibits throughout the College and for educational outreach projects. Besides permanent exhibits on the College, the genesis of the Navy in the region, and the evolution of permanent naval installations from the late nineteenth century to the present, the Museum features short-term special exhibits relating to College curriculum and to current naval-related topics. In general, Museum exhibits identify milestones in the evolutionary development of war at sea; explain the significance of the sea as a factor in the formulation and the attainment of national policy objectives; describe the character, educational philosophy, and mission of the College; and chronicle the eventful relationship of the U.S. Navy with Narragansett Bay and its people.

Services

While the Museum is primarily for the education and the edification of the Naval War College community, it is in a larger sense the corporate memory of the Navy in the region, and it serves as a clearinghouse for naval history information in New England. The Museum Director, a subjects-area specialist, and staff answer inquiries, provide guidance and orientation talks to visitors on regional naval history and current exhibits, and assist scholarly researchers in the use of the Museum holdings. You may also access the U.S. Navy 20th Century Ships History Database, available on a kiosk at the museum, from this website <http://www.nwc.navy.mil/museum>



Hours

The Museum is open to the public 10 A.M. – 4 P.M., Monday through Friday throughout the year, and 12 noon – 4 P.M. on weekends, June through September. It is closed on holidays. Public access to the museum is through Gate 1 of the Naval Education and Training Center. As a consequence of September 11, and until further notice, access to the museum through Gate 1 of the Newport Naval Station is limited to persons with military IDs. Facilities for the handicapped are available, as is a gift shop operated by the Naval War College Foundation (which partially funds Museum operations). Further information on exhibits and special events is available by writing to: Director, Naval War College Museum, Naval War College, 686 Cushing Road, Newport, RI 02841-1207, or telephoning (401) 841-4052/1317 (DSN 948-4052/1317).

