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The Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's, a covenant between the City and the Armed Forces

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PhD Thesis – King’s College London

**The Patriotic Fund at Lloyd’s, a covenant between the City and the
Armed Forces**

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I must record my huge debt to Chris Allen, who gifted me his collection of auction catalogues as well as loaning his private card index of presentation swords that he had seen over his 50-year career. I am truly grateful to the technical advice and access that in particular Paul Willcocks, Richard Dellar and Russell Milne have given me over the period of study, and the grounding in this area that Dr John McGrath provided, leading to our earlier publications.

I mined the resources of hundreds of museums, civic and private collections either containing or potentially containing presentation swords. Their curators, archivists and librarians have been invariably helpful even when they think they are providing what they initially think are unhelpful answers. These have shown the paucity of information and the rarity of the swords; that several key collections hold none or so few is telling in itself. Visiting so many of these collections over the past five years has been a true pleasure, along with discovering presentation swords in the most unexpected places such as Wordsworth's Lake District home, Rydal Mount.

I am grateful to the museums, auction houses and dealers who allowed me to use images, including the National Maritime Museum, National Portrait Gallery, Pooley Swords, Bonhams, Antony Cribb, London Coins, Christies, and the Royal Collection. The remaining are public domain, acknowledged or are from my collection or where an owner has asked to remain private.

I am grateful to those who have commented on the drafts of this thesis, especially my supervisor Prof. Andrew Lambert. The contents, though, remain my responsibility for better or worse but the comments have been of significant benefit to the development of the argument.

Abstract

The Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's was established in 1803 by a group mainly of maritime insurance brokers, bankers and merchants in the City of London, following the return to war after the Peace of Amiens. The leading early donors formed the Committee that made all the decisions for the disbursement of the funds raised.

The Fund's aim was to help protect Britain by encouraging zeal in the Royal Navy and the Army. It did this through presenting awards for bravery, particularly presentation swords, and by providing pensions for those injured and widowed by the war.

This thesis examines their work in the period until they stopped presenting the awards for bravery in 1809. This was declared at the time as due to financial reasons, however, this thesis demonstrates that this was a misleading statement and in reality the Fund spent far more on other purposes. Rather it was a change in the nature of the war and, therefore, a change of what the Committee believed would best support the Armed Forces as part of their perceived covenant of support that was the real motivation.

Comparison with US and French awards of presentation swords helps demonstrate this, along with an examination of why prior to stopping awarding bravery with presentation swords the Fund added two new areas, support of prisoners of war and education, to its mandate.

This thesis contributes to a better understanding of the mercantile links and the industrialisation of the military complex that permeated the supporting charities.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis provides a critical examination of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's, (hereafter the Fund). The Fund was a charitable organisation set up in the City of London in 1803 to support the Armed Forces and to give awards for zeal in the Napoleonic War. However, the Fund stopped giving awards for gallantry in 1809, although it continued other charitable activity in support of the Armed Forces. This thesis though is not just about gallantry, rather it is about a wealthy group of philanthropists and whether they recognised they and others had to change their behaviour as the nature of the war changed?

The Fund is of scholarly significance because it is arguably the first 'Armed Forces Covenant', made between the City and members of the Armed Forces. The Fund made a promise to support those injured and the families of those killed, if they were killed in action for Britain, in advance of the actions taking place, so that soldiers and sailors could be assured that they and their families had some security when they risked their lives for their country.

These awards are important because they were the first significant group of gallantry awards made to all ranks of officer, as well as some ratings/troops. They can be regarded as the equivalent of the later Victoria Cross, but with greater emphasis on financial reward. Their associated records capture many individual acts of heroism that would otherwise have been lost to history.

This thesis challenges what others have assumed - that presentation of swords, which the Fund is best known for, was a normal behaviour at the time the Fund started to award them. This thesis compares the Fund's awards with those made by other organisations and other countries, in particular America and France. It also examines the changes the Fund made during their time of making awards for heroic actions and examines whether their publicly stated reason for ceasing awarding for acts of gallantry was entirely accurate.

This thesis has three implications for current military business. It:

- a. draws out lessons about how an Armed Forces covenant needs to be different for each Service;
- b. demonstrates that understanding of risk by insurers, reflected in how they price insurance, provides understanding of how a conflict is progressing;
- c. improves understanding of how maritime insurance can be used in military operations;

and it provides support for two other current historical discussions, namely:

- a. how this period saw the rise of the industrial military complex showing how this even affected charitable funds,
- b. how certain individuals saw themselves contributing to society.

In addition to this it highlights the contribution of some forgotten heroic individuals and places their contribution in context. It also provides evidence as to the correct attributions in museum collections and academic studies.

Chapter 2

Underlying Data

There is only one archive containing original documents regarding the Patriotic Fund and that is the Lloyd's Maritime Archive at the Guildhall Library in London. The details of that archive and its scale are discussed below. There are no archives containing papers of members of the Committee of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's (hereafter the Committee) except for one member and there are real limitations in the documents held by the National Archives. All of these are discussed in detail in this chapter. It is not that other archives have not been looked at, rather it is the case that the information is not held in any archive, therefore, this thesis uses as its other key basis details of all known presentation swords from prior to up to the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The collections of documents used to establish that are also discussed in this chapter. In addition a prosopography of each Committee member was undertaken; and details of each event the Fund made a presentation for. Following a discussion of the literature on this subject, this chapter discusses each of those in turn.

Literature on the Fund

The glamour associated with the swords the Fund awarded means the wider literature has concentrated on the items made, while the existing published histories have been written to support the charity or to examine the items awarded. None has critically examined the Fund or questioned whether what is commonly stated is what they were actually doing. The two recent two histories of The Patriotic Fund, *Unbroken Service* by Charles Messenger produced in 2003 for its 200th anniversary,¹ and *Britons Strike Home* by Jim Gawler, published in 1993,² looking purely at the objects made, exemplify these two approaches. Both publications were sponsored by the Fund. In the

¹ C Messenger, *Unbroken Service The History of Lloyd's Patriotic Fund 1803-2003* (London: Lloyd's Patriotic Fund, 2003) (hereafter Messenger).

² J Gawler, *Britons Strike Home. A History of Lloyd's Patriotic Fund 1803-1988* (Sanderstead: Pittot Publishing 1993) (hereafter Gawler).

early twentieth century two histories were written *A Century of Lloyd's Patriotic Fund 1803-1903* by Herbert De Rougement and *The Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's* by Lieutenant Colonel A N St Quintin OBE.

Herbert De Rougement was Chairman of Trustees for the Fund at the time that he wrote his history, while Lieutenant Colonel A N St Quintin OBE was Secretary for the Fund when he wrote his. De Rougement wrote two versions the first in 1903 ostensibly to commemorate the centenary of the Fund but in reality to bring to people's attention to the fact that the Fund was still going. Therefore, he highlights that they had been preparing to issue an appeal in 1899 for the Boer War. Instead the Lord Mayor of London appealed and passed to the Fund the money raised, some £112,000, for them to manage.³ He goes on to illustrate how people now gave in different ways. His second edition, published in 1914,⁴ expands on the good work the Fund did for those who suffered from the Boer War and then appeals for funds as the European War had broken out. However, he does note in his preface that he "felt the want of much valuable material lost in the fire which... [would] ...have thrown light on the operations of the Fund during the period of the Peninsular Campaign. This is to be more regretted because at that interesting time, the War which had been mainly Naval was transferred to the land." St Quintin's history was clearly written for fundraising, being sold for 2/ and even states how cheques to the Fund should be written.

Messenger's draws attention to the Fund's links with Nelson, citing Lloyd's of London's collection of Nelson memorabilia. He quotes liberally from Nelson's letters to the Fund, suggesting he was heavily involved; while it is true Nelson regularly sought awards for his injured sailors and the families of those killed, he did not make his first donation until 1805 - just £5. While many Naval officers did not contribute at all, Nelson's contribution should be contrasted with that of Admiral Cornwallis who gave £105 and Lieutenant Dorill who

³ H De Rougement, *A Century of Lloyd's Patriotic Fund 1803-1903* (London: Leadenhall Press, 1903) p46-47, hereafter Rougement.

⁴ H De Rougement, *A Century of Lloyd's Patriotic Fund 1803-1903* (London: Leadenhall Press, 1914). Not held by Lloyd's Collection but by British Library.

donated £10 both within the first year, and an anonymous naval linked donation of £1095.

On Saturday the contributions to the Patriotic Fund, at Lloyd's, amounted to 23,000*l.* and collections at churches and chapels to 25,000*l.* A donation of 1095*l.* was on Friday paid at Lloyd's, for the Patriotic Fund, without any other notice than the initials R. N. From the circumstance of this being the exact amount of the half pay of an Admiral and Commander in Chief for a year, it is supposed to have been given by a person of that description.

*Anonymous Naval Donation*⁵

This interest in links to famous people is in keeping with the Fund's preservation of items. The correspondence file, MSS35179, at the Guildhall library, includes notes from 1804 to 1854. All seem to be preserved because of the signatures; the common factor is they are from important people, not that they are interesting reading.

The primary written sources for this thesis are the Fund's minutes. There are two sets both held in the Guildhall Library as part of Lloyd's Maritime Collection: a set of handwritten minutes and a set titled *Report of the Committee for Managing the Patriotic Fund*, published annually for its first six years. These were sent to key subscribers and organisations, such as The Admiralty, which the Committee wished to inform of their work and the remainder were sold to raise funds at 2 shillings.⁶ There were 10,000 copies of the first report, which reduced to 2,500 for the second. Despite the number very few survive.

Publicising their work was the key driver for the committee when they determined to print their minutes.⁷ They state "They feel it therefore their duty,

⁵ *The Times* 16 December 1805.

⁶ *The Times* 28 March 1805.

⁷ The printed and handwritten minutes are MS35166-001-005 and MS 31590 respectively, at the Guildhall Library. Despite numbers produced very few have survived. Only one copy has come on the market in the last decade.

to lay before the Subscribers and the Public, the following report of their proceedings".⁸ Then go on to say "They are anxious to inform those who are nobly foremost in fighting the battles of the country, that the attention of the Committee to their merit and sufferings is constant and unwearied, and the observation watchfully directed to reward the one, and to alleviate the other."⁹ They also hoped to elicit further contributions to the Fund. It is not apparent from the finances whether this was successful or not, as the two large injections of money were the initial fundraising and the money raised post Trafalgar. When discussing how the Royal Navy was perceived, Dr Lincoln highlights the fact that the print of Nelson and the Battle of the Nile by Abbott was funded by J J Angerstein, who led the Fund, and notes that the minutes were edited in order to show the best of the RN and help raise funds. She goes on to give other examples of London merchants giving memorials for Naval victories.¹⁰

However, there are considerable differences between the published minutes intended for wide dissemination and the Fund's handwritten minutes, which were for internal use. These handwritten minutes survived the fire at Lloyd's in 1838, although they had to be removed from their original binding and were placed on new pages, often with the ends of the line missing. Henry Grey comments that:

*"Only a few relics were saved, many valuable documents and records being destroyed by the fire."*¹¹

⁸ *Report of the Committee for Managing the Patriotic Fund by The Committee*, (London: W Phillips, 1804) p3.

⁹ *Ibid* p 4.

¹⁰ M Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy: British Sea Power, 1750-1815* (Farnham, Ashgate Publishing, 2002) pp95-6.

¹¹ Grey, *Lloyd's Yesterday and Today* p57.



Royal Exchange Fire 1838¹²

These original minutes are a fair copy produced later as they include inserted paragraphs in the margins and missed bits squeezed in, written in the pen used that week. The handwritten minutes show aspects excluded from the published minutes, in particular the struggle for a quorum for many meetings - attendees' names are not included in the published minutes. This means they avoided embarrassing themselves and those invited to be committee members due to their position. The latter group almost never attend after the initial meetings. Even the date of the first committee meeting differs between the two sources, the published minutes saying 24 August and handwritten 26 August. They are a Wednesday and Friday, although meetings were usually held on a Tuesday. The largest attendances were 28¹³ and 30¹⁴ of the 71¹⁵ eligible attendees.

Other debates not included in the published minutes included the tax treatment of the Fund's assets and the full history of how the items awarded

¹² © The Trustees of the British Museum Reference 739262001.

¹³ Minutes 28 February 1804.

¹⁴ Minutes 14 November and 10 December 1805 – these are the Trafalgar discussions. More typical was 10-15 attendees.

¹⁵ Committee numbers are discussed in Chapter 2.

were determined. This is particularly significant for the swords. The sword designed by Teed, now so eagerly sought by collectors, did not win the initial competition. Indeed, there was no winner, unlike in the case of the medal (of which only one was ever presented). The Fund did not settle on the pattern until 20 March 1804, after several officers had chosen Teed's design.

There are times the changes seem to have been made to further the Fund's agenda. When Lieutenant Craig of the Marines received an annuity of £20 for an injury sustained from a bursting musket¹⁶, the published minutes do not record that this was in an attempt to stop eight men deserting, but the handwritten do. They were not afraid of providing criticism as the same published minutes include a comment that the whole crew of HMS *Pickle* had subscribed one months' pay except Michael Doran.

Beyond these published books, there are many articles on an individual Patriotic Fund sword or vase. The majority of these are in auction house catalogues. Furthermore, there are sections on the swords given by the Patriotic Fund in works on naval swords, but much less on the silver and nothing on the monetary awards.

Outside the literature written to promote the Fund, or Lloyd's itself, there are two groups of publications that discuss the Fund. These are histories, both official and unofficial, of Lloyd's and those about the objects the Fund produced.

In the first group, is Henry Grey. He was not directly employed by the Fund and probably not even by Lloyd's, he produced what he describes as a sketch, which initially appeared in the *Illustrated London News*. This was expanded in his history of 1893 and he comments friends' "personal reminiscences" helped him.¹⁷ The book was very positive about all aspects of Lloyd's it covered, including their lifeboat service for 22 years prior to the

¹⁶ Minutes 25 September 1804.

¹⁷ H M Grey, *Lloyd's Yesterday and Today* (London: John Haddon & Co, 1893). Preface.

RNLI. Like De Rougement, Grey also produced a second longer edition.¹⁸ Published in 1922 and as Grey said “much fresh matter has been added, bringing the story of Lloyd’s up to date.”¹⁹ The book adds extra lines at various points although much remains exactly as phrased previously.

Frederick Martin published a *History of Lloyd’s & Marine Insurance*²⁰ in 1895 while not concentrating on the Fund he attributes a great deal of the development of Lloyd’s itself to Angerstein. Worsley and Griffith’s history covers the whole of Lloyd’s and contains many anecdotes from marine insurance, fitting in with its title *The Romance of Lloyd’s*.²¹ While drawing some conclusions on Lloyd’s members’ motives, its notes on the Fund are just a few pages largely quoting letters from grateful recipients.

Two articles by Leslie Southwick published in *The Arms and Armour Journal* and the *Silver Society Journal* between 1987 and 1990²² are extensively cited in an article by Sim Comfort hosted on the website dedicated to tracing the Patriotic Fund Swords. These articles briefly examine some potential motives but these are conjecture by the author and no research was done into who was at the meetings and what their interests and connections were, they take many statements at face value and contain incorrect assumptions. Those articles initially motivated the research for this thesis and they could be considered part of the second body of work described below. There was also an article in 1925 in *The Naval Review*,²³ which gave a short history of the Fund but no analysis and adds nothing to other sources.

The second body of work that covers the Fund are those that are examining the objects they made. The seminal text for this is by Jim Gawler, which

¹⁸ While not many extra pages (115 of 96) but more on each page, so has significantly more.

¹⁹ H M Grey, *Lloyd’s Yesterday and Today* (London: Syren and Shipping Ltd, 1922). Preface

²⁰ F Martin, *History of Lloyd’s & Marine Insurance* (London: Macmillan & Co 1876).

²¹ F Worsley and G Griffith, *The Romance of Lloyd’s: From Coffee House to Palace*, (New York, Hillman-Curl Inc., 1937)

²² These are: *Patriotic Fund Swords* by L Southwick, pub The Arms and Armour Society, Vol XII Number 4 and 5, September 1987, March 1988 and *The Silver Vases awarded by the Patriotic Fund* by L Southwick, pub The Silver Society Journal, Winter 1990.

²³ C E Fayle, Lloyd’s Patriotic Fund *The Naval Review* 1925, Issue 3, pp565-577.

contains a considerable amount of the Fund's history but is working from those objects made. This is detailed and provides a large amount of valuable material but it does not examine other primary sources nor critically examine the work of the Fund and offers no judgment on Committee decisions.

Within this body of work there are three naval sword books that provide lists of the swords made. One is *Swords for Sea Service*²⁴ by May and Annis, written in 1970. This is considered by sword collectors as the current definitive text on British naval swords, the authors being then curators at the National Maritime Museum. It was their final work in a series of publications, that both were involved with, which grew in stature as they continued their research. The second is a private publication by Sim Comfort titled *Nelson's Swords*.²⁵ Both of these work from the list of swords manufactured and while both include what are often termed unofficial swords, as they are not recorded as being presented by the Fund, neither have used secondary sources to improve their accuracy, such as correcting the ranks of the recipients; both lists show officers as holding the rank of Captain, even when, like Lieutenant Pilford of HMS *Ajax* at Trafalgar, they were just in the role of captain rather than holding the rank. Equally they have not used the minute books and the engraver Lines' records to show where more than one weapon was made for a single award to an individual (which happened at least twice). Lastly, they have not sought to credit those awarded where the recipient opted for the cash alternative to a sword or plate even when in one case, that of Captain Codrington for Trafalgar, it was because he donated the money to the Fund. My own published work *British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship* addressed some of these issues, but was limited to the swords and did not cover the awards where they only offered plate or cash.²⁶

²⁴ P G W Annis and Cdr W E May, *Swords for Sea Service Volumes 1 and 2*. (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1970).

²⁵ S Comfort, *Lord Nelson's Swords* (London: Sim Comfort Associates, 2014).

²⁶ J McGrath and M Barton, *British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship* (Barnsley, Seaforth, 2013).

An earlier book, *Medals of the British Navy*,²⁷ written in 1895, provides a list of swords awarded although contains several errors including missing those frequently described as the unofficial ones and assigning the rank of Captain to all individuals serving in that role.

As mentioned earlier, there is a website dedicated to the swords presented by the Patriotic Fund, established by Sim Comfort (mentioned earlier) and two others, collector Paul Willcocks, who has five of these swords, and Chris Allen, a consultant on edged weapons to Bonhams Auction House and previously to Sotheby's. This site is dedicated to tracing the weapons and contains no comment on the Fund's activities other than Sim Comfort's article, discussed earlier.

Also within this body of work are a plethora of articles particularly in auction house sales catalogues but also reflected in trade journals, such as the *Antique Trade Gazette*, and other publications that report sales such as the 1805 Club Newsletter *The Kedge Anchor*.²⁸ These usually describe a single item and are intended to give the history of the item to ensure that the maximum value is achieved in the sale. These articles usually include details of the recipient and the action for which the sword or vase was awarded. These articles attempt to try and establish the rarity of the sword pattern and often refer to their being four types of Patriotic Fund sword, listing the swords awarded to the Captains at Trafalgar as a different pattern. While they share a distinct design feature, the award by the Fund was the same as for all other £100 swords, and indeed the Fund included within this award all those captains involved in Strachan's action at Ferrol²⁹ in the aftermath of Trafalgar.

Since this research is dealing with objects that are of high value and are visually striking, when owned by museums they are usually on display. As is

²⁷ W H Long, *Medals of the British Navy and how they were won* (London: Noire and Wilson 1895) hereafter Long.

²⁸ For example – Autumn 2014 Issue 41 p11 has an article on Captain Torin's sword that was at the time for sale by a New Orleans dealer.

²⁹ The action of the 4 November 1805.

common with naval swords these items are either given the briefest of descriptions or if given more comprehensive comments then usually there is an error somewhere within the description. Even the National Maritime Museum and the Museum of the Royal Navy no longer employ anyone with a background in and understanding of naval swords. The other large collection of these swords is held by Lloyd's of London and is looked after by their silver store. Lloyd's have produced three factsheets describing their Nelson collection including one Patriotic Fund sword, out of the thirteen they have, Two Patriotic Fund vases also make the information sheet. The short description they give of the Fund within these factsheets is that of an organisation proud of their good work, it takes the statements of the Fund at face value.

Understanding the activities of the Fund, it is essential to address the history of the City of London. Some texts concentrate on the period that these swords were presented. These give an understanding of the social background of the period and how the financial and other aspects of the City fitted together and the concerns of its inhabitants. Recent publications such as Adam Zamoyski's *Phantom Terror*, Ian Gilmour's *Riots, Risings and Revolution*, Jenny Uglow's *In These Times*, Linda Colley's *Captives* and Jerry White's pair of books, *London in the Eighteenth Century* and *London in the Nineteenth Century*,³⁰ among others³¹ provide understanding of the background in which the committee and contributors of the Patriotic Fund made their decisions. Whereas Philip MacDougall in *London and the Georgian Navy*³² addresses the relationship between the Navy and London as a place rather than just the financial city. These are expanded on by many journal articles that discuss

³⁰ A Zamoyski, *Phantom Terror* (London: William Collins 2014); I Gilmour *Riots, Risings and Revolution* (London: Hutchinson, 1992); J Uglow *In These Times Living in Britain through Napoleon's Wars, 1793-1815* (London: Faber and Faber 2014); L Colley *Captives* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002); J White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Bodley Head, 2012) and *London in the Nineteenth Century* (London, Vintage, 2008).

³¹ These also include: T Pocock *The Terror Before Trafalgar* (Great Britain: Thistle Publishing, 2013) and D Andress *The Savage Storm: Britain on the Brink in the Age of Napoleon* (London: Trafalgar Square 2015)

³² P MacDougall, *London and the Georgian Navy* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013).

specific measures including publications from the period.³³

An understanding of the potentially unconscious motivation of some the committee is enhanced by Linda Colley's *Britons*.³⁴ The competing motivation of prize money, for the Naval Officers that the Fund is trying to influence, is explored in detail by Admiral Richard Hill in *The Prizes of War*.³⁵ Only one of the members of the Committee has a dedicated biography and that is J J Angerstein.³⁶ This is based on the author's doctoral thesis. Angerstein was a key player who was a Trustee for the Fund for its early years and is generally described as Chairman from 1810 despite meetings of the committee being chaired by various people. However, when present Angerstein appears from the minute books to most frequently act as Chairman,³⁷ although this is not always the case.³⁸ That thesis explores in depth the character of Angerstein. Several other members of the committee are given brief biographies in Charles Messenger's *Unbroken Service* and Jim Gawler's *Britons Strike Home*. The Patriotic Fund is not the only organisation involved to have produced a history, the firm created by committee member Frederick Samuel Secretan, produced a history³⁹ to celebrate their 200 years in 1989.

There are various publications that explore the military-naval industrial complex of the Napoleonic period, often mentioning individuals involved. These show a really mixed picture for those who were also donors. For example just two of the six leading prize agents identified by Richard Hill are listed as donors in the First Report of the Fund.⁴⁰ Whereas a crosscheck with

³³ For example Captain J F Birch of the Royal Engineers, *Memoir on the National Defence* (London: J Stockdale, 1808).

³⁴ L Colley, *Britons* (London: Yale University Press, 2012).

³⁵ Admiral R Hill, *Prizes of War* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing 1998).

³⁶ A Twist, *A Life of John Julius Angerstein 1735-1823* (New York: The Edward Mellon Press, 2006), hereafter Twist, *Angerstein*

³⁷ For example he chairs 7 of the 8 meetings between 28 May and 24 September 1805 and is then absent from the committee meetings until 22 July 1806 when he again chairs.

³⁸ For example Angerstein was present at both 26 February and 12 March 1805 but the meetings were chaired by R H Martin and Thomson Bonar respectively.

³⁹ M D K Turner, *Contract Unbroken: Secretan's 200 Years at Lloyd's 1789-1989* (London: Secretan & Co. Ltd, 1989)

⁴⁰ These are Ommanney and Cooke and Halford.

the major contractors discussed in *Sustaining the Fleet*⁴¹ shows a distinct absence of their names from the donors list.

When exploring the military and naval history to establish the importance of the various actions, which the Fund recognised with rewards the period has been heavily explored by historians. The main primary source outside the Fund's minutes is *The London Gazette*,⁴² which was usually the source of their own intelligence but a few events were brought to their attention by other means and some of these have required tracking through newspapers from the period.

Secondary sources include those that cover the period generically as well as many books on individual events that the Fund commemorated (particularly Trafalgar). Similarly, there are many articles in journals on specific aspects that relate to the Fund, including both elements of the naval history of the period but also items that were presented by other organisations or funds and also other examples of charitable giving at the time.

There are further original sources that provide understanding of the environment the Fund operated in. The City of London Library Committee published in 1884 *London's Roll of Honour*, which records the presentations of the Honorary Freedoms from 1757 to 1884. This covers the period they introduced presenting swords, although far fewer and only to very senior military and naval officers, but interestingly it shows the City of London swords were also first presented by Brook Watson, the then Lord Mayor who chaired the inaugural meeting of the Patriotic Fund.

Primary Sources

⁴¹ R Knight and M Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010) (hereafter Knight&Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet*).

⁴² *The Naval Chronicle* tends to make use of the letters in *The London Gazette* much as the Fund did.

When looking at the primary sources, it is important to realise the paucity of relevant documents and what does not exist. It is this paucity that led to this thesis working from the objects of the era to draw out from them what the Fund was doing. Apart from the papers of Angerstein mentioned above, there is no set of papers of any of the Committee members, and the 1838 Lloyd's fire, mentioned earlier, destroyed the majority of the records of both individual insurance companies and the Patriotic Fund itself. Rougement notes in his preface that he "felt the want of much valuable material lost in the fire which... [would] ...have thrown light on the operations of the Fund during the period of the Peninsular Campaign. This is to be more regretted because at that interesting time, the War which had been mainly Naval was transferred to the land."⁴³ Other historians including Sturgess and Cozens, equally noted this paucity and had to find other means of understanding their subjects.⁴⁴ Schulte Beerbühl equally notes the paucity of records in her study but adds that it is further hampered by how "many transactions were entirely oral."⁴⁵ Niall Ferguson states that lack of archival material is a feature of a network, which the Patriotic Fund committee are; furthermore he argues this is particularly valid from the 1790s until the 1960s.⁴⁶

Just a tantalising few letters remain (held in file MS31592), however, many simply state "resolution enclosed". This means we know they tended to correspond by sending a copy of the appropriate element of the minutes. This lends credibility to the minutes probably being the most useful source of information even if all Lloyd's letterbooks had survived. The documents that survived the fire were held in a safe. The handwritten minutes continue all the way up to the last archived set from the current Committee. By the 1840s meetings are bimonthly or rarer and the minutes become shorter, generally a

⁴³ Rougement, preface.

⁴⁴ G Sturgess & K Cozens "Managing a Global Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century: Anthony Calvert of The Crescent, London 1777–1808" (*The Mariner's Mirror*, 99:2, 2013, pp171-195) p171.

⁴⁵ M Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority, German Merchants in London, Naturalisation and Global Trade 1660-1815* (London, Berghahn Books, 2015) p6.

⁴⁶ N Ferguson *The Square and the Tower* (UK, Penguin Books, 2017) pxxv.

couple of pages on the finances and dealing with nominated pupils, plus the occasional support request.

Correspondence in this period usually involved clerks making two copies of each letter, one sent to the recipient and one held by the sender. Therefore, correspondence received from the Fund can be found in other sets of papers, but not as a comprehensive whole. The National Archives hold several files of correspondence received by the Admiralty from Lloyd's Coffee House (ADM 1/3992-6), these include letters from the Fund along with the rest of the correspondence from Lloyd's.

So although the Guildhall Library has the records of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's, which came across with the Lloyd's archives most of these date to after 1838 and are not pertinent to the time under investigation. However, in addition to the minute books discussed earlier, there is a list of the swords and vases voted (MS35169). Also held is a ledger which records how long payments were made starting from 1838 (MS31591). There is also a paper regarding what components of the swords are in stock at Teed's in 1806 (MS35170); a few papers regarding subscriptions from various other organisations for example the colonies to the fund 1805-6 (MS35171); and some press cuttings 1804-54 (MS35179) and correspondence which seems to have been preserved because of the signatures, they being from important people rather than interesting correspondence.

Why no examination of insurance rates

Occasionally references will be seen as to insurance rates rising or falling but it is not possible to conduct a systemic study during the French Wars, for two basic reasons, market complexities and paucity of records.

British maritime insurance in the 18th century was almost entirely undertaken by individuals, unlike America where it was by joint stock companies. In Britain The Bubble Act of 1720 only allowed joint stock companies if they had a charter granting them permission to trade. This prevented the creation of

new companies in maritime insurance, leaving only Royal Exchange Assurance and London Assurance to operate. However, the Act allowed private underwriters and, as Kingston argues,⁴⁷ by the time corporations were allowed to enter the market, individual underwriters at Lloyd's were too well established especially in sharing information and new players could not compete.

John Julius Angerstein, to whom we will return, spoke to the Select Committee on Marine Insurance in 1810, and explained how it worked.

“If I have a cross risk to make, if it is from America, I go to a box where there are Americans to give me information; and so it is from the Baltic or any other part ... they are the people who can begin the policy for me better than the others, and I can by that means get it done. It is of no use applying to a Baltic merchant [to underwrite] on an American risk; he does not do it, simply because he knows nothing about it . . . There are so many people frequenting the coffee-house, that, even if an underwriter does not himself understand a question, he soon procures information, and makes me master of the subject at the same time.”⁴⁸

Therefore, the market was complex and different underwriters would offer different deals. While they tended to follow each other they were not the same, depending on how confident the particular underwriter was in his knowledge. Individual underwriter houses would hold the records of their insurance rates offered. These have not generally survived. The market was given greater complexity in that insuring a vessel was not the only means used by merchants to transfer risk during war. They used three other methods to spread risk: they could own smaller shares in more vessels; spread their cargo around several vessels or use convoys.

⁴⁷ C Kingston, *Marine Insurance in Britain and America, 1720-1844: A Comparative Institutional Analysis* (*Journal of Economic History* Vol. 67:2, 2007, pp379-409) p385.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p388.

Further complexity is added by how quickly and significantly the basis for any comparison altered. Both vessels and underwriters competing in any particular market changed rapidly. Kingston established that in 1792 there were 16,329 merchant vessels and that during the nine years of the war, up to the Peace of Amiens, 3,919 British ships were captured by the enemy (799 were recaptured) but during the same period, 3,700 were lost to other marine risks.⁴⁹

The market significantly changed in two ways during this period. British underwriters insured many foreign vessels including Britain's enemies during previous wars. However, from 1793 they were only allowed to insure foreign vessels if they were neutral and countries falling under that status regularly changed. Secondly, the number of underwriters rapidly grew from 200 in 1775 to 2,000 in 1801.⁵⁰

Leonard commented⁵¹ on the lack of underwriter records.⁵² While he collated what details he could, he explained they are incomplete and do not show the whole picture. Elements can be found such as an 1810 Parliament report that estimates from that year's stamp duty that the amount insured was £162,538,905⁵³. The same cannot be found for adjacent years. The database he managed to create makes clear that insurance rates differed from route to route as well as from time to time. For example there is a spike on London to Cadiz in 1809 of 60% whereas it was around 2% in peacetime.

The only indication of how the industry was doing are through the two corporations providing insurance. Kingston plotted the profit levels and premia for London Assurance. This demonstrated just how volatile the market was. We might assume that this was representative of the whole market but have

⁴⁹ C Wright & E Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's* (London, Corporation of Lloyd's, 1928) p451.

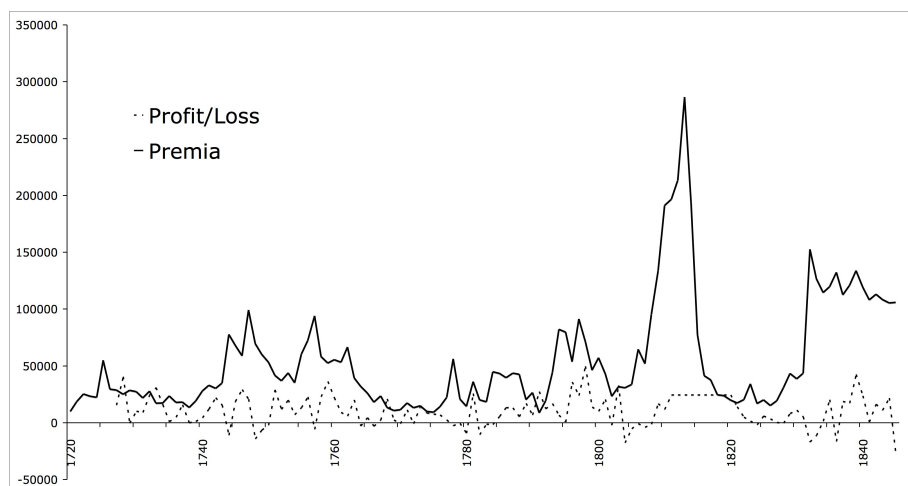
⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p392.

⁵¹ A Leonard, *The Pricing Revolution in Marine Insurance, 1600-1824*, Centre for Financial History, Cambridge, 13 May 2013).

⁵² *Ibid.* p18.

⁵³ *The Report of the select committee of the House of Commons on Marine Insurances, 18 April 1810* (London, W Hughes, 1810) p13.

no means of determining that is the case, especially as Lloyd's underwriters between 1800-09 were paying over 20 times the stamp duty on their revenues of the two other main insurance companies combined.⁵⁴



*Profits and Premia (£) of London Assurance Corporation, 1720-1844*⁵⁵

A complex Napoleonic wargame that included impact of maritime insurance settled on a simple doubling of rates from 2.5% to 5% post Trafalgar due to the Berlin decree and privateering. The above spike demonstrates this could be far from reality.⁵⁶

Details of known presentation swords of the period

A dataset of known presentation swords from 1816 and earlier has been developed. For each sword this includes, where it has been possible to identify, the style of weapon and maker, as well as who presented it and to whom. This was established from a mass of sources. Numerous items were identified from visits and correspondence with museums, private collections and auction houses, as well as those mentioned in documentation from the period, books on swords and one where a painting of the presentation exists.⁵⁷ As just part of this gathering of information over 2,000 likely auction

⁵⁴ F Martin, *History of Lloyd's & Marine Insurance* (London, Macmillan & Co 1876) p248.

⁵⁵ Kingston, *Marine Insurance in Britain and America*, pp379-409. averaged 1811-20.

⁵⁶ G Rahman's *War and Peace Rule Book* p 34 Napoleon versus Lloyd's of London

⁵⁷ Painting sword presentation to Lieut. Col. Wilson 9th April 1804, private collection.

catalogues were checked for information. Not only are there the swords and vases themselves. These sometimes show that assumptions, particularly by dealers, are incorrect but also there many other items bringing to light aspects that do not appear in the histories. For example the Maritime Museum in Liverpool has a cup awarded by the Customs Board in 1784 and Fishguard Town Hall has a picture of the sword presented to Lieutenant Dobbin by the Customs Board at some point between 1797 and 1801,⁵⁸ showing that while the RN was not making any official recognition at least another Government department was.

There is no previous equivalent record of the presentation swords given in Britain and no previous attempt has been made to establish how many such weapons were made (or exist now).

Several challenges arose in creating this dataset. Dating swords is a difficult subject in itself. Many presentation swords are dated via the inscription or engraving. However, others are dated from a variety of clues on the sword in particular manufacturer's marks and addresses and royal insignia.⁵⁹ In the 18th and 19th centuries cutlers and those involved in making presentation swords frequently moved premises or combined and split from other partners, changing the trading name each time, this information was compiled by Richard Bezdek.⁶⁰ Therefore, manufacturers' details provide considerable help in dating. Hallmarks appear on some swords, which is why some are dated as 18xx/y because the hallmark does not run from 1 January to 1 January, varying in the Napoleonic era between assay offices.

It is necessary to define what I mean by a presentation sword compared with a presentation-quality sword. The definition adopted is that the sword must

⁵⁸ The sword decoration indicates it was made pre the 1801 Act of Union and it was for how Lieutenant Dobbin of the cutter *Diligence* responded to the French attempted invasion at Fishguard in 1797.

⁵⁹ A guide on dating swords is in McGrath & Barton, *British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship* Chapter 10.

⁶⁰ R Bezdek, *Swords and Swordmakers of England and Scotland* (Colorado: Paladin Press, 2003) (Hereafter Bezdek).

have been made for and presented to the recipient for a particular achievement and should reflect both the quality of a presentation weapon and have been presented. Wolfe in her work on US presentation swords uses the term 'presentation swords' but draws a distinction between these ornate weapons and those given based on a regulation sword.⁶¹ Wood draws the distinction that

“Rarely are such swords primarily weapons per se: the period was one in which ‘fighting’ swords were developed by innovative cutlers and most presentation swords rank alongside snuffboxes, shoe buckles, fob seals and other objets de vertus as items of male jewelry.”⁶²

This dataset is limited to British swords but includes those given by British colonies and companies abroad such as the East India Company (EIC). Chapter 4 discusses presentation swords in France and America and shows how these differ significantly. Consequently the sword presented by a Sultan to Captain Murray is excluded from the dataset as not British.⁶³

Therefore, it excludes many swords listed by auction houses or museums as presentation swords; although, where known, these were recorded with their reason for exclusion noted. The systematic exploration of regional military museums in other countries and those nation's auction records has not been undertaken. There are four main types of swords listed in auctions as presentation but which are excluded from the dataset. These are: working swords (i.e. standard military/naval patterns) bought by someone else as a gift to a junior officer akin to financial help even where subsequently recorded on the weapon; working swords owned by a famous person or family member subsequently inscribed on the weapon (usually done by descendants); swords captured or surrendered in a battle and then either claimed or distributed as a trophy and presentation quality swords bought by the owner for themselves.

⁶¹ S Wolfe. *Naval Edged Weapons* (London, Chatham Publishing, 2005) p69-73.

⁶² S Wood, A Patriot and his Sword (*Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* Vol 16 No 2 1999) p61.

⁶³ Held by Chichester Museum.

None of these were both made to be presented and then presented. Gifting of swords captured in battle is documented and was treated differently from presentation swords at the time. In his Memoirs, Sir Sydney Smith describes the swords received for Acre but also casually refers to gifting a sword when he tells how he acquired one from a hand to hand fight with a French dragoon officer, but then discovers Sir Ralph Abercromby has broken his so gives him the dragoon's to replace it.⁶⁴

One sword was particularly tricky to define but was excluded as not made to be presented. This is the sword presented by the 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers to Admiral Cockburn in 1809 for capture of Martinique to mark the cooperation between the naval gunners and themselves. This is one of their standard regimental swords, an 1803 pattern infantry sword, so akin to presenting part of the regimental uniform.⁶⁵

Another pair of swords excluded as they are fighting weapons are those awarded to the top cadet in training at Baraset. This is the EIC college in India established in 1803. At least two survive, both are initially inscribed "Honorary Reward Cadet Company Baraset" with then the name and date of the recipient, one being Cadet C J Wild for October 1807 and the other Cadet J G Drummond for 21 July 1809.⁶⁶ I have not seen any equivalent for the EIC College opened in Hertfordshire in 1806 nor their Addiscombe Military Seminary that opened in 1809. These are akin to the swords awarded at Dartmouth and Sandhurst today, but are standard fighting weapons of the time, so saved the officer the cost of buying their own.

Auction houses and museums often describe swords as presentation when they are not what I have defined as such. This tends to occur for two reasons:

⁶⁴ E Howard, *The Memoirs of Sir Sidney Smith Volumes I and II* (London, Richard Bentley, 1839, Reprinted Fireship Press 2008) p139.

⁶⁵ Held by Royal Welch Fusiliers Museum.

⁶⁶ Lot 1042 Wallis & Wallis 24 February 1988 mameluke sabre, Lot 109 Elliott & Snowden 3 May 1971, 1796 infantry pattern.

- a. poor understanding of the mechanism by which the sword was obtained. The classic examples here are the Battle of the Nile swords, where it is commonly assumed the Captains were presented with one. This is discussed in Chapter 6: the description of Admiral de Saumarez's sword in Castle Cornet, Guernsey makes this mistake.⁶⁷
- b. that the swords are made to an elaborate design. These are sometimes described by auction houses as presentation swords, occasionally there are signs that the sword was indeed one which has had the details removed, for example the sword attributed to Lord Cochrane at Blackburn museum is clearly a Patriotic Fund sword and it can be seen where the inscription was removed, where that is the case they have been included. Otherwise, these should be described, as a few auction houses do, as presentation quality.



A presentation quality sword,⁶⁸ a Nile sword purchased for its owner neither are considered to be within the dataset

⁶⁷ Held by Castle Cornet Museum.

⁶⁸ Lot 215 Christies' 13 November 1985.

If a wider definition of presentation swords were to be used, then it would simply increase the types of sword considered each with their own pattern of development and it would not demonstrate the behaviour of the Patriotic Fund as clearly. However, these others types are used to help contextualise the dataset.

Officers often had two swords; their fighting sword and one to wear in public. The second would be either a presentation sword (if they had one) or a dress/levee sword, a levee sword being slimmer and more elegant than a fighting sword, although to the same basic design.

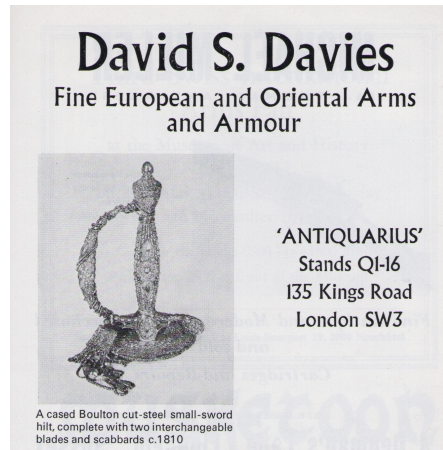


Lieutenants and below Naval 1805 pattern swords, a fighting sword above a levee sword

It is known Nelson had two swords at Trafalgar, despite not wearing one for the battle. It is believed one was a dress sword and the other a fighting sword.⁶⁹ There are other pairs that remain together. For example, the owners of Bodrhyddan Hall have their ancestor Captain Shipley's pair of Patriotic Fund sword and naval fighting sword.⁷⁰ An example of an interchangeable sword with two blades to the single hilt is known but it is neither naval nor military. This is a rarity if not a one off.

⁶⁹ May & Annis *Swords for Sea Service*, Volume 1 p101.

⁷⁰ This practice continued into Victorian era.



Only known example of a double bladed hilt, advertised London Arms Fair 27-28 September 1974 catalogue

Presentation Dirks

In the Napoleonic period, senior officers often carried dirks instead of a sword. The two known presentation dirks have been included, one presented to Captain Thomas Searle by *Grasshopper's* crew in 1802, and one to Surgeon William Burnett, by his fellow officers, in 1805. Most are excluded for the same reasons as the swords, for example the dirk presented by Sultan Selim III to Captain Young in 1801 is excluded as not British.



Vice Admiral George Darby 1783-6 wearing a dirk⁷¹

⁷¹ National Maritime Museum (hereafter NMM) BHC2643.

How the dataset could be skewed

There are two ways the dataset could be skewed. The first is if there are a significant number of swords included where the presentation is false, especially if added later. Mitigation against this is that until recent decades they were not considered valuable enough to be worth faking and inscription style changes with time, so a later inscription can often be detected, although in some cases it is clearly a restoration. The second is if many presentation quality swords were actually presentation swords that were just not engraved at the time.

These two counter each other. The main evidence the second is plausible, relates to Sotheby's Marine Sale of 16 July 1993. This sale included six swords all purported to have been presented to Captain Moffat of the EIC. None had naval motifs nor did any have cutler's names. Moffat certainly received a presentation sword from the Patriotic Fund. On the rules followed, three are included in the dataset and three are not. The three excluded are a talwar that the later inscription says was from the Tipu Sultan's armoury, so would appear to be a trophy weapon. One is a French weapon engraved as if given by the prisoners taken in an action (so almost certainly surrendered and is French) and one that appears to be a composite sword (one where not all components come from the same time) that the inscription says was seized as part of a capture and then given to Captain Moffat.



Captain Moffat's swords. Left from top: captured French, presented for carrying dispatches, captured. Right from top Bombay Insurers presented for Dance's action, captured talwar and EIC presented for Dance's action⁷²

The three included within the dataset are the 1802 sword inscribed as given by the Court of Directors of the EIC and the one for 1804 by the Bombay Insurance. Both state that they are 100 guinea swords but they are not close to the standard of a Lloyd's £100 sword, being closer to a £50 sword. The third is also for the 1804 action and states given by the EIC.

It appears that Moffat received money from the EIC and the Bombay Insurers and bought swords with it, which he then had engraved. Further credence to this theory that Moffat was one of 16 EIC Captains involved in Dance's action and there is no evidence of any other sword presented by Bombay Insurance or the EIC to any of the other Captains and Moffat was not one of the leading Captains those being Captain Nathaniel Dance and Captain John Timins. It is known that the EIC presented money for this action. It is also known another sword given at this time by the EIC, to one of their employees Lieutenant

⁷² Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's.

Snook, very much followed the Lloyd's' sword style and was not of such poor quality these.



Contrast Moffat's middle left sword in previous picture and one with horsehead pommel with middle sword in this picture. Moffat's is supposedly 100 guineas whereas the middle one here is £100. Moffat's sword is not as grand as even the £50 Lloyd's' sword lowest in this picture



Sword presented by EIC to Lieutenant Samuel Snook made in 1805 for 100 guineas, again contrast with Moffat's swords

There is at least one other sword in the dataset that appears to have a similar pedigree. The National Maritime Museum (NMM) holds a sword engraved:

*Osborn & Gunby Sword Cutlers to his Majesty present this sword to Capt W Rogers in testimony of their approbation of the very gallant conduct evinced by him on board HM Packet WINDSOR CASTLE on 1st Oct 1807*⁷³

While Captain William Rogers' action was heroic and no doubt deserving of a sword, no source identifies him being presented with one. Furthermore, the inscription does not make sense. Osborn & Gunby are cutlers and there is no other sword presented by them, although they manufactured many presentation swords. We know Rogers was awarded the Freedom of the City of London and £50 by the City and in his response regarded himself as part of the Naval Service.⁷⁴ The Patriotic Fund awarded him either £100 cash or a vase. Along with the two other Packet Captains recognised for actions, they only offered a vase not a sword; these others were Captain Yescombe of *HM Packet King George* and Captain Dynely of *HM Packet Duke of Montrose* - both accepted £50 vases. This seems to be because the Fund did not consider Packet Captains to be Royal Navy. We know Rogers refused the vase and took the cash. It appears that he used the money to buy himself the sword he thought he deserved. While the hilt is different from a Patriotic Fund sword the blade is the same style.

If this is correct, then it makes sense of another document. Teed, the manufacturer of the Patriotic Fund swords used Samuel Lines to inscribe many (if not all) of the blades. Lines published a booklet about his life⁷⁵ in 1862. There is also an album containing 71 presentation sword inscriptions and instructions for their engraving. This is just a selection of those he did.⁷⁶ Both are held by the Royal Armouries. Lines was Birmingham based so it is unsurprising the album has no inscription for swords ordered by foreign

⁷³ NMM ZBA0098.

⁷⁴ City of London Library Committee, *London's Roll of Fame being Complimentary Notes and Addresses from the City of London on Presentation of the Honorary Freedom of that City* (London: Cassell & Company, 1884) (hereafter City of London, *Roll of Fame*) p118.

⁷⁵ S. Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, (Birmingham, 1862)

⁷⁶ Royal Armouries RAR 47 discussed P Lankester, *Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Decoration of Sword Blades* (Arms & Armour, Vol. 5:1, 2008).

commercial trading houses or colonial civic bodies. In the introduction, Lines says he decorated swords for the Patriotic Fund made by both Teed and Osborn and Gunby. Philip Lankester, the former edged weapon curator at the Royal Armouries, dismisses this as an error by Lines, but if Roger's sword was paid for by the money presented by Lloyd's then the statement makes sense and would be true.

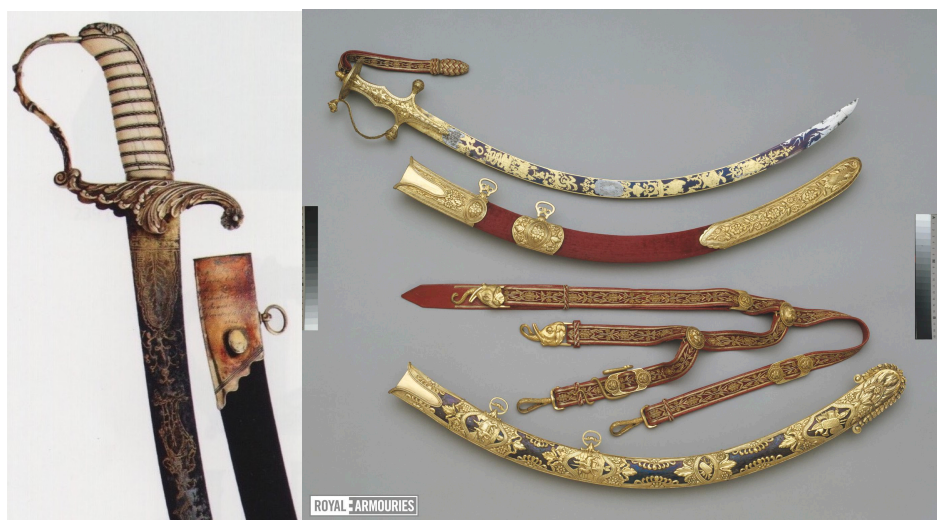
It is probable that some presentation swords were originally made as presentation quality and subsequently engraved. This would explain why Moffat's swords had no naval motifs. There is further evidence for this. The sword presented to Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Paterson from the NCOs and privates of the Lanarkshire Volunteers in 1805⁷⁷ is hallmarked 1803/4 so must have been made a year earlier and the sword given to Colonel Burne by the Officers of his own Battalion, the First Battalion of the 36th Regiment of Foot, includes an event in the inscription from 1809. However, the hallmark is 1807/8.⁷⁸

For Paterson only the inscription marks this out as a presentation sword; there are no relevant features for the purpose of the presentation in the rest of the design. It is possible that it took a year to make and was engraved for when presented not ordered. That possibility would make more sense for Burne's which was determined in 1807 and so may have started being made then (hence hallmark). Most of the features in the design and decoration relate to earlier in his career with references to India in the elephants and tigers. It is just in one panel that reference is made to the death of General Moore and Corunna, which were January 1809. There are many swords where the date on the inscription is considerably before the sword is made or even decided to be presented. Sometimes this is because of the time it takes news to travel and others it is just the decision was made later once the full facts were known. This is seen with some Patriotic Fund swords but is not unique to them. Lieutenant Snook's sword, after which the current Sword Of Peace for

⁷⁷ Lot 241 Bonhams 5 December 2012.

⁷⁸ Royal Armouries Item IX2799.

the Services is given, is dated 1799 but it is known it was awarded and manufactured in 1805.⁷⁹ Similarly the Lines Album contains swords that are engraved from 1798 to 1811 but the label included as part of the album dates the contents as being from 1805 onwards.



Lieutenant Colonel Paterson's sword (left) showing inscription and guard, and Colonel Burne's sword (right).⁸⁰ Nothing inherent to design of Paterson's shows it to be made for this presentation, especially with the scabbard locket bearing the inscription. Contrast this with Burne's, with two scabbards and special belt.

If this occurred it would not be unique to presentation swords, Chapter 6 describes a similar occurrence with presentation silver and it is known to happen with naval small swords. The example below illustrates where a silver small sword has had a naval element added while clearly otherwise not naval. This probably would have been a sword in stock made individual for the customer, so adjusted rather than bespoke.

⁷⁹ From hallmark and documents with it at NAM.

⁸⁰ Royal Armouries contains information licensed under an adapted version of the Non-Commercial Government Licence.



Silver naval small sword circa 1780. Only the anchor indicates this is naval⁸¹

How complete is the dataset?

The majority of presentation swords are in a few national museums. These include the National Army Museum (NAM), City of London Museum, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, NMM (Greenwich and Falmouth), Royal Armouries, National Museum of the Royal Navy⁸² and the Royal Marines Museum. Individual swords appear in some unexpected museums (both the Burns and Wordsworth due to family recipients) and in the Civic Collections of Liverpool, Exeter, Nottingham and Norwich, all of which have presentation swords. It might be expected that the relevant livery company the Cutlers and the other major arms and armour collection, the Wallace, might have one, but they do not.

The other museum type that has a reasonable probability of holding one are the Army Regimental Museums. Research confirmed whether or not 113 of the 139 Regimental Museums supported by the Ogilby Trust held a sword or not. Of these 90 did not hold one (80%). Because the largest were all visited, this indicates only five or six of the remaining may be expected to hold further swords.

⁸¹ Private Collection.

⁸² Including all five sections Fleet Air Arm, RM, Submarine, Portsmouth and Devonport. But RM confirmed while at Eastney.

The other major data sources were sword books,⁸³ Lines' Album with the inscriptions, mentioned earlier, auction catalogues⁸⁴ and Chris Allen's database. Chris Allen was the edged weapon specialist valuer for Phillip's and then Bonham's auction houses and maintained a card index of all presentation swords he dealt with or came across from the late 1960s onwards either going through auction or providing valuations.

There are 44 presentation swords the existence of which is known but which cannot be dated but all have been placed within a window, usually using when the recipient was at that rank or the regiment existed. That window is accurate enough for the grouped data in this thesis.

Inevitably there must be other as yet unidentified presentation swords and an estimate of overall numbers is made in Chapter 6.

Prosopography of the Fund's committee members

When the Patriotic Fund was established it was decided that it would be run by a committee of the first 50 who had subscribed £100 or more as an individual, and to add 25 others most due to the positions they held, 24 in the first year and one later. Brook Watson chaired the first meeting. The next meeting, the first of the Patriotic Fund rather than the subscribers of Lloyd's, was chaired by Sir Francis Baring. Frederick Martin writing about Lloyd's in the Victorian period was quite clear the idea for the Patriotic Fund came from Angerstein and Baring.⁸⁵

As part of the evidence gathered to underpin this degree, research was undertaken into each committee member to establish who they were. This uncovered a web of links between them. The leads in the formation of the committee would appear to be the Chairman of the first meeting Brook Watson, Sir Francis Baring, J J Angerstein and Robert Thornton, details of

⁸³ Listed in bibliography.

⁸⁴ Listed in bibliography.

⁸⁵ Martin, *History of Lloyd's & Marine Insurance* p215.

their careers are contained in Annex B along with brief career details of the other key contributors from among the 50.

It has not been possible to identify two members of the committee, John Turner and John Fraser as there are at least two John Turners operating as merchants at the time, both with links to the West Indies and there is no clear candidate for John Fraser as there are several Frasers operating in the merchant and insurance business at the time.

However, not everyone was equally active in the running of the Fund.

Table 1: Patriotic Fund Committee

Members of the Treasury sub committee and Trustees (8)	John Julius Angerstein, Sir Francis Baring, Sir Brook Watson, Robert Sheddton, Thomson Bonar, Thomas Reid, Richard Lee, John Mavor
Correspondence, Minutes and Reports and Honorary Awards Committees (plus above) (5)	Joseph Marryat, Germain Lavie, R H Martin, Thomas Rowcroft, Peter Begbie
Regular Attendees at Meetings (20)	George Sheddton, Thomas Everett MP, John Jacob Appach, Robert Wigram, F S Secretan, John Fraser, David Hunter, John Mangles, Henry Thompson, George Munro, George Goodwin, Andrew Reid, George Wood, David Pike Watts, James Abel, William Macnish Porter, Peter Free, Thomas Warre, Robert Christie, Benjamin Shaw
Non Regular Attendees (17)	Sir J W Anderson, Thomson Bonar, Cornelius Buller, Thomas Raikes, John Smith, Robert Thornton, William Whitmore, George Baillie, George Brown, Horatio Clagett, Alexander Glennie, Benjamin Goldsmid, George Hecknell, Charles Offley, James Shaw, John Turner, James Warre
Added to the committee who attend (7)	Thomas King, William Hoare, James Innes, John Pooley Kensington, Thomas Birch, Henry Pigeon, William Bell
Added to the committee who never attend (18)	Earl Spencer, Lord Carrington, John Jackson, Robert Hunter, Rev Colston Carr, Jacob Warner, William Parker, John Remington, Sir Charles Price, Henry Bonham, John Woolmore, William Hamilton, Alex Aubert, Edward Forster, John Roberts, Jacob Bosanquet, Joseph Nutt, Thomas Bernard
Secretary	John Welsford

Equally not all contributed the same amount; some gave considerably more than £100. Angerstein, Baring, Bonar and Warre all gave £1,000 although being a big donor did not correlate with being active.

Several also gave through their company as well as individually. The trading company Dowton, Thornton and Free gave £1,000, as did the firm Benjamin and Abram Goldsmid. The Thorntons gave a further £1,000 through another of their family companies, the ship operators Thorntons and Bayley.

Several people gave £100 or more, and in the cases of the Bishop of Durham, Duke of Queensbury and John Thompson, a lot more (all gave £1,000).

However, they were not on the committee as they were not in the first 50.

Since the Committee was selected at that first meeting, it must be presumed these donations arrived later, especially as the list of subscribers was published at the end of the first year of the Fund's operation. There are three other banks that were presumably slow with their donations, if they had given before the meeting they would have been included, just as William Hoare's was. These are Sir James Esdaile and Co,⁸⁶ Joseph Denison and Co,⁸⁷ and Robarts, Curtis, Nornyold and Co⁸⁸ who all gave £1,000.

Those added to the committee are a mixed set. Most are added at the initial meeting, although three were added later, two are included as the original invitees in the first published annual report. The three are:

- William Hamilton replaced Calverley Bewicke⁸⁹ when Bewicke died in 1803.
- Banker Thomas Birch joined in January 1804 and took an active part.
- Social campaigner, Thomas Bernard invited in 1806 when they were struggling sometimes to get a quorum but never participated in meetings after being asked.

Representatives of the three insurance companies that were rivals to the underwriters at Lloyd's were invited and all three, William Hamilton (Sun Fire

⁸⁶ Private bank fully called Sir James Esdaile, Esdaile, Esdaile, Hammet & Hammet in 1800, eventually bought by Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS). Esdaile also personally donated £200.

⁸⁷ Another private bank, now part of RBS.

⁸⁸ Bought by Coutts and then NatWest.

⁸⁹ There is another Calverley Bewicke at the time, MP for Winchelsea.

Office⁹⁰), Edward Forster (Royal Exchange Assurance⁹¹) and Alex Aubert (London Assurance) play no part but donated £2,000. This appears to be a move to show it was bigger than Lloyd's; the uniformity of amounts indicates some collusion on the donation.

The Governor of the Bank of England (Joseph Nutt), the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the EIC (Jacob Bosanquet⁹² and John Roberts) and the Wardens of the Fishmongers, Grocers, Goldsmiths and Merchant Taylors livery companies were all presumably added for their position and because a significant donation occurred, as those are the four livery companies that donated a £1,000 each. Presumably the Worshipful Company of Skinners' donation of £1,000 was too late and the Vintners, Ironmongers and Apothecaries (all £105) either too small or too late. Like the three insurance company representatives and no one else these are all listed by their role as well as name.

Two politicians were added as well; Earl Spencer, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty up until 1801 and Lord Carrington, a recently ennobled politician linked to a banking family, so it may have been thought both would be willing to show practical support. Both also donated £500 so whether this was in response and the invitation to the committee garnered the donation or whether it was recognition of their importance and generosity and not wishing them to be excluded is impossible to determine.

While not addressed by their role, the committee also invited the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Charles Price,⁹³ who also made a 100 guinea donation.

⁹⁰ The first documented insurance company, it is the Sun in Royal Sun Alliance, bought London Assurance in 1965.

⁹¹ Merged with Guardian Assurance eventually bought by AXA.

⁹² He gave the requisite £105 but whether in response to this or after the first 50 is not known.

⁹³ Baronetcy used in printed minutes, although it was early 1804 he was knighted.

Of these 13, only one, Henry Pigeon of Merchant Taylors company played any part in committee activities. The other 10 added in 1803/4, after Thomas Birch, are all listed in the table below:

Table 2: The 10 Committee Members added in 1803/4

John Woolmore	Probably invited for his political links and financial wealth. As an ex-EIC captain and now a shipowner, he had just been made an Elder Brethren of Trinity House in June 1803, was very wealthy particular in EIC stock and was the partner of committee member Robert Wigram for the East India Dock scheme that was starting in 1803.
Thomas King	A wealthy merchant, with at least three estates in the West Indies, he was a subscriber at Lloyd's. An Elder Brethren at Trinity House, active in establishing defences for London in 1803. He was a business partner of committee member John Mangles. He must have been outside the first 50, as he donated £105.
William Bell	A Lloyd's subscriber. It was probably his father Thomas Bell, who had been in the insurance business as partner to committee member Richard Lee.
Henry Bonham	A ship owner who was also a director of Albion Fire and Life Insurance, and involved in the volunteer militia London and Westminster Light Horse. Along with Robert Woolmore was a partner of committee member Robert Wigram in the East India Dock Company.
James Innes.	There are several Jameses in the same family but the family were West Indies merchants who were also part of a family East Indies business alongside the Bonhams mentioned above. One of the James Innes died in 1804, which, if this is that one, would explain why he did not attend meetings.
John Pooley Kensington	A banker, was elected High Sheriff Of Putney in 1803 and was in the same volunteer militia as committee member Robert Wigram.
Reverend Colston Carr	Heavily involved in charitable works in the City with a wealthy merchant brother and he arranged a parish collection that brought over £1,200 to the Fund.
Robert Hunter	A subscriber to Lloyd's, and was involved in establishing the Marine Society and was a Director of the London Docks Company. His son David Hunter was a committee member. His other son, William, was an MP in 1803. The Hunters were business partners in an EIC House with committee member Peter Begbie.
John Jackson	A naval purser who became secretary to Lord Keith when he was the Admiral in the East Indies and captured the Cape and then became a prize agent, quite possibly just for Lord Keith, and merchant in London. He was also involved in insurance and was endeavouring to get elected as a Director to the EIC but did not succeed until 1807, the same year he was elected as an MP for Dover. He also donated £105.
William Hoare	A partner in the bank C Hoare and Co, involved in the evangelical circle, with the Thorntons, and philanthropy. His bank had subscribed £1,000 to the Fund.

It is very noticeable that there are a myriad of connections between those on the Committee. The two tables below show those both in terms of profession and in terms of other interests and connections. They list the main areas of connection between the Committee members in 1803/4. It excludes the 13 added due to their positions. In addition to the two whose names are too common to know, discussed above, there is one further Committee member where the profession has not been able to be determined, Charles Offley. All we know is he was the brother of John Offley, a wine merchant who dealt with Angerstein⁹⁴.

⁹⁴ Twist, *Angerstein*, p336.

Table 3: Shared professions between Committee Members (names in italics are when it is their second mention)⁹⁵

Subscribers to Lloyd's	John Julius Angerstein, James Abel, William Bell, George Brown, Thomson Bonar (Snr & Jr), Peter Begbie, Horatio Clagett, John Fraser, Alexander Glennie, David Hunter, Robert and David Hunter, George Hecknell, Thomas King, Richard Lee, Joseph Marryat, George Munro, Thomas Reid, Robert Sheddon, George Shedden, Benjamin Shaw, F S Secretan, Henry Thompson, Robert Wigram, George Wood, Sir Brook Watson, William Whitmore, John Welsford
Other Insurance ventures	Henry Bonham (Albion Fire and Life Insurance), John Jackson (Insurance Broker), Sir J W Anderson (Royal Exchange Assurance), Benjamin Shaw (Union Fire Co.), John Jacob Appach (Appach and Greaves Insurance Brokers)
Russia Company	<i>Sir J W Anderson, John Julius Angerstein, Thomson Bonar (Sr & Jr), George Brown, Cornelius Buller, William Macnish Porter, Thomas Rowcroft, Benjamin Shaw, John Smith, Robert Thornton, Thomas Warre</i>
Banking	Sir Francis Baring, <i>Thomson Bonar</i> , Thomas Birch, Thomas Everett, Peter Free, Benjamin Goldsmid, William Hoare, John Pooley Kensington, R H Martin, <i>Sir Brook Watson</i>
EIC	<i>Sir Francis Baring, Peter Begbie, Thomas Everett, John Fraser, James Innes, Robert and David Hunter, John Jackson, Thomas Raikes, Thomas Rowcroft, Robert Wigram, John Woolmore,</i>
Dockyard Company Owners	<i>Sir J W Anderson, Henry Bonham, Robert and David Hunter, Robert Wigram, John Woolmore,</i>
West Indies Merchant	<i>George Baillie, Robert Christie, John Fraser, Alexander Glennie, Richard Lee, James Innes, John Mavor,</i>
Other businesses	George Goodwin (Architect often of new London Churches), Germain Lavie (Lawyer), George Wood (Judge), David Pike Watts (wine merchant), Andrew Reid (merchant and brewer), David Hunter (merchant and brewer), John Mangles (Owner Rotherhithe wharfs and shipping)

Table 4: Links between Committee Members

MPs and Alderman	<i>Sir J W Anderson (MP & Alderman), Sir Francis Baring (MP), Thomas Everett (MP), John Pooley Kensington (High Sherriff Putney), James Shaw (Alderman), John Smith (MP), Thomas Rowcroft (Alderman), James Shaw (Alderman), Robert Thornton (MP), Sir Brook Watson (Alderman), Robert Wigram (MP), George Wood (MP),</i>
via Thornton	George Baillie (business partner), David Pike Watts (evangelical), Peter Free (business partner), George Goodwin (church architect)
Brother of James Christie, Lloyd's Subscriber	Robert Christie
Brother of Thomas Warre	James Warre (merchant for Portugal)
Friend of Angerstein	Charles Offley
Evangelical Circle	<i>J J Angerstein, George Goodwin, William Hoare, John Smith, Robert Thornton, David Pike Watts</i>
City Of London Charities	Rev Colston Carr John Jacob Appach (naturalized alongside Angerstein) <i>And many of the others</i>
London Jewish synagogue	James Abel, Benjamin Goldsmid
Neighbour of Abel and link to Secretan	Germain Lavie
Naturalised	Baring and Apach were originally German, Angerstein German/Russian. Secretan was Swiss, Benjamin Goldsmid Dutch and George Hecknell and R H Marten were probably German.
Militia/Volunteer/Yeomanry Officers	<i>Sir William Anderson, George Baillie, Thomson Bonar Jr, Henry Bonham, Benjamin Goldsmid, John Pooley Kensington, Thomas Rowcroft, Frederick Samuel Secretan, James Shaw, Benjamin Shaw, John Smith, Robert Thornton, Robert Wigram,</i>
Military Links	<i>Angerstein (son Army), Robert Christie (brother Navy) John Fraser (possible Father Navy), F S Secretan (son Navy), Joseph Marryat (son Navy), Germain Lavie (brother Navy), James Warre (son Army), Benjamin Goldsmid (close friend Nelson), Pike Watts (sons Army)</i>

⁹⁵ For Banking these are all Bank of England or London Banks not County Banks.

So within the 61 original committee and those added in the first year 28 were Lloyd's Subscribers, as was the Fund's secretary Welsford. Many of these remained at the centre of Lloyd's and when Lloyd's reformed in 1811 and created a new 12 member committee structure six of those were from the Patriotic Fund committee, and five very active within that, George Munro, Joseph Marryat, Robert Shedden, Horatio Clagett, Benjamin Shaw and Thomas Rowcroft.⁹⁶ Four further members were involved with other insurance companies; 12 members of the Russia Company, 10 bankers and 12 were either directors or owning one of the houses in the EIC. This left just 11 who were not involved in these main groups and the two main links for those seem to be Robert Thornton and J J Angerstein.

Linkages between Committee Members

While Baring and Angerstein determined on creating the Fund, others were soon deeply involved and by their involvement in the sub committees and attendance at meetings had significant influence on how the Fund developed.

As seen above, nearly all of the Committee members - including those who were donors and those invited because of their status - had business interests in the City of London. They were inter-linked professionally or personally. Several had links with the militias and several had links to either the Navy or Army and, therefore, understood what motivated soldiers and sailors. We should not be surprised by this link between the militias and this group of city financiers, The London and Westminster Light Horse Volunteers was created by five merchants in 1780 and was revived by one of them James Dunlop in 1794⁹⁷ who was then involved in the creation of another militia in Renfrewshire in 1803.

⁹⁶ F Martin, *The History of Lloyd's and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain* (London The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., 2004) p336.

⁹⁷ S Wood, *A Patriot and his Sword* (Journal of the Arms and Armour Society Vol 16:2, 1999) pp61-70.

Indeed, the lives of the Committee members were linked in numerous ways. There are family links: (Robert and George Shedden were father and son; James and Thomas Warre were brothers;⁹⁸ the two Thomson Bonars were father and son; Angerstein and Thomson Bonar (senior) were probably cousins; Robert Hunter was probably father in law to William Manning). They were in business together: George Baillie shared one business with Thornton, another with Hugh Inglis and another with James Fraser; Peter Begbie was in business with the Hunters; Peter Free in business with the Thorntons. Others were involved with the evangelical movement (Thorntons and Pike Watts) and the London Synagogue (Abel and Goldsmid). Seven were foreign: Baring and Appach were originally German; Angerstein German/Russian; Secretan Swiss; Benjamin Goldsmid Dutch and George Hecknell and R H Marten were probably German. The potential significance of this will be discussed later in Chapter 10.

While many had influence due to their financial position, their names are noticeably absent from lists of those who acted as commissars and agents in procuring naval and military contracts.

Some had deep personal interests in making sure that the Napoleonic War was not as bad for business as the French Revolutionary war had been. In 1794. Richard Shedden stated he had lost £190,000 over the previous two years due to insured cargos being lost due to the war.⁹⁹ 1797 saw American ships in French and Spanish ports seized, while 1799 saw British ships seized in Russia both would have been largely insured by the members of Lloyd's and would have led to considerable losses, especially for Russian traders.

This was not just a group of people connected by business. It was a group of people who had connections through all sorts of aspects of their lives.

⁹⁸ Benjamin and James Shaw are at most distant relatives.

⁹⁹ Worsley and Griffith *The Romance of Lloyd's* p182

While the City might have been used to war and indeed many involved in the Fund had made considerable profits out of the war including Baring and Angerstein, they were very conscious that this was a war that could destroy trade and, therefore, destroy them financially as well as the risk of invasion that hazarded the lifestyle they enjoyed. So “Patriotism and Prudence went hand in hand”¹⁰⁰ as it was going to be “upon the Navy, under the good providence of God, that the Wealth, Prosperity and peace of these Islands and of the Empire do mainly depend”¹⁰¹ and as Lord St Vincent apocryphally said “I do not say the French cannot come, I only say they cannot come by sea”.¹⁰²

Other subscribers

While there were 71 committee members, there were a lot more subscribers; 1,500 were listed in the first year. Subscribers were clearly important. When it came to altering the remit of the Fund in 1809, the Committee felt they had to first call a Special General Meeting of the Committee, which recommended a General Meeting of the Subscribers, or to be more exact “of the Merchants, Bankers, Underwriters and other subscribers” and that confirmed the fact that they could change before passing it back to a Committee to which they added another 12 members.

The number of subscribers reflects two habits of how the Fund recorded subscribers. Each skews the numbers of donors but in opposing directions. The first habit was, when several members of the same family contributed a composite amount, they would each be thanked separately, so for example the contribution by the family of F S Secretan (who as Committee member had given his £100 and was then followed by 13 other members of the household with the gifts all being in a number of guineas or pounds, and no doubt many of the children’s donations were funded by the parents).

¹⁰⁰ Said by Alderman Lushington reference a government loan. Twist. *Angerstein* p148.

¹⁰¹ Preamble to Articles of War in reign of Charles II and engraved on front of Britannia Royal Naval College.

¹⁰² Comment is probably apocryphal but is in his style.

However, there were equally many multiple contributions recorded as a single donation and these included regimental donations and from theatre productions. There were also many anonymous donations, although usually some attribution is given, such as a 'Friend to the family of Secretan' or 'the donation of £2.17.6 from Farmers, 17 Labourers and a boy of the Parish of Hunston in Suffolk'.

Who was a subscriber and what was just a donation is not distinguishable from the records, because all donations are listed as subscriptions. However, the majority of them must have occurred after the Fund was established and the Committee formed.

Donations varied from large sums from individuals and companies (for example Barclay, Perkins and Co £500 and the Royal silversmiths Rundell and Bridge) to the small: a journeyman shoemaker and a watch-maker's maid-servant both gave 2s and 6d. There were a couple from very odd groupings that clearly mask something else. Within the anonymous grouping is £21 from the "Everlasting Society of Eccentrics" and £760 6s from the "Women of England." While many politicians donated¹⁰³, there is no sign of any from the Royal Family.

They were many group donations, including parish collections by Ealing and Lackford. Several theatres gave special performances. At Colchester the Officers of the garrison put on a play at the theatre for the fund. Ten army units donated, balancing equally between regulars and the volunteer/militia regiments. There were no ships, although a Sea Fencible unit, West Lulworth, and individual officers donated including Admirals Bligh, Cornwallis, Payne

¹⁰³ In addition to those mentioned includes Chancellor of the Exchequer Addington, Master of the Rolls Sir William Grant, and Speaker of the House of Commons William, William Pitt, Garlick Hill, Sir Robert Peel, Sir Joseph Banks Sir Charles Middleton (Admiral, later Lord Barham) and Lords Arden, Castlereagh, Eardley, Gower, Hobart, Hawkesbury, Harrowby, Melville (as First Lord of the Admiralty), Pelham, Radstock Walsingham and Viscount Kilmore.

and Earl St Vincent (but not Nelson¹⁰⁴ who was perennially short of money, and in dispute with St. Vincent over prize money). At least 13 Captains donated,¹⁰⁵ as well as some more junior officers. In Manchester, a fund raising ball was held.¹⁰⁶

We understand that there will be a ball at Manchester, for the benefit of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's. The ladies will certainly foot it, on the occasion, to a very good purpose.

When the Committee restructured the awards in 1809, a further 12 Committee members were added. The meeting of the subscribers had guaranteed to cover, if necessary, the costs of the recent battles and there had also been problems in getting a quorum to attend meetings. It is surprising that at least four of the new members were not in the original committee. Beeston Long, William Manning, John Pearse and Philip Sansom had been involved with other charitable Funds previously and had all donated. In three cases, Thomas Baring, Abraham Goldsmid and Charles Bosanquet, they probably joined to take over the family place on the committee (Abraham was Benjamin's brother, Benjamin having died, Charles Bosanquet was Jacob's nephew, Jacob had retired from business, and Thomas Baring was Sir Francis's son). Others were presumably representative of the new underwriting money offering to help cover the risk of defaulting. These include George Grote¹⁰⁷ a London banker and Edmond Thomas Waters, an underwriter. The other three names have not been possible to determine, partly because they are not completely clear in the handwriting and they are only spelt once as they do not attend any of the other meetings.

¹⁰⁴ Although he gives £5 in 1805 that is small, at same time Midshipman Bower Roberston gives 5 guineas and Captain Yeo 10 guineas.

¹⁰⁵ Samuel Ballard, John Boyle, Samuel Brooking, William Carlyon, John Parry Dyer, Manly Dixon, John Gardner, Michael Halliday, Christopher Laroche, Robert Philpot, Robert Rolles, William Roberts, John Wells. Names all confirmed through D Syrett & R L DiNardo, *The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy* (Naval Records Society (NRS), 1994)

¹⁰⁶ *The Times* 17 September 1803.

¹⁰⁷ This is George Grote the younger, aged just 25 Mrs Grote *The Personal Life of George Grote* (London, John Murray, 1873) p59.

The events the Fund rewarded

The third dataset is an examination of the 262 awards for zeal made by the Fund across 94 events. A full list of these is at Annex A to this thesis. This includes the awards for which no object such as a sword or vase was made. Other authors have not recorded these because their lists worked from the objects rather than the minutes.

Of the 262 awards for zeal, six included a vase and a sword presented at the same time for the same events. Furthermore, nine people received more than one award. This affects how the numbers appear in the table below.

Lieutenant Pigot was awarded a vase and sword at the same committee meeting,¹⁰⁸ the sword for capturing the Spanish privateer schooner *Maria* on the 13th June 1805 alongside Lieutenant Crofton and the vase for using the captured French Privateer *Matilda* to capture three more vessels on 7 July 1805, alongside Lieutenant Masterman. Captain Baker was awarded a £100 sword in August 1805, so when offered a second for Ferrol opted for a vase, similarly with Captain Prowse, who got his sword for Trafalgar and his vase for an action off Tiber in April 1806. Captain Berry was offered a sword twice, once for Trafalgar and once for the capture of St Domingo but opted for a vase both times. Lieutenant Nicolls received a £30 sword in 1803 and then a £50 sword in 1808, both for cutting-out expeditions, and Lieutenant Moore received a £50 sword in 1804 and a vase in 1806 again for cutting-out actions. Commodore Sir Home Popham got two £200 vases, the first for Good Hope and the second for seizing Buenos Aires.

The last two who received more than one award served together in two actions and this has led to confusion in various publications. The minutes provide clarity. Captains Lydiard and Brisbane were both awarded swords, the first for events on 23 August 1806, which were described as either for the

¹⁰⁸ Minutes 24 September 1805.

attack on Moro Castle, Cuba¹⁰⁹ or the attack on the *Pomona*.¹¹⁰ The action against the *Pomona* is a better description because Moro Castle was providing protective fire and no landing occurred to attack it. They were also both awarded swords for the Capture of Curacao four months later on 1 January 1807, along with Captains Bolton and Wood. For this second action Brisbane was awarded a £200 sword. It would have been interesting to see what design they would have used had he accepted that rather than asked for plate to the value and taken the £100 sword for the first action. Lydiard only took a vase nominally for the second action and did not take anything for the first.

There are two likely possibilities as to why, since he never returned to Britain, he could have been confused, as other listers of the awards have been, and not realised he had been offered both or he chose to only accept one but never conveyed that to the Fund. The second would be in character; Nicholas Tracy describes him as a “humble man and a true hero”.¹¹¹ When he died in late 1807, it was after his ship got caught in a storm off Falmouth and he ran her onto the beach to save the crew. He took the wheel himself to ensure the others got off and was washed away and drowned trying to save one of his crew.

¹⁰⁹ Gawler, p140; S Comfort, *Lord Nelson's Swords* p170 and Messenger p117.

¹¹⁰ May & Annis, *Swords for Sea Service* p70 and Long p132.

¹¹¹ N Tracy, *Who's Who in Nelson's Navy* (Greenhill Books 2005) p231.



*Loss of the Anson, wrecked off Cornwall.
Pub. by T. Ag. Tappin, August 1807.*

Loss of Anson 1807¹¹²

There were several recipients that opted to take the cash instead of an award or in several cases were only offered money by the Fund. Working from the minutes and therefore the intent of the Committee rather than from the list of items produced by Teed means that some significant events come to light which provide new insights into the work and thoughts of the Committee, These events include one of the largest awards made, two awards made to women, and Captain Rogers discussed earlier. All have been missed by other authors.

The first award made by the Fund was for 27 June 1803 but the first award actually given out was on 20 September and was cash. A breakdown of the awards made can be seen in the table below. It should be noted that no single recipient who was offered a £30 sword took a vase instead. This table breaks down what was awarded against what was accepted and highlights some interesting aspects. There is a change in what is requested from 1805, the year a pattern naval sword was introduced.

¹¹² NMM PAD6006.

Table 5: Awards made compared with what was accepted (Key: S = Sword, P = Plate, £ = cash)

Year	£100 Sword Award	Took			£50 Sword Award	Took			£30 Sword Award	Took		Plate Award	Took cash	Award cash	Not Claimed	Total
		S	P	£		S	P	£		S	£					
1803	2	2			17	16		1	4	4		2		3		28
1804	6	6			37	34		3	3	2	1	12	3	3		59(61)
1805	43	34	9		8	8			1	1		14		5	1	68 (72)
1806	26	7	15	4	15	13	1	1	6	5	1	11	1	7	1	66
1807	6	4	2		9	6	2	1	2	2		6	3	0	2	25
1808	5	2	3		2	2			1	1		2	1			10
1809	1	1			3	2		1						2		6
Later		4				8				1						
Total Award	89				91				17			47		20	4	262 (268)

Later and unofficial swords

Later and unofficial swords were included within the table to show how numbers add up. However, while the Fund is stated by all other published sources to have stopped making awards for zeal in action in August 1809, a detailed reading of the handwritten minutes indicates they actually only ceased them for “merit alone” allowing them for “merit and distress”. In other words, it was quite acceptable if receiving money for an injury that money could be spent on an item to remember. There are 13 swords that date from later but no known vases. Of these, ten were given permission by the Fund to be made, and one of them, Captain Jaheel Brenton’s was directly paid for by the Fund. Indeed, when on 21 January 1813 they decided to award Lieutenant Pye £50 for his injury, it was with the message “liberty to purchase a sword of that value after the pattern adopted for this Institution.”

All of those ten were injured and so these swords all meet the adjusted criteria for merit and distress. Sometimes the money for the injury was more than the sword value, for example Midshipman Adair received £40. Sometimes we

don't know the amount awarded, as the Committee resolved that "they will take into consideration the names on the regular certificates being transmitted from Greenwich hospital." The names do not appear as individuals with sums set against them, as is the case for Lieutenant Warrant in the table below.

Table 6: Later Patriotic Fund swords

Recipient	Style of Sword Made	Unit	Action
Captain Jaheel Brenton	£100	HMS <i>Spartan</i>	Gallant action against a squadron of the enemy on 3 May 1810
Lieutenant Baynton	£50	HMS <i>Cambrian</i>	Gallant action against a squadron of the enemy on 3 May 1810
Lieutenant Dalyell	£50	HM Sloop <i>Rattler</i>	French Privateer off St Vallery on 4 January 1805
Lieutenant Thomas Robert Pye RM	£50	HMS <i>Boadicea</i>	Attack on Isle of Bourbon 21 September 1809
Midshipman Adair	£30	HMS <i>Alceste</i>	Action off Toulon in on 9 July 1810
Commander Edward Stopford	£100	HMS <i>Otter</i>	Taking of Batavia 8 April 1811
Colonel Thomas Turner	£100	17 th Reg of Foot Portuguese	Badajoz 10 May 1811
Captain Peter Buissey Cow	£50	Naval Transport <i>Chatham</i>	Action with French Lugger, Dungeness 17 November 1811
Lieutenant Thomas Warrant	£50	HM Schooner <i>Sealark</i>	Action off France 21 July 1812
Lieutenant Dwyer	£50	HMS <i>Minstral</i>	Valemeria 12 August 1812

There are also what are usually described as unofficial Patriotic Fund swords because they are not recorded as approved by the Fund. Two were made by Teed and are of the standard style. One of these, at least, was even engraved by Samuel Lines.¹¹³ Captain Fleming's sword is not of the standard pattern having a mameluke hilt, gilt crossguard and ivory grip with a black leather scabbard and gilt metal mounts and was made by Brunn. In the case of Lieutenant Arnold (later Colonel) the £100 sword he had made would have been incorrect for his rank at the time. This sword does not appear in the

¹¹³ In Samuel Lines Album.

previously published lists because it was not known about outside the family, where it was still held, until it came to light during this research.¹¹⁴

Table 7: The Unofficial Patriotic Fund swords compared with hurt awards

Recipient	Style of Sword Made	Unit	Action	Hurt award given
Lieutenant Cox RM	£50	HMS <i>Nereide</i>	23 August 1810 Isle de France	£60
Captain Fleming	£50	31 st Regiment of Foot	16 May 1811 Battle of Albuera	£100
Lieutenant Arnold	£100	Royal Engineers	23 June 1804 Surinam	£100

The research for this thesis indicates there is no difference between the “Later” and the “Unofficial” swords. The same Army List that mentions Colonel Arnold’s sword also includes awards to, the by then, Colonel Menzies, Captain Mends and Captain Meech, all of which tie in with known awards. However, there are several officers¹¹⁵ mentioned as receiving an award from the Patriotic Fund, but these all link to hurt awards. Mr Bridges and Admiral Sir James Pearl both claimed in biographies¹¹⁶ to have been awarded a sword, although in the first case the rejection letter exists¹¹⁷ and the other is not recorded. It is possible one of these had a sword made just as Arnold did, as could any other recipient of a Patriotic Fund hurt award.

It is, therefore, possible that a further Patriotic Fund sword exists.

¹¹⁴ Hart’s Army List 1841 p289 under war service of Royal Engineers lists Colonel Arnold received a £100 Patriotic Fund sword for Surinam.

¹¹⁵ These are Colonel Conolly RM, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Peebles, Captain Uniacke RM (it confirms this is a hurt award for US War 1814), Captain Wolridge for South Beveland in 1808 and Captain Richardson RM.

¹¹⁶ Bridges claims in W O Byrne’s *A Naval Biographical Dictionary Volume 1* (London, John Murray, 1849) p123 Pearl claims in his submission to J Marshall *Royal Naval Biography Volume IV Part II* (London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1835) p243 that he had been awarded a sword but this is not recorded by the Fund.

¹¹⁷ Guildhall MSS 31592 letter dated 14 March 1804.

How many swords were made

The popularity of the sword compared with plate is borne out by the above table, of the 201¹¹⁸ swords awarded, 202 if you include Brisbane's offer of a £200 sword, 152 (75%) were accepted as a sword. For several, there were clear reasons why they would not accept a sword; either they already had one, or they died before receiving it, in which case the family seem to take cash or a vase. This could be the case with Captain Lydiard and is certainly the case for Lieutenant Boyd, the money going to his father. This seems to align with the intent of the Fund, because they do the same in the cases of Lieutenant Pigot and the widows of the Captains killed at Trafalgar. Captain Codrington refused the award so that the money would be used by the Fund for charitable purposes.¹¹⁹ Codrington was a kind man, financially secure and with good self esteem and although delighted with the expected financial bonus of Trafalgar,¹²⁰ he probably felt he did not need the extra award, slightly ironically as he had expressed earlier that the Admiralty were so fickle in their favour it was better to "listen to the rewards and promises of Lloyd's Coffee House."¹²¹ The rejection is not mentioned in his daughter's Memoir of him. I have only come across one other example of a sword being awarded and no reward being taken and that is with Major General Walpole's rejection of an award of a 600-guinea sword. That rejection was for political reasons as he disapproved of the way the Jamaican House of Assembly had behaved.¹²²

One officer was awarded a sword but never claimed it. On 14 April 1807 the Fund awarded swords to all surviving of the five officers commanding the boats of HMS *Galatea* who captured the French corvette *Le Lynx* and to the officer commanding the Marines, requesting a list be provided. The four

¹¹⁸ The 197 in above table plus four not claimed.

¹¹⁹ NMM COD/5/9/10 is a copy of the Lloyd's Patriotic Fund minute listing the Trafalgar awards marked by Codrington "refused by me E.C."

¹²⁰ Lady J Bouchier, *Memoir of The Life of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington Vol 1* (London, Longmans, Green and Co, 1873) p107.

¹²¹ *ibid.* p55.

¹²² J McAleer, *Eminent Service: War, Slavery and the Politics of Public Recognition in the British Caribbean and the Cape of Good Hope c 1782-1807* (*The Mariner's Mirror*, Vol 95, No 1, February 2009, pp33-51) p45.

surviving naval officers all claimed and the Committee received confirmation that Lieutenant Walker had died and awarded a vase to his Mother, Mrs Nation. However, the officer commanding the Royal Marines never came forward.

There is also one award where two were made. On 22 July 1806 Lieutenant Menzies was awarded a £30 sword, which was amended to a £50 following his request on 22 December 1807. However, the first sword had already been made. Both swords were completed and delivered by Teed, respectively on 17 April 1807 and 8 February 1808.¹²³ What happened to the first sword is unknown. It is probable it was dismantled and the components reused.

There is one further correction in Lines' Album regarding Captain Brenton's sword. Lines had his instruction from Teed corrected from £50 to £100, the normal value expected and what was awarded in the minutes, the second instruction also adjusts to the correct date for the action. This second instruction has on the back a comment regarding being "particularly attentive" as if either Brenton had been awkward or perhaps making a mistake had embarrassed Teed. There is no indication that the first engraving was already done and the correct one was probably supplied.

This research concludes that between 152 and 167 swords were made depending on what you count. The make up is as in Table 8 below.

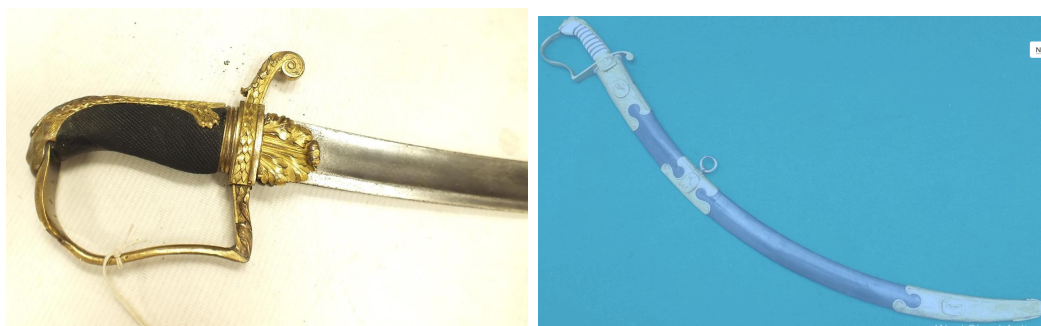
Table 8 Total of Patriotic Fund Swords

Swords awarded and made by Teed	152
Later swords awarded and made by Teed	10
Unofficial swords made by Teed	2
Captain Fleming's unofficial sword made by Brunn	1
Captain Roger's unofficial sword made by Osborn & Gunby	1
Second sword made for Lieutenant Menzies	1
Total	167

¹²³ L Southwick, *Patriotic Fund Swords Part 1*, (Journal of Arms and Armour Society, Vol 12:4, 1987 pp223-84) p275-6.

It appears not only were a couple of swords paid for by the Fund not made by Teed, but there are at least three examples of part of a Patriotic Fund sword appearing on another weapon.¹²⁴ This makes complete sense as we know Teed mass-produced components and included them within the weapons he made up, it is likely there were spare parts remaining after the Fund stopped awarding.

There is a letter written in 1806 from Teed to R H Marten and a typed copy (1968).¹²⁵ The letter has a table giving figures and comments that they are made in separate parts and then assembled. He lists his stock of components. There are 38 different pieces and some are in different stages of production. So the 38 hilts include 3 ready for gilding, 7 nearly, 12 chased, 16 in the rough. There are 17 trophies ready for mounting and 9 in the rough, 2 scabbards mounted for chasing, 29 sets of small trophies and 19 sets of long trophies chased for scabbards, there are 51 buckles for belts in the rough, 60 snakes in the rough, 30 ferrels rough and some chased, 20 parts of belts in sets all but the medallions, 65 nurlled borders for scabbards, 5 scabbards not mounted, 10 medallions chased and 40 sundry other parts. The only number that matches the swords ordered is the 40 blades which he refers to as in the rough and clearly the first to Captain Baker has been sent to the Fund as he says deducting that one from the number they have ordered he has orders for 40.



Presentation quality sabre with a Lloyd's backstrap and one Lloyd's scabbard fitting

¹²⁴ "Georgian Cavalry Sabre" Lot 236 Antony Cribb 30 July 19, one held in Sim Comfort Collection and Lieutenant Colonel Carden's sword in a private collection.

¹²⁵ Guildhall Library MS35170.

The events the Fund rewarded

The events the Fund recognised were comparable with those recognised by the award of the Naval or Military General Service Medal (NGSM/MGSM) and those given of a Vote of Thanks in Parliament. This provides comparison against what were recognised as major events at the time and those remembered as significant with passage of time. The NGSM was approved in 1847 but was applied retrospectively to naval actions between 1793 and 1840 as long as the recipient was still alive. There were 231 actions recognised with the award of a clasp. It was never awarded without a clasp. The MGSM is similar but with far fewer clasps, just 27, while 21 relate to the Peninsular Campaign. A further clasp was added to the list in 1849 for the Egyptian land campaign following the battle of the Nile. Including that one, only eight date from before the Fund stopped awarding swords in 1809; the others were Maida, Roliça, Vimeiro, Sahagun, Benevente, Corunna and Martinique and all except Maida were from mid 1808 onwards when the Fund was winding down its awards. Waterloo is not a MGSM clasp. Unlike the Nile and Trafalgar, it was recognised with its own medal from Parliament. The Nile Medal and Trafalgar Medal were both funded by private individuals, Davison and Boulton respectively. It is possible that the reason some of the earlier small actions were not recognised by the Admiralty for a NGSM clasp was there was no potential recipient left alive as nearly all the actions not awarded a clasp involve just a single ship in the first couple of years of the war.

The tables taking each year in turn are at Annex D while further details on each Patriotic Find action are in Annex A.

1803 and 1804

An analysis of the 32 actions recognised by the Fund in the first 18 months it operated shows they were nearly all small actions. No actions the first year and only two in the second were recognised by a NGSM clasp. Over these two years the one campaign for which Parliament voted thanks, the Mahratta

war in India, was not recognised by the Patriotic Fund. It is noticeable that this early, the Fund is adjusting what it counts.

Four were for maritime actions not by the Navy, all for beating off the enemy, three by small vessels - a smack and a collier and a HM Packet. The other is Commodore Dance's action, who being in company with a number of other merchant ships without a naval escort aggressively sailed his 16 East Indiamen at the French squadron under Linois making them think his merchant vessels were naval vessels.

There are three that are not for combat, although two occur during an action. The first was for medical support provided during the defence of Gorée by Surgeon John Heddle to what was in effect a penal battalion, the African Corps (later Royal African Corps), being made up of military offenders from various regiments pardoned on condition of life-service in Africa and the West Indies.¹²⁶ The second was for a shell that landed on HM Sloop *Rattler* being thrown overboard.

Not noted in any history of the Fund, is the successful effort by three soldiers to save St. Helier in Jersey from a fire in the castle magazine. The Lieutenant who led the party received the largest award made by the Fund (along with Nelson's brother and widow). The minutes¹²⁷ show the effort the Committee put into determining the most suitable award for the three individuals. Letters back from the Governor of Jersey, indicated that cash was suitable for two but the third would be best with an annual pension of £20.

1805

Sixteen actions were recognised and some alignment appears with NGSMs as five were also recognised by a clasp. This was the year of Trafalgar and Ferrol. Both receive the clean sweep of Patriotic Fund, NGSM, a

¹²⁶ W Y Baldry, Disbanded Regiments (*Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol. 14, no. 56, 1935, pp. 233–235. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/44220581).

¹²⁷ Minutes 19 June 1804 and 10 July 1804.

Parliamentary Vote of Thanks, and most senior officers receive a City of London sword.¹²⁸ Ferrol is treated as part of Trafalgar for the Vote of Thanks, the Patriotic Fund and the City of London, only the retrospective NGSM delineates them.

While considering the awards for Maida and Buenos Ayres (the Fund's spelling), the Committee read a letter from the surgeon at Gibraltar hospital recommending a hurt award of £100 to the Master of the *Lord Eldon*. Something in the description caught their eye because they made an unapplied for award to Mrs Elizabeth Brown, the Carpenter's wife onboard. This was for her 'meritorious and active services during the engagement', presumably caring for the injured.¹²⁹

1806

The Fund recognised 23 actions but this is the first time we get an action recognised by a NGSM clasp but not by the Fund. The third major sea victory after Trafalgar and Ferrol, by Admiral Duckworth off San Domingo was recognised not only by the Patriotic Fund but also by a Vote of Thanks and a City of London sword for Duckworth. The other French squadron that had escaped the blockade post Trafalgar was scattered by a hurricane in August.

The difference between the two major amphibious operations in 1806 is noteworthy. The capture of Buenos Aires earned its leaders both Patriotic Fund and City of London swords, so was applauded by the City but did not merit a Parliamentary Vote of Thanks nor earn its participants a NGSM/MGSM. However, General Stuart, for his work in southern Italy, which culminated in the battle of Maida, made a clean sweep being personally awarded a £300 Patriotic Fund vase and a City of London sword but also having several of his officers recognised by the Fund and his soldiers received a MGSM and a Vote of Thanks.

¹²⁸ While City of London swords are to individuals, their announcements were made together if considered to be for the same action.

¹²⁹ Minutes 16 September 1806.

This year also featured an award for an action so minor by HMS *Minerva* that it does not feature on her list of actions. Gunner's Mate Peter Ward was the coxswain of the barge when she boarded a Spanish privateer. He was rendering assistance to a wounded prisoner who then treacherously fired a pistol at him. Ward wrestled the pistol off him, threw it overboard and then continued to render assistance. His Captain, George Collier wrote to the Fund drawing their attention to his deed. The Fund awarded him £20:

"In testimony of the high sense which the committee entertain of his generous and humane conduct."

The decision to make this award while for an action nearly a year earlier was made shortly after the award to Elizabeth Brown.

1807 and 1808

The number of actions the Fund recognise starts to fall. However, the number of NGSM actions is growing and overtakes those by the Fund. In 1808 there are ten recognised by a NGSM clasp but not recognised by the Fund.

The capture of Monte Video led to thanks from both Fund and the City, with a sword awarded to its leaders, and a Parliamentary Vote of Thanks but did not merit a NGSM or MGSM. Copenhagen just gets a Vote of Thanks, despite the fact that the destruction of the Danish fleet¹³⁰ removed the risk of a significant growth in the French fleet. The destruction of the city and the lack of glory in the battle probably affected this. With so many of the Committee linked to the Russia trade its significance cannot have been missed.

The complete ignoring of the Peninsular Campaign is noticeable, it received a Vote of Thanks and had four battles later recognised with a MGSM clasp.

¹³⁰ Danish losses were 18 ships of the line (3 destroyed on the stocks), 10 frigates and numerous smaller vessels W James, *The Naval History of Great Britain Volume 4* (Cambridge University reprint of London, Richard Bentley, 1859) p209.

1809

By the time the Fund stopped presenting in August, it had given awards for just four events. Included are their only awards for the Peninsular Campaign (ensign Newman and Mrs Russell). Neither were for bravery but rather for humanitarian acts at Corunna as discussed in Chapter 7.

However, in this period nine actions were recognised with NGSMs, of which only Basque Roads was recognised by a Parliamentary Vote of Thanks. Corunna is recognised by both a Vote of Thanks and the MGSM. Surprisingly, the Fund did not reward the capture of Martinique in February, despite its importance to London merchants and it being recognised by a NGSM, MGSM and a Vote of Thanks. There was time for the news to travel.

The actions in Java/Batavia, later recognised by the Fund and a Vote of Thanks in Parliament, were not known about until after the Fund stopped the awards.

Chapter 3

The Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's

The Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's

The Patriotic Fund was a charitable fund created by a group of subscribers largely involved with the maritime trade as merchants, underwriters or financiers on the 20 July 1803 in a meeting at Lloyd's Coffee House. It was a direct response to the collapse of the Peace of Amiens two months earlier on 18 May. After the initial open meeting, the subscribers gathered nine days later to create the rules and select the Committee through which they would operate. The Committee generally met every fortnight from then on.

The "at Lloyd's" part refers to it being established at Lloyd's New Coffee House. In 1803 this was in the Royal Exchange. They paid Mr Bennet and Mr White of Lloyd's Coffee House £50 for the use of a room.

Therefore, the Fund shares the origin of the stem of their name with Lloyd's Insurance market, Lloyd's Register and Lloyd's List¹³¹ but was, like these organisations, completely independent of the others, despite having a number of subscribers in common. Indeed, in 1803 there were two separate Lloyd's Lists.¹³² Terminology can be confused because Lloyd's insurance established itself in a new building in 1774, sometimes referred to as New Lloyd's and then underwent further internal reform in 1800, gaining many new members. In the 1800 reform it became more of a corporate body and started holding funds in its own name.¹³³ The Fund still operates, now known as Lloyd's Patriotic Fund. It is housed at Lloyd's Insurance Market as part of their charitable works at 1 Lime Street, but remains an independent organisation.

The words subscriber and committee cause confusion in many texts as the differences between different groups of subscribers and the roles of different

¹³¹ Lloyd's Bank (1765) and Lloyd's Chemists (1973) both named after their founders.

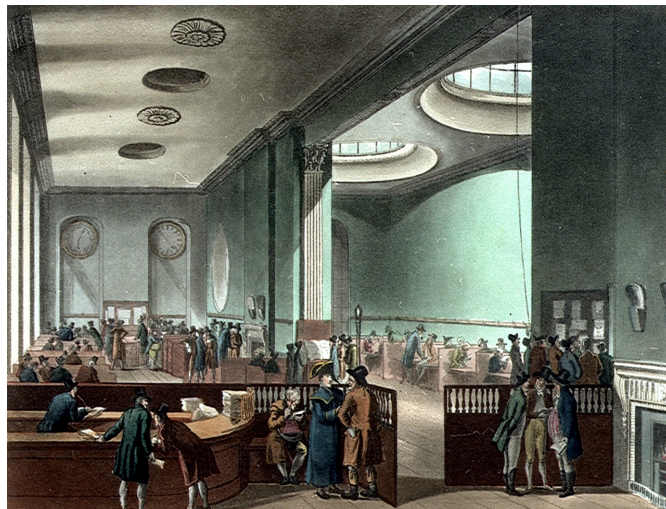
¹³² They split 1799 and remerged 1834.

¹³³ Worsley and Griffith *The Romance of Lloyd's* pp164-70.

committees is often poorly understood. The committee of subscribers at Lloyd's is quite separate from the Committee of the Subscribers to the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's. The committee of the subscribers at Lloyd's' task was simply to provide enough working space for the subscribers to Lloyd's. In 1793 this was three floors of rooms. Wright and Fayle in their History of Lloyd's draw this out:

*“The Subscribers had no corporate interest other than the provision of adequate business accommodation; the duties of the Committee were almost wholly confined to the satisfaction of this demand. General Meetings were held only at rare intervals to deal with emergency business. There was no provision for continuous control of the Committee by the Subscribers, or for continuous attention by the Committee to questions affecting the interests of underwriters and brokers.”*¹³⁴

In other words when we see a letter in the Admiralty file from “Lloyd's” it is not because a controlling corporate body decided to send the letter. Rather it is because a group of underwriters or brokers asked the committee to send it on their behalf.



*A Lloyd's Underwriting Subscriber's Room, Royal Exchange circa 1800*¹³⁵

¹³⁴ C Wright & C E Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's* (London, Corporation of Lloyd's 1928) p175.

¹³⁵ Rowlandson aquatint NMM PAD1365.

The Fund now disperses around £400,000 annually¹³⁶ and its charitable aim is:

*“Lloyd's Patriotic Fund supports serving and ex-service members of the British Armed Forces and their families, with a particular focus on those who are disabled or facing poverty, illness and hardship.”*¹³⁷

This is derived from the first three of its original charitable aims from 1803:¹³⁸

- a. for the purpose of assuaging the anguish of their wounds, or palliating in some degree the more weighty misfortune for the loss of limbs
- b. alleviating the distress of the widow and the orphan
- c. smoothing the brow of sorrow for the fall of dearest relatives, the props of unhappy indigence or helpless age

But excludes their original fourth one:

- d. granting pecuniary rewards, or honourable badges of distinction, for successful exertions of valour or merit.

The Fund is strongly associated with the elaborate swords they awarded for heroic actions in its first six years, ceasing awarding in 1809. So associated, the swords appear three times in the Hornblower books.¹³⁹ The swords came in three values, £100 to Captains, £50 to Lieutenants and £30 to other officers. The Fund awarded silver plate, a medal and cash as well.

¹³⁶ £471,400 in 2018.

¹³⁷ Registered Charitable Aim with the Charities Commission.

¹³⁸ Minutes 20 July 1803.

¹³⁹ An inconsistency between the books, the swords are mentioned in *Happy Return*, *Hand of Destiny* and *A Ship of the Line*.



Captain Tyler's £100 Patriotic Fund Trafalgar Sword with original belt and box¹⁴⁰

As this thesis worked from the minutes and the awards they announce, rather than the objects made, it has uncovered awards previously missed. Some of these are not listed in any of the other histories, including two to women and also one of the largest awards made. This thesis establishes that several national museums have not fully understood some items in their collections, for example no one before me has correctly checked the ranks of officers, and the term Captain is often used as a rank when it was a position. For example Lieutenants Pilford and Stockham who were commanding *Ajax* and *Thunderer* respectively as their Captains were away ashore during Trafalgar.

Starting the awards in 1803 is obvious timing, with the collapse of the Peace of Amiens, but the decision to cease on the 24 August 1809 is not so easily understood. The fifth coalition had just ended following Austria's defeat, it was clear that while Walcheren had been seized by the British, it was not going to enable the capture of Antwerp and there were indications that war would come with America.

This thesis concludes that the reason publicised by the Fund for ceasing presenting swords and plate - lack of money - was only one factor, and not the main one. Rather the committee wished to focus their efforts on providing financial support for families of casualties and prisoners of war.

¹⁴⁰ Lot 193 Bonham's 5 July 2005.

Was the Fund ever criticised?

The Fund came in for some criticism when it started, in particular from *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*. William Cobbett started this weekly journal in 1802 and, although initially staunchly anti-Jacobin, he quickly questioned the Pitt government, especially over war funding and the involvement of the City in lending the Government money and creating a large national debt. His political attacks were strident enough that Cobbett is formally complained about by the French government in July 1802 as the governments debated compliance with the terms of the Peace of Amiens. Lord Hawkesbury's response was to note Cobbett equally continuously criticises the British Government and that it is a feature of English law that prosecutions are difficult to achieve in this area.¹⁴¹

With many of the Patriotic Fund Committee involved in financing that debt, it is not surprising it was among Cobbett's targets. Indeed, just after its creation in the 1 October issue, he criticised the setting up of the fund, claiming that it was an attempt to win over to the City's side the Navy and Army from protection of the nobility, landed gentry and clergy.¹⁴² This was not an unfair comment, he continued to criticise the Fund, and his concern seems to be that it is raising funds directly not through the nobility, calling it "a bold step towards supplanting the authority and office of the King"¹⁴³ and indeed in that issue lists nine other times that he has commented on the Fund.

All other public comment at the time appears to be positive.¹⁴⁴ Indeed a series of letters was published in *The Times*¹⁴⁵ including one by a "True Englishman" who criticised the nobility and gentry for not contributing more to the Fund and a further letter signed by "Valerius", stating:

¹⁴¹ *The Correspondence between Great Britain and France on the Subject of the Negotiation presented by His Majesty's Command to Both Houses of Parliament* (London, John Stockdale, 1803). Items 10 and 11 (hereafter *Correspondence between Great Britain and France*).

¹⁴² *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* Volume 4 1803 pp472-9.

¹⁴³ *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* Volume 6 1805 pp850-8.

¹⁴⁴ *The Monthly Magazine and British Register* 1 October 1804 Volume XVIII p248.

¹⁴⁵ *The Times* 23 August 1803.

“The Fund at Lloyd’s has always had my warmest approbation. It is a grand design, and will remain upon record as a most striking monument of British Spirit, British generosity, and British benevolence in the commencement of the 19th century. It deserves the praise of the present generation, and will command the admiration of posterity.”

This support appears to have continued; Tobias Smollet defended the Fund, and took a swipe at Cobbett, when he published its second report, saying

“none is deserving of encouragement than the Patriotic Fund. Notwithstanding the calumnies and gross misrepresentations of certain weekly scribblers who have used every exertion which malevolence or the spirit of faction could dictate, both to undermine the characters of the individuals who compose the committee, and to prejudice the public against the utility of this institution, we are happy to find that their attempts are baffled and that the fund is daily increasing.”¹⁴⁶

There was further defence of the Fund after continuing criticisms by Cobbett, on the basis that only the King should confer a public award. A rival magazine *The Weekly Political Review* contained a letter signed by “A Plain Englishman” counter-arguing that this only applied to titles and privileges and not to gifts of esteem.¹⁴⁷

In its Third report, (published post Trafalgar) the Fund comments that other nations had tried to do the same, but with the governments acting directly.¹⁴⁸ Recording that a similar fund was established in Madrid but the money was instead used to repair the Spanish fleet, and that after Austerlitz “contributions were levied on inhabitants of Austria and Moravia” but commented that these

¹⁴⁶ *The Critical Review, Or, Annals of Literature*. Ed Tobias Smollett (Simpkin and Marshall, 1805) p334-5.

¹⁴⁷ *The Weekly Political Review of Henry Redhead Yorke* Vol II. January to June 1807 (London, W Marchant, No 6 Saturday 7 February 1807) pp 111-2 (hereafter *Yorke’s Review*)

¹⁴⁸ Minutes reference *Madrid Gazette* 29 November 1805 and *The Courier* 9 January 1806.

were “exaction” and contrasted that with ‘British benevolence’ which had “spontaneously flowed”.¹⁴⁹

Contribution to the Fund is even used to reflect glory; a memoir on Reverend Rowland Hill¹⁵⁰ recalled that on two occasions when general appeals were made throughout the nation he raised the largest amount through his Surrey Chapel, one of these two being the general appeal for the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd’s.

Later there were two other minor criticisms of the Patriotic Fund. In 1828, the editor of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* commented that the City of London gave far more value in swords etc. than the Patriotic Fund, but this ignores the fact that many of the same people were involved in both and the swords were given to quite different levels of people and also is not true, even if taken up to the end of the Napoleonic War.¹⁵¹ More recently the lawyers Stephenson Harwood argued¹⁵² that the Fund was designed to protect the interest of the Lloyd’s community i.e. merchants, ship owners and insurers of the time, which is not untrue as will be explored in Chapter 10 but which does not mean that they were not also being altruistic.

The popular view of the Fund at the time of its creation can be summarised by the song by the popular contemporary patriotic songwriter and performer Charles Dibdin, who it “was reckoned that his sea songs had brought more men into the Navy than ever the press gang did.”¹⁵³ On 23 March 1804 he performed his song where the first two verses ended with “For the gen’rous subscribers at Lloyd’s” and the final verse was:¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Introduction to *Third Report of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd’s*.

¹⁵⁰ *The European Magazine and London Review* September 1814 p1.

¹⁵¹ *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (London, J B Nichols and Son, June 1828 Volume 98) p626.

¹⁵² S Harwood *Shipping Finance* (Euromoney Books, 2006) p531.

¹⁵³ P Newell, *Greenwich Hospital, A Royal Foundation 1692-1983*, (Norwich, Trustees of Greenwich Hospital, 1984) p139.

¹⁵⁴ *The Times* 24 March 1804.

Then France, drunk with rage, to thy destiny start,
For plunder and riot grown warm ;
Benevolence' voice shall appal every heart,
And Humanity wither each arm.
Though thy turbulent leader no bounds can control,
Though all reason and truth he avoids,
Let him consciously dread, and be struck to the soul
By the glorious subscription at Lloyd's.

*Dibdin's Song regarding Lloyd's*¹⁵⁵

Whom did they regard as beneficiaries of the Fund?

The Fund in its initial resolution said that it was "To animate the efforts of our defenders by sea and land"¹⁵⁶ but it was then left to the committee to determine who was included within that group. This was very much set by precedent and in their first committee one of the actions recorded only in the handwritten minutes was that they rebuked several cities that were raising funds to reward volunteers, whereas the Fund was to support those wounded or who fell in the defence, not merely who were part of the defence.

Despite this distinction and a rebuke to at least Durham, Cambridge, Birmingham and Poole, members of Militias and Volunteers were thought to come within the scope of the Fund. For example, on 29 November 1803 the Fund made an award to a widow of the 8th Regiment of Loyal London Volunteers, who was killed while exercising with the corps. The Sea Fencibles were included within the definition of militias as shown by the award of recompense to Captain Tremlett who was injured by an exploding cannon during an exercise with his unit at Cromer.¹⁵⁷ A surgeon Mr Smith who lost a leg in the same incident was excluded because he was not professionally attending at the time, but was just a spectator.

¹⁵⁵ C Dibdin *The Songs of Charles Dibdin, Volume 1* (London, How & Parsons, 1842) p234.

¹⁵⁶ Minutes 20 July 1803.

¹⁵⁷ Minutes 21 February 1804.

However, members of the press gang were not included in the list of potential beneficiaries. At the same meeting, the Committee rejected the plea of a family of an impress agent killed while impressing as it was not within scope. Equally, privateers and merchant ships were not considered within scope as they were for profit. On 20 September 1803 the Committee rejected an application for two brothers injured serving on a privateer and on 20 March 1804 the Committee rejected recompense for Captain Dunbar of the merchant ship *Fortitude* injured while defending private property against two privateers. On 10 April 1804 the Committee concluded a series of such discussions, in response to a request from a Mr Swale regarding conflicts between the East India Company and native powers, one from a Mr Parker who sought help for wives and children of seaman from Orkney and Shetlands whose husbands are at sea, and one from Mrs Moriarty whose husband had died of tropical disease while at sea with the RN. All were determined not to be within the scope. Equally on 8 May 1804 the Committee rejected requests for recompense for three widows of the Sea Fencibles at Aldeburgh who died trying to save a vessel in distress, a seaman injured aloft, a widow whose husband had drowned and another who had lost her son to yellow fever. All were determined not to be within scope.

What the individual was doing when injured was taken into account. On 31 January 1804 they rejected a request for a soldier killed in Nova Scotia while trying to arrest a drunken comrade. Not only could the action alter whether they received an award it also could affect what award the individual received. They clearly felt that swords could only be awarded for more military actions and thus several people are only offered vases because of the more humanitarian nature of their work. This clearly rankled with some potential recipients to the extent that Captain William Rogers, of HM Packet *Windsor Castle*, took the cash from the Fund because he was only offered a vase and had a sword made, (explained earlier this chapter).

However, the decisions were not always consistent, especially when it comes to the East India Company, which was generally rejected as not within scope, but they rewarded all Commodore Dance's captains for driving off of the

French and saving the convoy in 1804. The captains only received £50 swords, however, rather than the customary £100 awarded to a Royal Navy captain.

Were they unique?

As explored in Chapters 5 and 6, the awarding of silver plate and pensions was not unusual. The giving of swords however at this time by individuals in this way, while not unique, was very rare until the Fund started doing so.

The other aspect that was unusual was the scale and systematic approach taken. This was not a charity raising funds for a single event, such as a single battle, or for a single cause from which they would gain interest, such as helping fund a school. This could be described as almost the industrialisation of charity and moving it to a sustained national scale. Writing just a few years after the Napoleonic War, Reuben Percy contrasted the Patriotic Fund success with that of two previous fundraising efforts by those operating from Lloyd's coffee house. He describes this as their third major effort of fundraising with the first two being 1794, for the Glorious 1st, and 1798, for The Nile, raising £21,000 and £32,000 respectively. He contrasts this with the Patriotic Fund, stating that in its first 12 years the Fund raised £543,450 and helped 18,000 people.¹⁵⁸

What is also unique about this Fund, is that it was the first time the people, as opposed to the Government or military, acted in anticipation of military events. The City made a promise that if the Navy and the Military behaved in a certain way, then they would systematically reward them. This was both through an additional pension ensuring that the families or the individual could more confidently risk life and limb, knowing their family would be looked after and that if they behaved with bravery, then they would be rewarded. They made it clear this would be distributed more widely than traditional government rewards which went to the most senior officers only. While rewarding similar

¹⁵⁸ R Percy, *London By Sholto Percy* (London, T Boys, 1824) p78.

events after they happened had occurred many times, this covenant between the City and the Armed Forces was led and championed by the City and not by the Government or the Armed Forces as has occurred in recent times, with the creation of a more formal Armed Forces covenant.

Many of the factors that caused the subscribers to respond were not unique to the Fund. 1803 saw a wave of actions by the government to promote the defence of Britain and by a wave of volunteers undertaking various projects. The militia consisted of three elements, the Militia, recruited by ballot, Volunteer Units, first raised in 1794, and Yeomanry Units, first raised in 1804. Volunteer Units were usually infantry or artillery and Yeomanry mounted. They all served under different rules. Estimates for their total number are around 480,000 people. Roger Morriss estimates that overall probably one in five British men were involved in the military including the Navy and militias in this period.¹⁵⁹ These volunteers included people from throughout society. Even the Prime Minister, Pitt, was Colonel of a Volunteer Unit, the Royal Trinity House Volunteers. London where the Committee members were all based had the full range of types of units, with a Corps of River Fencibles, the Inns of Court and City Yeomanry, the Lighthorse Volunteers of London and Westminster, the Loyal London Volunteers as well as the aforementioned Trinity House unit. They also were not limited to just Britain but also the colonies. For example there was a provincial militia in Canada.¹⁶⁰

Outside the Volunteers and Militias, there were some significant construction projects such as the Royal Military Canal built in Kent and the chain of Martello Towers built to defend the coasts.

These were also not the only actions by merchant houses in the City. The East India Company sold some of their ships to the Government to be converted into fourth-rate naval vessels as well as providing ten older vessels

¹⁵⁹ R Morriss, *The Foundations of British Maritime Ascendancy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011) p224 (hereafter Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy*).

¹⁶⁰ P Thomas and N Tracy, *Master and Madman* (Great Britain, Seaforth Publishing, 2012) p119.

to form a protective barrier across the Thames with almost 200 guns in the line, under two Naval Captains, Sir Harry Neale and George Grey (shortly after Sir George).¹⁶¹

It was not the first time Lloyd's tried to influence how the Royal Navy operated. As Roger Morriss makes clear:

*“in 1798 Lloyd’s insurance company and the Admiralty produced a Convoy Act which made convoys compulsory for all ships engaged in foreign trade, with the exception of fast-sailing licensed ships, Hudson’s Bay and East India Company ships, and vessels making for Ireland.”*¹⁶²

This was reinforced by how Lloyd's operated their insurance policies, which often required ships to be in convoy. Recent research by Luis Lobo-Guerrero,¹⁶³ has brought to the fore the concept of insurance sovereignty and how it was used in the Napoleonic Wars and it being one of the means of economically waging war. This led to the passing of the Traitorous Correspondence Act of 1793, which made insurance of enemy property void and premiums had to be returned. Lobo-Guerrero notes just how much care the Admiralty took with their dealings with Lloyd's¹⁶⁴ and that this was a two-way street. However, he does not realise the distinction that the Patriotic Fund was not just people from Lloyd's and insurance and shipping, so while some may have had maritime vested interest, many did not have in the same way, although they were linked to the economics of the country.

But it was unique in that it was by offering awards for zeal to individuals it was directly trying to counter the incentive of prize money by offering prior to any actions took place an alternative award.

¹⁶¹ A Adams and R Woodman, *Light Upon the Waters* (London, Trinity House, 2103) p139 clarified by private correspondence with Secretary to the Corporation of Trinity House.

¹⁶² Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* p39.

¹⁶³ L Lobo-Guerrero, *Insuring War: Sovereignty, Security and Risk* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2012). (Hereafter Guerrero)

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p45.

The wider politics that motivated the subscribers to the Fund

The Fund was created in response to the recommencement of the war following the collapse of the Peace of Amiens. The Peace of Amiens followed after the Austrian defeat brought about the end of the Second Coalition. In March 1801, a new British government came to power under Henry Addington, determined to find a way to end the war. The merchants of London must have been glad of the opportunity to renew trade and their moneymaking activities without war risks, but France had recovered bases in the West Indies, so trade and plantations were exposed. The months following the signing of the peace treaty on 25 March 1802 were quickly dominated by an expectation that war would recommence. For the City, the trade situation was worse as considerable territories had been surrendered as part of the Treaty, particularly in the West Indies and it is noticeable that many Committee members had links to the West Indies.

So anxious was the Government to secure widespread support that in 1803 it decided to publish the relevant inter-governmental correspondence,¹⁶⁵ that showed why it had returned to a state of war. The correspondence highlights four themes that led to the war being declared. The first was difficulties over the changes of occupation of territories and the perceived slowness of both sides in fulfilling their treaty commitments, in particular giving up of Malta and Lampedosa (now Lampedusa) to Russia once the Tsar declined to take on the role.

Second, was the clear preparation by both sides for the renewal of war. The French occupied Switzerland and placed considerable forces in Batavia, turning them into satellite territories for France. There were preparations along the French and Dutch coasts establishing invasion barges and supporting vessels, although denied by the French. To counter, on 8 March 1803 England increased the strength of the Royal Navy by 10,000.

¹⁶⁵ *Correspondence between Great Britain and France*



*French Medal from 1804 commemorating the planned invasion of England*¹⁶⁶

Thirdly, there was a series of provocative acts against merchant vessels and in particular the seizure by the French of four vessels in separate incidents.¹⁶⁷ These were: the seizure of the British brig *Jennies* carrying coal and her Master William Muckle at Rochefort; the packet *Fame* carrying supplies and families and replacements for the garrison at Jersey under Captain de Gruchy, seized after a storm forced her to seek refuge in Cherbourg; the sloop *Nancy* carrying a mixed merchandise of previous prize vessels under Captain Allen Richardson which was forced to take refuge from a storm in Flushing and lastly the brig *George* in ballast under Captain John Newham who entered Charente to take on a cargo of brandy.

Lastly was the state of relationships between the main protagonists. At the French court on 13 March 1803, Napoleon is supposed to have said to the British Ambassador Lord Whitworth. “The English want war but if they are the first to draw the sword I shall be the last to put it away” and later “...if you want arms, I too will arm. If you want to fight, I too will fight. You may perhaps be able to destroy France but you will never intimidate her. It is vital to abide

¹⁶⁶ NMM MEC0831.

¹⁶⁷ *Negotiation Correspondence Britain and France*. The letters presented to the House on 20 May 1803: Brig *Jennies* Letter 14 p185; Packet *Fame* Letter 13 p184; sloop *Nancy* Letter 15 p186; brig *George* p188.

by treaties, a curse on those who do not abide by treaties they shall answer for it to all Europe.”¹⁶⁸



In Maniac-Ravings—or—Little Boney in a strong Fit (1803), Gillray’s caricature of Napoleon’s tirade to Whitworth¹⁶⁹

Further evidence of this breakdown in communication and trust is shown in the letter presented to Parliament that demanded select French people from England and Jersey be sent to Canada and that Britain should change its freedom of speech arguing that “the Particular laws and constitution of Great Britain are subordinate to the general principles of the law of nations” and that the British government should “repress the licentiousness of the press” who were offering unflattering opinions of the French Government. The British government’s response was to insist the British press was free with just the *London Gazette* under Government control and to point to articles in the French *Moniteur* that were similarly offensive.

In addition to the specifics of the collapse, two sets of factors caused the Committee to feel the situation was so severe they needed to act. The first was the general fear they shared with most of the population and the second set was elements that were of far more importance to them specifically.

¹⁶⁸ R M Johnston, *In the Words of Napoleon: The Emperor Day by Day* (Barnsley, Frontline Books, 2016) p128. This is the translation offered of his original French.

¹⁶⁹ National Portrait Gallery (hereafter NPG) D12811.

General fear

There were many underlying factors that in 1803 made people particularly concerned, not least the fear of invasion with not just a foreign power or king arriving but one that would bring a radical alteration to the way of life. This was a period when naughty children were taught that “Boney will get you”¹⁷⁰ in a society where the Bogeyman was still generally believed in.¹⁷¹ Wordsworth makes clear this applied to all levels of society in the poem he wrote in October 1803.¹⁷²

OCTOBER, 1803.

THESE times strike monied worldlings with dismay:
Even rich men, brave by nature, taint the air
With words of apprehension and despair :
While tens of thousands, thinking on the affray,
Men unto whom sufficient for the day
And minds not stinted or untilled are given,
Sound, healthy, children of the God of heaven,
Are cheerful as the rising sun in May.
What do we gather hence but firmer faith
That every gift of noble origin
Is breathed upon by Hope's perpetual breath ;
That virtue and the faculties within
Are vital,—and that riches are akin
To fear, to change, to cowardice, and death ?

Wordsworth's poem written October 1803

The reality of this fear can be seen in print media at the time, contemporary biographies and by the reaction of both individuals and organisations. A guide to London, *the Original Picture of London enlarged and improved* printed in 1826, states there was a direct causal link between fear of invasion post 1803, the volunteering for Militia and the amount of money donated to the

¹⁷⁰ S Jones and J Gosling, *Nelson's Way* (St Ives, Nicholas Brealey Publishing, 2005) p3.

¹⁷¹ A Vickery, *Safe as Houses*, Episode 3 *At Home with the Georgians*, 18 November 2015, BBC Four.

¹⁷² W Wordsworth *Poetical Works* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978), p245. Poem written 1803 published 1807.

Patriotic Fund.¹⁷³ It notes 27,077 London Volunteers were reviewed by the King in October 1803, compared with the 8,989 men on the parade in June 1799. Linda Colley estimates that in some southern counties half of men between 17 and 55 volunteered to take up arms and draws attention to the fact that people did not feel compelled to join.¹⁷⁴

Some practical examples of the response to this fear of invasion are discussed elsewhere in this thesis. But that fear pervaded all levels of the nation can be seen in Captain Hoffman's memoirs where he describes a newspaper report around 1796 as saying "Bonaparte had frightened men, women and children by his threatening to invade England, take up his residence in Portland Place, turn the royal palaces into stables, make a riding-school of St Paul's and a dancing academy of Westminster Abbey".¹⁷⁵ He was not alone, when Reverend Hawkes is being told by a parishioner in the 1840s, about an unrelated event that happened to be in 1803, the way the parishioner remembers it is as "the year of the threatened invasion"¹⁷⁶

Wordsworth captured the response to these fears in his poem in 1803 "Lines on the Expected Invasion". With his background training in geometry, he used the symbology of lines to issue a call to arms.¹⁷⁷ The poem starts:

*COME ye--who, if (which Heaven avert!) the Land
Were with herself at strife, would take your stand,
Like gallant Falkland, by the Monarch's side,
And, like Montrose, make Loyalty your pride—
Come ye--who, not less zealous, might display*

¹⁷³ *The Original Picture of London enlarged and improved* (The Edition Edited by J Britton, London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1826) pp60-1, (hereafter *Picture of London*) it notes the Patriotic Fund raised £152,000 by end of October 1803.

¹⁷⁴ L Colley, *Britons Forging the Nation 1707-1837, Revised Edition with New Introductory Essay* (Yale University Press, China 2014) p299 and 292 respectively. (Hereafter *Britons*)

¹⁷⁵ F Hoffman *A Sailor of King George. The Journals of Captain Frederick 1793-1814* (edited by A Beckford Bevan & H B Wolryche-Whitmore 1901, Reprinted by Dodo Press) p59.(hereafter Hoffman)

¹⁷⁶ H Hawkes, *Recollections of John Pounds* (Life is Amazing, 2016 originally 1884) p45.

¹⁷⁷ A Corn, *Atlas Selected Essays 1989-2007 Poets on Poetry*, (USA, University of Michigan Press, 2008) The Wordsworth Retrospective pp54-73 p55.

Banners at enmity with regal sway,

and ends with:

*Come ye--whate'er your creed--O waken all,
Whate'er your temper, at your Country's call;
Resolving (this a free-born Nation can)
To have one Soul, and perish to a man,
Or save this honoured Land from every Lord
But British reason and the British sword*

The fear was not irrational; three invasion fleets had been launched in 1796/7. One attempted to land in Ireland but was defeated, one headed for Newcastle but failed to arrive and the last landed at Fishguard. It was defeated easily but not before considerable looting by an ill-disciplined force.



Gillray's cartoon of end of attempted French invasion of Ireland¹⁷⁸ with Charles James Fox as the figurehead

This fear about being invaded and what would happen thereafter was based on the European experience. The late 1790s saw the disappearance of

¹⁷⁸ NPG D12592.

Venice (1797), the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1795) and Savoy (1792), all long-established nations. Furthermore, London had a considerable number of refugees from the French revolution living there; particularly from 1796¹⁷⁹ until the Peace of Amiens, so the consequences of French republicanism were made real by personal encounters.

More pertinent was what happened to another traditional maritime power. The Batavian Republic replaced the Dutch Republic during the 1790s when the expelled Patriot Party¹⁸⁰ returned from its refuge in France to seize control with French revolutionary help. Britain equally had a displaced opposition party, in the Jacobites, although its last attempts were much earlier (1745) but they remained in France. Indeed one French General was a Jacobite leader, Jacques MacDonald, although by 1803 there was no direct claimant endeavouring to seize the throne.¹⁸¹

Linked to the above experiences of the Dutch, was a much larger challenge closer to home - Ireland. France's main foreign-service unit, the Irish Legion, consisted of several regiments largely recruited from Ireland. The English lack of confidence in the loyalty of Ireland was well founded and led to Napoleon targeting it for one of the invasion forces. The invasion had the support of the Society of United Irishmen and an Irishman, Colonel Tate, led the Fishguard landing force. The Irish rebellion to accompany the invasion saw numbers of the Anglo-Irish Protestant ascendancy massacred in 1798.

Captain Crawford, in his reminiscences, gives the Irish rebellion and pursuit of independence as much attention as Trafalgar. Crawford was Irish and knew Sarah C[urran] the sweetheart of Emmet the rebellion's leader. The rebellion was writ large in people's memories.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ White. *London In the Eighteenth Century* p143.

¹⁸⁰ R Knight, *Britain against Napoleon, The organization of Victory 1793-1815*, (St Ives, Allen Lane, 2013) p10.

¹⁸¹ Henry Stuart, younger brother of Bonnie Prince Charlie, was James II's last direct descendent, known as Cardinal Duke of York had been given annuity by British Government.

¹⁸² Captain A Crawford, *Reminiscences of a Naval Officer* (London, Chatham Publishing, 1999, original 1851) account of Sarah p113.

French ideas of equality, liberty and fraternity spread to other areas of the world. This included French overseas territories in the West Indies, with a successful slave revolution in St Dominique/Haiti. Charmier reflects on this connection in his reminiscences.¹⁸³ As Captain Hoffman phrased it in 1802, fear of revolution “found freedom in the mouths of the lower classes, who evidently did not understand the meaning of it, and when they did they only used it as a cloak to do mischief, for demagoguing – if you will allow the term – was the order of the day”¹⁸⁴ Nelson’s prize agent Davison expressed similar views in a letter in the 1790s, “against the schemes of banditti of zealots who may hope to succeed in schemes of rapines and plunder under the specious and insinuating terms of liberty and equality”¹⁸⁵.

The mutinies in the navy and the rise of the London Corresponding Society (LCS), with its links to the French Jacobin Society, added to this fear. Linda Colley, in her work on the formation of the concept of Britishness, draws attention to the fear of civil war in Britain remaining engrained and observes that, with the French revolution following shortly after the Gordon Riots, the hierarchy was nervous of the masses.¹⁸⁶ Zamoyski concludes there were nearly 500 documented riots between 1790 and 1810. He draws the conclusion, however, that only 10% had any political or ideological basis and therefore, the likelihood of revolution was probably not as high as the fear of it.¹⁸⁷ However, bread riots are a common prelude to revolution, hungry people take radical action. That is a lot of riots and it can be understood why the higher levels of society were nervous, even though there is evidence that the populace remained overwhelmingly anti-French.

¹⁸³ F Charmier, *Life of a Sailor* (Barsley, Seaforth, 2011 originally published Metropolitan Magazine 1831-2) p209.

¹⁸⁴ Hoffman p112.

¹⁸⁵ M Downer, *Nelson’s Purse* (London, Bantam Press 2004) p82.

¹⁸⁶ Colley, *Britons* p229.

¹⁸⁷ Zamoyski, *Phantom Terror*, p68.

Furthermore, there were two plots on the King's life. On 15 May 1800, James Hadfield attempted to shoot the King at the theatre.¹⁸⁸ The second plot was by Colonel Despard and other members of the LCS. The evidence for LCS involvement was flimsy and may have been a deliberate attempt by the Government to strengthen its position. The first was concluded to be the result of insanity, and Parliament brought in a new law to detain such people. They would have fed the feeling that there were plots, however, as espoused by Captain Hoffman above.

Lastly, several other issues arose around this time that added to the mood of gloom and fear, particularly for Londoners. The 1790s saw a significant rise in the cost of living without an equal rise in wages;¹⁸⁹ 1801-3 saw a smallpox epidemic within London, followed in 1803 by a catarrhal fever epidemic in London.¹⁹⁰ There were food riots for six nights in September 1800 following a bad harvest and rising prices, which led to the Royal Exchange (where Lloyd's were based) Division of the Loyal London Volunteers being called out. This was described in the newspapers as "the Disposition of the Populace to Riot and Depredation".¹⁹¹ This time also saw a big increase in gin consumption,¹⁹² and some of the feeling in the back streets of London would be similar to that encapsulated 50 years earlier by Hogarth in *Gin Lane*.

Financial factors motivating the subscribers

Revolution and invasion could lead to the wealthy merchants of the Committee losing their heads or, more likely, a large proportion of their fortunes, so it is understandable that they felt a personal risk from those factors. However, with their knowledge of global trade and finance, the majority of the members of the Committee had a far deeper understanding of factors that influenced the likely outcome of the war. They probably better

¹⁸⁸ *Picture of London*. p61.

¹⁸⁹ White. *London In the Eighteenth Century* p213.

¹⁹⁰ White. *London In the Nineteenth Century*.

¹⁹¹ P Hunter, *Through the Years Tales from Hoare's Bank Archives* (Hoare's Bank, 2012) Article June 2011 p42. (hereafter *Hoare's Archives*)

¹⁹² White. *London In the Eighteenth Century* p331.

understood the risks because they were used to calculating them and factoring them in to their pricing of maritime insurance, than the Government. Their global merchant network and the details they received through both versions of Lloyd's Register in existence at this time and the network of port agents reporting back ship movements for the journal Lloyd's List, meant many of the Committee had detailed insight into the true state of affairs. Messenger notes that Lloyd's intelligence could be ahead of and more accurate than the Navy's, citing the example of the capture of French privateer off Lowestoft in 1794 and even how many prizes she had taken, before the Admiralty did.¹⁹³

To give an indication of how critical such detailed information can be, in World War 2, the Register was reprinted by the Germany Navy and issued to all U Boats to that they could calculate the impact of their attacks.¹⁹⁴

In the early 18th century, the British economy depended on trade rather than agriculture. It was recognition of this that meant Napoleon would declare the continental system in 1806. The merchants understood just how much the Peace of Amiens had forced Britain to give up in trade access, with nearly all its gains from the French Revolutionary War. Britain not only returned significant parts of the West Indies but the Cape Colony and had to largely withdraw from the Mediterranean and accept restrictions on access to the Baltic.

The Committee were aware that "the sinews of war is money"¹⁹⁵ or, as Paul Webb said, sailing warships "were powered no less by pounds sterling than by the winds"¹⁹⁶ Lord Barham stated in June 1805 "that it is evident that the depredation and the destruction of our trade is their grand object, it will be

¹⁹³ Messenger, p9.

¹⁹⁴ Lloyd's Register Archivist 18 November 2019.

¹⁹⁵ Lt G Parsons, *Nelsonian Reminiscences* (London, Chatham Publishing, 1998, Original text published in 1843) p2. Said by Prince Caraccioli Admiral of the Neapolitan Fleet at his Court Martial in 1799.

¹⁹⁶ P Webb, "Construction, Repair and Maintenance in the battlefleet of the Royal Navy 1793-1815" (*The British Navy and the Use of Naval Power in the Eighteenth Century*, ed J Black and P Woodfine, Leicester University Press, 1988 pp207-19) p207.

necessary to guard as much as possible against it"¹⁹⁷ or as Admiral Sir Byam Martin said: "Britannia must rule the waves or our commerce will be taken from us, and our manufactures smothered for want of vent."¹⁹⁸

For maritime insurers, Luis Lobo-Guerrero concluded that even during the Napoleonic period the London maritime insurance market was dominant because it had developed as individual houses rather than corporations. This meant that, during wartime, it could promote overseas trade, but deny the enemy the chance to protect their trade while enabling our trade to flourish as merchants could spread their risk.

The use of convoys enabled further spreading of risk especially because ships usually had multiple owners and each owner had part shares in multiple ships.¹⁹⁹

Lloyd's Register covered all vessels, not just those operated by the London traders. In 1793 the register was 35 years old and had 16,000 hulls at 1.5 million tons. By 1814 it had 24,418 vessels of about 2.6 million tons.²⁰⁰ At this time it was located in Birchin Lane,²⁰¹ just around the corner from the Royal Exchange, where Lloyd's Insurance was based.

The declaration of war in 1793 caused numerous bankruptcies,²⁰² Pressnell estimated 1276, 50% more than in any year since 1688 and describes the financial crisis unleashed by the war as a "hurricane that swept the business world"²⁰³. At the forefront of the minds of the Committee must have been the experience of the 1797 invasion attempt. This led to a run on the banks, and the 26 February 1797 order of council suspending payments from the Bank of

¹⁹⁷ *Letters of Lord Barham Volume 3* (NRS, Volume 39, 1911) p254 letter to Cornwallis dated June 1805.

¹⁹⁸ *Letters of Sir T Byam Martin Volume 1* (NRS, Volume 1, 1903) p144. In his reminiscences.

¹⁹⁹ Guerrero, p54.

²⁰⁰ R Woodman. *The Whale and the Elephant* (The Naval Review, February 2006, pp34-44) p34.

²⁰¹ The List where the subscribers were insurers was at 4 Castle Court Birchin Lane.

²⁰² *Picture of London* p58.

²⁰³ L S Pressnell, *Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 1956), pp457-459 & p546;

England in gold following the Bank informing Pitt that they needed to reduce the advances to the government.²⁰⁴ The Bank of England resorted to counter stamping more than two million Spanish silver dollars (also known as Spanish eight-real pieces) that had been captured by the Royal Navy, with a hallmarker's stamp of George III. While they replaced the five shilling crown they were issued at 4s 9d. The Bank was nervous enough at the end of 1803 that it issued a further half million of these coins although over stamped with a bigger bust of George III.²⁰⁵



*Overstamped 1794 Spanish silver eight real coin with small bust of George III*²⁰⁶

While full-blown financial collapse was averted, the memory remained fresh. Indeed, the threat of the war restarting in October 1802, over a breakdown in the talks with France over Malta, caused panic in the City of London and sharply reduced the value of stocks. Admiral Moore commented at the time that “it would be better to go to war at once before we have given up all the important conquests that have cost the country so much blood and money.”²⁰⁷ Colonel Drinkwater described the events as follows:

“They announced to us the news (which had reached them that morning from the metropolis) of the shutting up of the National Bank of England and the general suspension of cash payments....Nothing but

²⁰⁴ *ibid.* pp59-60.

²⁰⁵ H E Manville, *The Bank of England countermarked dollars, 1797-1804* (British Numismatic Journal, Volume 70, 2000) pp103-17.

²⁰⁶ London Coins December 2019 Lot 1588.

²⁰⁷ T Wareham, *Frigate Commander* (Barnsley, Pen And Sword, 2012) p228.

*England's disgrace and downfall was foretold and talked of throughout the kingdom.*²⁰⁸

The Partner's memoranda book at Hoare's bank²⁰⁹ highlights some of the problems of operating during a war, in particular the shortage of coin to meet payments. In February 1800 the book notes "Respect should be had to the Gold which diminishes apace". It did not take long for the problems to reappear after the collapse of the Peace of Amiens and in November 1803 they were stating:

"There is an amazing Scarcity both of Gold & Silver" and this had grown by the next month to "Gold being extremely scarce the greatest Precaution is necessary in the Distribution of it".

Two months later, in February 1804, it highlights the methods Hoare's was employing to resolve the situation.

"The Difficulty about Gold & Silver does not diminish nor is there any to be got without a Premium: some Bankers give it for the former: it may be expedient for us to do the same, but it were better to avoid doing it publickly. The later we have always done: but most of our Sources have dried up: a Person was sent here...how is in the habit of getting it from Turnpikes & other Sources".

This situation led to a reduction in the willingness to lend money and the number of approved loan applications declined.

²⁰⁸ D Bonner Smith, "The Naval Mutinies of 1797" (*The Mariner's Mirror*, 1935, Vol21:4, pp428-449, p442.

²⁰⁹ Hoare's Archives p42.



Gillray, Cartoon. Bank Notes Paper Money – French Alarmists 1 March 1797. Pitt clerk offers new bank notes to loyal John Bull while Fox and Sheridan try to persuade him to take gold so he make his peace with the French when they come²¹⁰

Concerns over invasion and unrest were sufficient in 1798 that Henry Hoare, the senior partner at Hoare's Bank, chaired a fundraising meeting to collect funds to be given to the Bank of England. His colleague William Hoare was a member of the Committee. Henry Hoare was also a keen member of the Volunteers, rising at 0430 to drill with the Fleet Street Corps at 0600. He then spent the evenings drilling with his three sons and a sergeant. When the Loyal London Volunteers formed he became a Captain in them. Four of the bank's ten clerks were members of the Volunteers and the bank gave them £3 to £4 per year to offset the expenses occurred. It would appear that it also made payments to two instructors. Overall in 1804 the bank paid out nearly £170 in support of the Volunteers.²¹¹ It also ordered a dozen muskets from Henry Nock, to the same pattern as those of the EIC. This matched the number of clerks and messengers the bank had working at the time, being 10 and two respectively.

²¹⁰ NPG D12601.

²¹¹ Hoare's Archives p42.

The City of London was particularly eager in the creation of Volunteer units. The Royal Trinity House Volunteer Artillery was created in 1803 to protect the Thames, being created out of “Seaman, Landsmen, Volunteers, Pilots, Lascars, Harbour Volunteer Marines, River Fencibles, Greenwich Pensioners, Trinity House Pensioners, East India Company Pensioners”. This was a body of 1,200 men, with the Prime Minister William Pitt, Master of the Corporation, becoming Colonel, and Elder and Younger Brethren taking on roles as Captains and Lieutenants respectively.

There were problems with the largest trading Company, the EIC; a company so important it was considered it must not fail, and in which at least 12 members of the Patriotic Fund committee held senior roles. However, by the end of the 18th century it suffered from both internal issues and competition. It was still arguable that the ‘first and immediate consequence of the loss of India would be ‘national bankruptcy’”²¹² and MP, Thomas Pownall wrote “people tremble with horror even at the imagination of the downfall of this India part of our system; knowing that it must necessarily involve with its fall, the ruin of the whole edifice of the British Empire”.²¹³

*“The financial difficulties under which the Company laboured during the late 18th century suggest that the great engine was by then spluttering rather badly, but the legacy of a long, entangling financial alliance between the Company and the state ensured that the governments always felt strongly obliged to protect the interests of one of the nation’s major public creditors. No minister could ever afford to let the East India Company go to the wall.”*²¹⁴

²¹² H V Bowen, *The Business of Empire The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2006) attributed to Anon in letters from 1776 (hereafter Bowen)

²¹³ T Pownall MP, *The Right Interest, and Duty of the State, as concerned in the Affairs of the East Indies* (London, S Bladon, 1773) p11.

²¹⁴ Bowen, p36.

It was not unreasonable for an MP to be so concerned. Like many others of their social strata, many MPs had EIC shares. Bowen calculates around 100 MPs in each Parliament.²¹⁵

The EIC took measures to place itself on a firmer financial footing. This included building a new larger office building to give the impression it was secure (opened 1799). It also benefitted from the problems that befell its Dutch rival the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, known as the VOC. The VOC was nationalised in 1796 and wound up in 1800.²¹⁶ However, from 1800 to 1806 the EIC shipped £3.9M of bullion to India to keep the trade going and were doing similar to Canton.²¹⁷ EIC sales were dropping heavily from 1801.²¹⁸ The 1803 recommencement of war led to a precipitous fall in sales of re-exported Indian cotton²¹⁹ and thus its stock price.²²⁰ The EIC reformed shipping rates between 1793 and 1803 but, as the Fund Committee would be only too aware, these savings would be offset by the increase in insurance rates following recommencement of war.²²¹ Totally dependent on reducing risk to its cargoes and increasing trade by sea, an increase in foreign privateer action could be disastrous for the Company as well as making the governance of India, with its dependence on the oceans for communication, almost impossible.

As part of its measures to ensure its survival the EIC ensured it contributed to the State including providing three Regiments of Volunteers, building three new ships for the Royal Navy and converted ten EIC ships to 64s.²²² The EIC had already been involved in rewarding courage and zeal, as will be seen in Chapters 5 and 6. Many EIC Directors and those linked to the company were involved in other maritime businesses. The French used the period of peace to get back into India and even sent “an officer of the name of Muller into

²¹⁵ Irish MPs added at Union in 1801 increased numbers from 558 to 658.

²¹⁶ A Lambert, *Seapower States* (London, Yale University Press, 2018) p191.

²¹⁷ Bowen p229.

²¹⁸ *ibid.* p235.

²¹⁹ *ibid.* p243.

²²⁰ *ibid.* p55.

²²¹ *ibid.* p251

²²² Bowen, p49-50.

Cuttack, to encourage the rajah of Berar to hold out against us and to invade Bengal, assuring him at the same time of the support of France”.²²³

Britain's Wider Financial Position

By the late 18th century, economic theory was emerging. Adam Smith published *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 and while Jeremy Bentham's *Manual of Political Economy* which advocated individual responsibility was not published until later it was written in the 1790s. Henry Thornton, brother of one of the Committee members, was also writing on economic thought at the time. Roger Morriss determined that: “Fundamental to the power of the state was its financial system. That too developed, as did the attitudes to the state's system of war funding. Before 1793, the national debt was a cause of concern central to parliamentary politics. Indeed before 1765, Parliament routinely limited military expenditure. However, after 1793, the national debt gradually lost its horror.”²²⁴ When Martin Daunton looked at the fiscal-military state he concludes that for several reasons, including having not sold off future tax income streams, the understanding of the financial position, the curbing of government spending in peacetime and the freedom of the British citizen meant that tax rates were able to be higher and more assured and thus the British government was able to borrow money to fund the war at a lower cost.²²⁵ Roger Knight assumes similar, noting that between 1783 and 1802 the British economy grew at 6% p.a., which was better than elsewhere and that British government income was linked to customs duties and therefore trade and had a mutual linkage therefore with the interests of the City. Knight contrasts this with the French weakness.²²⁶ The first ever census, held in 1801, showed a population of 16 million, more than double the seven million

²²³ *Picture of London* p165.

²²⁴ Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* p10.

²²⁵ M Daunton, 'The Fiscal-Military State and the Napoleonic Wars: Britain and France compared', in David Cannadine (ed.), *Trafalgar in History* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2006), pp18-43.

²²⁶ Knight, *Britain against Napoleon, The organization of Victory 1793-1815* p21-2.

the government thought; this removed some of the fear that the population was too small to win the war.²²⁷

Morriss also said “resource problems were normally solved by resort to the commercial market.”²²⁸ With their linkage to the funding of the War through subscription to Government Bonds, the Committee were fully aware of the position of government debt and its ability to raise future revenue and borrow further, otherwise they would not have kept the cost of borrowing so low, they were at the heart of the financial understanding. The Fund’s Chairman Angerstein was so critical to others purchasing Government Bonds, that those he subscribed to were known as “Julians” and were then purchased by others because where “Mr. Angertstein was prepared to lead the best men in Lloyd’s were willing to follow.”²²⁹ The Loyalty Loan that Angerstein helped lead purchase of in December 1796 raised £18 million in just four days.

While they might have had enough confidence to purchase the debt at the right price, they would have been equally aware that in January 1798 the Bank of England had opened books to receive voluntary contributions to paying for the war. The Bank contributed £200,000, the King £20,000 and the Common Council £20,000, but the threat of invasion led to £2,000,000 being subscribed,²³⁰ of which Lloyd’s as an organisation contributed £1,000. This voluntary contribution made up for the shortfall in Pitt’s first tax system, the “Triple Assessment” but his replacement system income tax meant the government could pay interest on loans and cover a significant percentage of the war cost, 28% according to Daunton.²³¹

They equally understood what France had done during this period to improve its financial position. This included the suppression of the slave revolt in St.

²²⁷ L Colley, *Captives, Britain Empire and the World 1600-1850* (London, Jonathan Cape, 2002) p309. (Hereafter, *Captives*)

²²⁸ Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* p10.

²²⁹ Grey, *Lloyd’s Yesterday and Today* p19.

²³⁰ *Picture of London* p60.

²³¹ M Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan, The Politics of Taxation 1799-1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007) p45.

Dominique but also selling Louisiana to America for 15 million sterling; a possession France only received in 1800 under a treaty with Spain. The purchase was agreed in April although not announced until July, but the banker acting for the American government was Francis Baring, a member of the Committee. They would understand how different the French tax system was. France borrowed money by selling tax privileges, which meant they could not be further managed, this contrasted with the British system of consols. These are pure perpetual loans and meant the interest rate is lower. The French government had several defaults including in 1797²³² and this further raised its cost of borrowing; indeed it relied on significant financial penalties against defeated states to retrospectively pay for the campaigns, for example 20 million lire on Lombardy in 1797 and 40 million florins on the Austrians after Austerlitz.²³³ Indeed, it was forced almost to continue to wage war to fund itself by reparations. This meant if its territories started to reduce then it would have to find a way of penalising its own population through tax when they were already providing the citizen army.

It must also be borne in mind how new many of the insurance companies were. Of the 18 significant insurance companies the London guide mentions that were in existence by 1815, four were in their first few years including the Norwich Union (1797), The British (1799) and the Imperial (1803).²³⁴ It must be remembered that the underwriters were directly risking their own money just as bankers were and their personal exposure may have concentrated minds.

London's Maritime Trade.

Although the City of London remains highly dependent on maritime trade and most of the worlds' maritime insurance is conducted through it, modern Londoners give little thought to their dependence on the maritime. This was

²³² Daunton, *The Fiscal-Military State and the Napoleonic Wars: Britain and France* Compared p38.

²³³ *ibid.*

²³⁴ *Picture of London* pp377-8.

not the case in the 18th century. Only four of the current London Bridges had been built by 1803;²³⁵ the use of boats to go up and down the river was commonplace and the risks associated with 'shooting the drop' created by London Bridge was well known. London depended on vessels bringing trade into the City and the Docklands were rapidly expanding. All the members of the Committee would have been conscious of the risk and cost of war. For some this would be generic but for others this would be very direct. In 1794, one of the Committee members, Richard Shedden stated he lost £190,000 over the previous two years due to insured cargos being lost due to the war.²³⁶ 1797 saw American ships insured by Lloyd's seized by France and Spain and 1801 saw British ships, again insured by Lloyd's seized in Russia.

Shipbuilding and trade were at the heart of London. The number of docks was expanding. The West Indies Docks, which had a monopoly on sugar trade with the West Indies, opened in 1802. The London Dock Company opened its dock in 1805; East India Docks opened in 1806 and the Surrey and Commercial Docks at Rotherhithe underwent a massive expansion between 1802 and 1815, largely for the Baltic and Scandinavian trade.²³⁷ All involved members of the Committee of the Fund.

²³⁵ London and Westminster bridges were older but the first Blackfriars and Battersea Bridges opened 1769 and 1771. Next Vauxhall Bridge (called Regent Bridge) 1811, Strand/Waterloo Bridge designed 1807-10 opened 1817. Kew, Putney, Richmond Bridges were built but upriver from London.

²³⁶ Worsley & Griffith *The Romance of Lloyd's* p182.

²³⁷ White. *London In the Nineteenth Century* Chapter 14



*West India Docks as they opened in 1802*²³⁸

A tract advocating for a police force on the Thames²³⁹ indicated that in 1800 in London at least 120,000 people were employed directly by river commerce and speculated that 500,000 derived subsistence from the “navigation and commerce of the river”.²⁴⁰ This was half the population of London.²⁴¹ While probably an exaggeration, it estimated that this included 4,100 merchants and ship owners, 35 ship builders, 33,000 seaman and boys, 5,000 waterman, 270 master lighterman and 3,000 journeymen lightermen.

The same tract claimed this industry accounted for a quarter of public revenues, stating the Virginia tobacco trade brought in £848,493 for the year ending 5 January 1799 whereas the sugar trade from the West Indies had accounted for 450 ships and £2m in tax in 1799.²⁴² The tract quotes the 1796 Report of the Dock Committee of the House of Commons as identifying that in 1792 there were 1,860 London ships.²⁴³ If you include vessels owned elsewhere it estimated the number of vessels moving on the water as 10,175

²³⁸ NMM PAD1364.

²³⁹ P Colquhoun, *A treatise on the commerce and police of the river Thames: containing an historical view of the trade of the Port of London* (London: Joseph Mawman, 1800) (hereafter Colquhoun)

²⁴⁰ *ibid.* Figures are px. and pxxxii.

²⁴¹ 1801 census London population 1,096,784.

²⁴² Colquhoun, p7 both figures are for 1799.

²⁴³ *ibid.* p9. Breaks these down, shows most were small craft for coastal trade, 1,109 less than 200 tons. But 383 above 300 tons the smallest size the EIC sailed long distance.

vessels.²⁴⁴ Between the 82 British ports, it estimates the coastal trade as consisting of 6,500 voyages by 625 different vessels.

For international trade, Colquhoun estimated that 1,426 British and 1,843 foreign vessels were involved in carrying 627,087 tons of cargo.²⁴⁵ It valued this trade at £13 million imports and £17 million exports²⁴⁶ while estimating that the value of commercial property floating in the Thames to be in excess of £70 million.²⁴⁷ Customs tax and convoy dues from London in 1799 were £6,422,791 0 shillings and 5 pence.²⁴⁸ By voyage its breakdown is as shown in the table below.²⁴⁹

Table 9 Number of Voyages against Trade Region

Trade	Number of Voyages
East India Trade	53
West India Trade	346
British Continental Colonies	68
Africa and the Cape of Good Hope	17
Southern Fishery	29
Greenland Fishery	16
United States of America	140
Europe and Turkey	2,277
Channel Islands	46
Ireland	276

This demonstrates that by far the majority of trade was with Europe and, therefore, was threatened when Napoleon brought in the Continental system

²⁴⁴ *ibid.* p10 this includes support vessels and colliers.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.* p10-13

²⁴⁶ *ibid.* p19.

²⁴⁷ *ibid.* p23.

²⁴⁸ *ibid.* p35.

²⁴⁹ *ibid.* p17.

to counter the British blockade. The French threat to this trade is already recognised in the reasons presented to Parliament for the collapse of the Peace of Amiens. Equally even if the numbers are exaggerated it indicates significant movement and significant value.

These merchants, with their understanding of trade, would also be very clear in their comprehension of challenges, in particular cargoes that were likely to have an impact. They would have been aware that France equally had problems with its grain harvest in 1800 just as they had suffered in London. They would have been aware that the whaling industry was starting to decline, having peaked around 1790²⁵⁰ and that it was getting harder to find whales, particularly in the Pacific.

An often forgotten factor was the impact of impressment. With so many Londoners involved in the maritime trades, they were at risk of impressment, indeed Colquhoun estimates that 4,000 of the 12,283 members of the Watermans Company were employed by the Navy.²⁵¹ White also comments on how impressment hit manpower²⁵² and thus threatened the ability to trade. It is noticeable that the Fund made great use of a ballad called “Britons strike home”. This was originally published in 1739 and reflects the intent of many ballad writers to rouse the Patriotism of the listeners and encourage recruitment into the Navy.²⁵³

Why the Committee lacked confidence in the Royal Navy

There are two aspects to this lack of confidence; firstly the uncertain fighting spirit or lack of loyalty of the entire Navy and a lack of confidence in the fleet's capability.

²⁵⁰ Admiral B T Somerville, *Will Mariner: A true record of Adventure* (London, Faber and Faber Ltd, 1936) p67.

²⁵¹ *ibid.* p14.

²⁵² White. *London In the Eighteenth Century* p222.

²⁵³ J Davey, “Singing for the Nation: Balladry, naval recruitment and the language of patriotism in eighteenth century Britain” (*The Mariner's Mirror* Vol 103:1 Feb 2017. pp43-66).

Loyalty

The discipline of the Royal Navy had been called into question during the American War of Independence. Captain Anson in his biography of Lord St Vincent,²⁵⁴ refers to this, stating the Admiralty had to suppress some elements of dispatches. He references a letter from George Rodney from 28 January 1780:

*“to restore the old, good, necessary discipline to the British Navy will be of much more consequence. ‘Tis lost! it must, it shall be restored.”*²⁵⁵

Anson argued it was not restored until the late 1790s by Admiral Jervis and this was then shaken by a series of mutinies. Malcolmson argues²⁵⁶ there was a reluctance to use the word ‘mutiny’ and that it was often replaced with ‘disobedience’ or ‘insolence’ in discussion. That did not prevent a plethora of events that were still described as mutinies at the time. Those at Spithead and Nore are well known, but there were more. Samantha Cavell lists²⁵⁷ nine for the three years proceeding Spithead and Nore.²⁵⁸ 1797 saw not only those two (and Nore was really two mutinies with an element coming from Yarmouth to join in), but that year also saw the mutiny on HMS *Hermione*. While a particularly cruel Captain triggered *Hermione*, the Nore impacted as far away as the West Indies. Captain Hoffman recorded:

“Some of our seamen also received letters by the same opportunity acquainting them with the mutiny at the Nore, and a few days afterwards a disaffected spirit broke out in the squadron, which we had some trouble subduing. However, by reasoning with the petty officers

²⁵⁴ Captain W V Anson, *The Life of John Jervis Admiral Lord St Vincent* (London, John Murray, 1913) p75-77.

²⁵⁵ *ibid.* p76.

²⁵⁶ T Malcolmson, *Order and Disorder in the British Navy, 1793-1815* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2016). This debate is in the conclusion.

²⁵⁷ S A Cavell, “Social Politics and the Midshipmen’s Mutiny, Portsmouth 1791” (*The Mariner’s Mirror*, 2012 Volume 98:1 p41. I excluded the Midshipman’s mutiny from this list as driven by different factors discussed later in this chapter.

²⁵⁸ These are 1794: HMS *Culloden*, HMS *Orion*, HMS *Barfleur*, HMS *Berwick*, HMS *Windsor Castle* and HMS *Minerva*; 1795 HMS *Defiance*; 1796 HMS *Blanche* and HMS *Shannon*.

and the best seaman, it terminated without open mutiny or bloodshed, although the crews of some of the ships had been mistaken enough to have delegates for their proceedings.”²⁵⁹



Cruikshank's cartoon of 1797 Mutineers

There are many others. A letter from the later Admiral Gosselin casually mentions two executions for mutiny on board HMS *Montague* in mid 1804.²⁶⁰ Roland Pietsch notes several on HMS *Temeraire* in 1802, after the Peace of Amiens, because the ship's company was not paid off.²⁶¹ There was one on HMS *Castor* at Martinique in December 1801. Lieutenant Smith of the Royal Marines is killed in quelling it and his family applied for relief from the Patriotic Fund.²⁶² Admiral Gardner in his letters mentions two more, a further mutiny over several ships in the West Country post Nore and one on the *Queen* in 1794 by her Irish crew.²⁶³ Admiral Moore mentions a further mutiny on HMS *Beaulieu*. A letter to Captain Brown mentions one on *Alcmene* in 1797 after

²⁵⁹ Hoffman, p68.

²⁶⁰ Letter Lot 120 Bonnington 3 July 2019, from Captain Gosselin dated 7 July 1804. It mainly discussed various naval dignitaries and ship assignments, along with courtships of Admirals. But also comments on the executions.

²⁶¹ R Pietsch *The Real Jim Hawkins – Ship's Boys in the Georgian Navy*, (Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing, 2010) p125 letters 43, 54, 55 and p68.

²⁶² Handwritten Minutes 12 March 1805, in printed minutes the mutiny is hidden by use of word disturbance. Case rejected as not within scope.

²⁶³ Ed by F Davey, *Heart of Oak – Letters from Admiral Gardner (1742-1809)* (Exeter, Azure Publications, 2015).

she arrived in the Mediterranean post Spithead.²⁶⁴ Furthermore, Admiral Mitchell's comments on his squadron at Bantry Bay just before Christmas in 1801 and on the several mutinies in 1802:

*"The consequence is that very great discontent prevails among the ships and many partial mutinies have taken place, and although they have been quelled and the Ringleaders punished, yet the disgust to the service is increased in the hearts of Seaman who have great reason to complain of being retained in the service so long after a peace in addition to the hardships of having been impressed during the War."*²⁶⁵

These mutinies continued during the early years of the Napoleonic War. The Patriotic Fund Minutes record a wound received in quelling a mutiny on the tender *Grinder* on the 25 July 1806.²⁶⁶ That same month there was also the Vellore Mutiny in India, the first time Indian sepoy had mutinied against the EIC. There was a mutiny on HMS *Nereide* in 1809 and HMS *Africaine* in 1810.²⁶⁷

There are also mutinies in the Army but fewer. Ian Gilmour only identifies three: the artillery mutinied at Woolwich during the Nore, which was put down by the cavalry and guards; earlier an Irish regiment mutinied and attacked Exeter Castle and in 1800 the Duke of Kent provoked a mutiny by the garrison at Gibraltar by trying to impose Prussian-type discipline.²⁶⁸

Admiral Moore identified that the 1797 Nore mutiny led to an increased fear or revolution in the country²⁶⁹ and Roger Morriss notes that the mutineers were aware of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* and how Hodgkins' work on courts martial from 1813 shows he had read Locke, Paley, Malthus and Bentham

²⁶⁴ A Brown, *Rear Admiral William Brown 'My Inestimable Friend' (Trafalgar Chronicle No 24, 2014, pp297-302) p297*. Letter is from St Vincent praising him for his dealing with it.

²⁶⁵ Wareham, *Frigate Commander* p22, the references for the other two are p133 and p224.

²⁶⁶ Minutes 23 December 1806.

²⁶⁷ Lt S Walters RN, *The Memoirs of an Officer in Nelson's Navy* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, edition published 2005) p71 and p146.

²⁶⁸ Gilmour, *Riots, Risings and Revolution* p444-5.

²⁶⁹ Wareham, *Frigate Commander* p131.

and thought in utilitarian terms.²⁷⁰ Recording that fear in the civilian population Jenny Uglow notes an entry in James Oakes' diaries: "we have our Apprehension that from this Mutiny of the sailors may be dated the Commencement of a Revolution in this Kingdom"²⁷¹ and also that all but one of the sailors letters sent to the mutineers by their families stressed their fears on danger from France and the need for sacrifice for traditions of the Service. The one letter that differed just wished the sailors success.²⁷²

Anthony Brown in his examination of the Nore mutiny raises that during it one group of mutineers seized the *Good Intent* and sailed to France and that the mutineers were linked to the radical organisation the LCS.²⁷³ The Captain of the *Inspector* identified that his crew had planned to seize the ship just prior to the main mutiny at the Nore and sail her to France.²⁷⁴ There is also the case of HMS *Danae*, which seems to be missed by most studies not being reflected in any of the articles referenced here, but where the ship was taken by the crew in 1800 in the channel and where the mutineers sailed the ship to join the French, making the majority who did not join them become prisoners of war²⁷⁵. There was a similar case, three years earlier, when in 1797 the naval schooner *Marie Antoinette* mutinied and went into a French port.²⁷⁶

Colley even argues that the start of services of National Thanksgiving based on French model was partly driven by inability to rely on the Royal Navy because of the 1797 mutinies.²⁷⁷ As will be discussed in Chapter 6, several of the Fund's Committee had been involved with presenting swords and raising

²⁷⁰ Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* p261 and p269.

²⁷¹ Uglow *In these Times*, p176.

²⁷² *ibid.* p178.

²⁷³ A G Brown "The Nore Mutiny - Sedition or Ships' Biscuits? A Reappraisal" (*The Mariner's Mirror*, 92:1 2006) p62.

²⁷⁴ A Hawkins & H Watt " 'Ow is our time, the ship is our own Huzza for the Red Flag': Mutiny on the *Inspector*, 1797" (*The Mariner's Mirror*, 93:2, 2007 pp156-179) p159.

²⁷⁵ D Pope, *The Devil Himself* (London, Secker & Warburg 1987) and J D Spinney, "The *Danae* Mutiny" (*The Mariner's Mirror*, Volume 42, 1956, Issue 1) pp38-53.

²⁷⁶ L G Guttridge, *Mutiny, A History of Naval Insurrection* (Great Britain, Ian Allan Publishing, 1992) p76.

²⁷⁷ Colley, *Britons* p220.

funds for the suppression of the mutiny at the Nore. This must have been an issue they felt strongly about.

Capability

Jervis's apocryphal quote, which it is claimed he uttered as First Lord of the Admiralty in the House of Lords "I do not say that the French cannot come, I only say that they cannot come by sea" might not have been seen as entirely valid by the subscribers.

There were two potential reasons for this concern about the capability of the Royal Navy. The first was the ability of the Navy to win any sea battle and the second was concern about the state of the naval dockyards and thus the ability to repair and sustain the Fleet. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Saint Vincent, stoked concern with respect to the second during the peace of Amiens.

At any Royal Navy Trafalgar Night these days, it will be presumed by most present that the French wars brought a long series of naval victories. That might be true for the Napoleonic War following the collapse of the Peace of Amiens, it was not so certain in people's mind from the French Revolutionary War. While it had seen some major victories - the Glorious 1st of June, St. Vincent, the Nile and Copenhagen and a successful landing in Egypt in 1801 and the capture of Malta in September 1800 - the defence of Toulon had failed which while not surprising and with long term positives due to the French fleet losses and the evacuation of skilled workers. More clear was the attempted British involvement in taking Ochakov back from Russia²⁷⁸ in 1791 had equally not been positive in how individuals had behaved. Jervis himself reflected that the:

²⁷⁸ S A Cavell *Midshipmen and Quarterdeck Boys in the British Navy 1771-1831* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2012) p60.

“unsuccessful attempt at the invasion of Ireland had only been prevented by the circumstances of wind and weather, not by the Channel Fleet, and the country had lost confidence in its Navy and was in great fear of invasion”²⁷⁹

Other events did not go well. Roger Knight and Martin Wilcox comment²⁸⁰ that the blockade of France, so important to prevent an invasion, had not been smooth and that Howe and Bridport had done most of blockade from Spithead and Torquay. It was only in 1797 that close blockade started to be achieved and it took Admiral St Vincent to take over in 1800 to really enforce it and bully his Captains into the high standards needed. There had equally been unsuccessful expeditions to Ferrol in 1799 and Cadiz in 1800 and the British lost 70% of its troops in West Indies 62,250 from 89,000 prior to 1801.²⁸¹

Despite Nelson’s signal at Trafalgar about “England expects”, the Napoleonic Wars including the Battle of Trafalgar had plenty of examples of captains not doing as expected. Even the great Fleet victories would see officers court martialled for failing to perform as expected, for example, Captain Molloy of HMS *Caesar* for the Glorious 1st. Jervis was furious with the conduct of Admiral Sir Charles Thompson at the battle of St. Vincent, and Captain John Williamson was dismissed after the battle of Camperdown for failing to bring his ship into action.

It was not as if at this time the Navy had a reputation for victory to fall back on. The Americans had defeated Britain in the Revolutionary War and the Colonies become independent. As Sarah Kinkel points out in her discussion of Admiral Byng:

“This was not the first time suggestions had been made that Britain’s naval officers were inadequate. There had been widespread accusations of cowardice in the 1740s, resulting in highly publicised

²⁷⁹ Anson, *The Life of John Jervis, Earl St Vincent* p170.

²⁸⁰ Knight&Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet* p47.

²⁸¹ *ibid.* p51.

*courts martial. At the time, pamphlets had sarcastically mocked those people who thought 'that the officers in the Army were all beaux and boys; those in the Navy all brave, gallant fellows, heroes by instinct' and claiming that, of Britain's naval officers, 'only a few delight in the smell of gun-powder'*²⁸².

When Lord St. Vincent took over as First Lord he was determined to improve the efficiency of the naval dockyards, so he embarked on a tour of them in August 1802. He found enough irregularities he was able to obtain a royal commission of enquiry into the whole organisation. This enquiry produced 12 reports. Bringing a driving passion to the work, Lord St. Vincent managed to upset both the senior officials and the artificers in the dockyards.

As James Haas argues, this was part of the perennial problem whereby the necessary numbers for production in war mean that you must have over manning in peacetime,²⁸³ with a contradiction between what is financially efficient and what produces the most output. Admiral Byam Martin 200 years earlier phrased it: "The best economy we can practise in peace is liberal expenditure in preparing the fleet for war, in maintaining a large establishment of shipwrights, and having such a system in operation as may insure a vigorous application of our maritime strength when necessary".²⁸⁴ In the reforms brought in, the Dockyard workers lost their perquisites in 1801, in particular their freedom to take home the offcuts of timber. This was replaced with daily wages.²⁸⁵ This was followed by a short-lived wage cut in 1804 of 19%.²⁸⁶ With the bad harvests and rising food prices in 1800-1 it was not just London that had riots; there were also riots in two dockyard towns in March

²⁸² S Kinkel, *Saving Admiral Byng: imperial debates, military governance and popular politics at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War* (Journal for Maritime Research, Volume 13:1, 2011, pp3–19) p5 letter by "Anon".

²⁸³ J Haas, "Low Labour Intensity and overmanning in the Royal Dockyards 1815-1914" (*The Mariner's Mirror* Vol 102:4 2016 pp426-441). (Hereafter, Haas)

²⁸⁴ *Letters of Sir T Byam Martin Volume 1* p144. In his reminiscences.

²⁸⁵ Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* p167. Recommendation 6th Report Commission of Naval Enquiry.

²⁸⁶ Haas, p428. Reversed 5 months later.

and April 1801²⁸⁷ as well as a strike in 1801 by the dockyard workers.²⁸⁸ By the end of the Peace of Amiens, St Vincent had reduced the dockyard workforce by 28%.²⁸⁹ The results of the enquiry were wide ranging and long lasting with the impact for years and even led some years later to the dismissal of the future First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Melville.

However, St Vincent did not put the same passion into ensuring the Fleet was ready for war to recommence, presumably because he thought the Peace of Amiens would last or at least last longer. He oversaw a reduction in the number of seamen from 130,000 to just 70,000, and even sold off some stocks of wood to the French, considering them excessive. With their knowledge of ship building and the industry, the Committee would have known the state of the Navy in 1803 and how it had not been readied for a return to war.

Even if St. Vincent was overplaying the state of the Navy, the whole event showed how the Navy Board and Admiralty Board were not united, as explained in detail by Roger Knight,²⁹⁰ which in itself would not inspire confidence. Martin Howard stated similar regarding splits between the Foreign Secretary and the War Office throughout these wars.²⁹¹

The merchants involved with Lloyd's would have been aware of how precarious some necessary war supplies were. With their links in the EIC, they must have been aware that the company had been asked to reduce its scantlings for the ships it was building, due to the shortage of timber.²⁹² Britain would never recover the oak it consumed for ship building and, after the Napoleonic War started to use teak, which the EIC used at Bombay, on

²⁸⁷ Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* p168.

²⁸⁸ Haas, p428.

²⁸⁹ Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* p168.

²⁹⁰ R Knight, *The Battle for Control of the Royal Navy, 1801-1835* (Global Maritime History, 22 Jul 2019) <http://globalmaritimehistory.com/the-battle-for-control-of-the-royal-navy-1801-1835/?fbclid=IwAR1S5ldCyBvrWpmaiiAtkD9dl4IBTMxbPeKdBO-4kxSaTDzU2J4cKaIFjJY> accessed 4 January 2020.

²⁹¹ M R Howard, *Walcheren 1809* (Barnsley, Pen and Sword, 2012) p4.

²⁹² Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* p177.

frigates which while better for ship production had to be imported.²⁹³ This was exacerbated by St Vincent's reform reducing stocks of hemp, sailcloth and timber especially oak, which was why *Pallas* was built in 1804 using fir.²⁹⁴ Saltpetre for Britain's higher quality gunpowder was largely from Bengal and delivered, as required by their charter, through the EIC.²⁹⁵

Another area of trade expertise for the Committee was the Baltic. That was particularly important for iron, tar and timber for masts, while Russia provided 90% of the hemp needed by the Navy.²⁹⁶ Germany provided access to the the Elbe and therefore the flow of trade into the heart of Europe, especially as the Elbe flows through Brunswick-Lüneburg (commonly known as Electorate of Hannover, the British King's German territories). Lord Barham earlier expressed concern over this, although noted they had started to shift to Canada, "for hemp we are dependent on Russia and masts Nova Scotia"²⁹⁷ Oak staves for barrels traditionally came from Danzig, Memel and Stettin. However, the French Revolutionary War led to beech being used supplemented by white oak from Canada for dry casks.²⁹⁸

The French also had problems with wood. Without natural coal supplies, they were dependent on wood for fuel as well as for building transport, both carts and ships. They had long had various laws preventing the cutting of wood from their forests, this being an issue during the French revolution as the general population wanted access. But by the end of the 18th century the laws were being enforced again. The early 19th century saw the lowest level of French forest.²⁹⁹

²⁹³ Captain D Smith, "HMS Trincomalee (1817): A frigate spanning three centuries also known as TS Foudryant from 1902 to 1989" (*The Mariner's Mirror*, Vol 98:1, 2012) p67. Teak came from Malabar, EIC produced 15 line of battle and 8 frigates between 1803-1850.

²⁹⁴ D Cordingly, *Cochrane the Dauntless* (Bloomsbury Publishing, London, 2007) p84.

²⁹⁵ Bowen p48.

²⁹⁶ M Robson, *Britain Portugal and South America in the Napoleonic Wars* (London, Tauris, 2011) p7. (Hereafter Robson, *South America*)

²⁹⁷ *Letters of Lord Barham Volume 2* (NRS, Volume 38, 1910) p223 from "Memorial on the Supplying of the Navy with Seaman" dated November 1787.

²⁹⁸ Knight&Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet* p63.

²⁹⁹ K Matteson, *The revival of tradition in France's forests* (Al Jazeera 10 March 2013) accessed 2 January 2020 at

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/03/201335115134942332.html>

An alternative award system to Prize Money

The Fund was setting up an alternative to the traditional inducements/awards to naval personnel in wartime - prize money.

The City was concerned to make sure Royal Navy commanders acted in what they saw as the interests of the war and particularly protection of the merchant trade through suppression of privateers and support of convoys rather than attacks on the enemy's merchant shipping. They were competing with prize money which was a strong incentive and drove a lot of naval behaviour. The introduction of head money helped reward Fleet actions and the financial payments for carrying valuable cargo on naval vessels could provide a bonus for a convoy vessel's captain. However, these were not as strong an incentive as prize money where one lucrative capture made a fortune. In 1803 prize money was under the Convoys and Cruisers Act of 1708.³⁰⁰ Henry Digby received £40,731 for the capture of the Spanish Treasure ships *Thetis* and *Santa Brigada*, and ordinary sailors on board received £182,³⁰¹ equivalent to 10 years wages.³⁰²

Economics professor Douglas Allen reflected on this challenge to naval behaviour noting that captains would be given general orders such as "*to blockade a port, patrol for pirates and privateers, escort merchant vessels, and in times of war, engage the enemy.*" Furthermore the captain had a considerable asymmetric information advantage and plenty of opportunities to blame any failure on the "*ill fortunes of nature*" This meant the captain could use this to their own advantage and "*seek out private wealth and safety rather than engage in more dangerous and less profitable assignments. For example, what prevented captains from using their ship to seek weak, but*

³⁰⁰ Cordingly, *Cochrane the Dauntless* p91.

³⁰¹ W James, *The Naval History of Great Britain Volume 2* (London, Haring, Lepard & Co, 1826) p358.

³⁰² P Hore, *Nelson's Band of Brothers* (Barnsley, Seaforth, 2015) p127.

wealthy, merchant prizes rather than enemy frigates or avoid monotonous and dangerous blockades for profitable raiding shore parties?”³⁰³

As Allen sees it:

“The central compensation scheme in the British Navy was a wage arrangement that rewarded captains well if they were successful and remained at sea. This system revolved around the taking of prizes or spoils of war. Unlike on land, where prizes are located in specific places, enemy prize vessels float about. Unlike the army then, the use of prizes in the navy was a two-edged sword—it motivated captains to be active at sea, but encouraged them, at the margin, to hunt for lucrative prizes instead of pursuing more strategic objectives.”

and concludes:

“that payment by prizes in the navy had a drawback, namely that captains preferred the most valuable prizes net of the costs of capture. These prizes were not always the ones of most military value.”

The problem was apparent to senior naval officers at the time. Admiral Sir Charles Middleton, Lord Barham, when Comptroller of the Navy in 1782 reflected on the American campaign and noted:

“Frigates are the hands and eyes of a fleet. All the operations of our fleet have generally been crippled and confined for want of a proper number to attend it. This has arisen from bad management in the stationing of frigates; particularly by accumulating unnecessarily a great number of them in Jamaica, and for allowing the admirals on that station to detain them, coursing for prizes”³⁰⁴

³⁰³ D W Allen, *The British Navy Rules: Monitoring and Incompatible Incentives in the Age of Fighting Sail* (Explorations in Economic History Volume 39:2, 2002, pp204–231) p205-6.

³⁰⁴ *Letters of Lord Barham Volume 2* p73.

Admiral Jervis, despite the fortune he had made, expressed a similar view. He wrote to General Sir Charles Grey, about the command requests he was receiving, commenting: "Prize Money is the order of the day and all other objectives are secondary."³⁰⁵ Ray Aldis, however, argues that the strategic aim and good prize money might not always have been contradictory and that "the idea of making a lot of prize money as well as striking a blow against Spain became attractive to Jervis"³⁰⁶ because the Spanish treasure ships were known to shelter in Tenerife, so an attack supported both aspects.

Prize money led to a desire for frigate and independent command and it led to legal disputes, such as Admiral Nelson's dispute with Earl St. Vincent over an Admiral's share of some prize money. It is not possible to imagine a junior Admiral challenging a senior Admiral in such a way these days.

Prize money was Lord Cochrane's motivation on arrival in Chile in 1818 when he said: "I have every prospect of making the largest fortune which has been made in our days, save that of the Duke of Wellington."³⁰⁷

It was a major topic of conversation in an officer's correspondence.³⁰⁸

Frederick Chamier, under training as an officer during the Napoleonic War, comments poetically on prize money:

"prizes being the godsend of sailors and avaricious agents... ..There are many very gratifying moments in life: the eliciting of acknowledged love from the lips of youth and beauty; the first delicious sip of rich Madeira at dinner; a rich uncle's unfortunate death; the secret pleasure of seeing a friend fail. But to a sailor, 'prize-money' is as sweet as 'revenge in woman'"³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ J Davidson, *Admiral Lord St Vincent, Saint or Tyrant* (Barnsley, Pen & Sword, 2006) p203.

³⁰⁶ Lt Col R Aldis, *Why Nelson Lost the Battle of Santa Cruz de Tenerife* (The Nelson Dispatch, Volume 12:7 2016 pp404-10) p404.

³⁰⁷ Cordingly, *Cochrane the Dauntless* p2.

³⁰⁸ Seen in *Letters of Sir T Byam Martin Volume 1*, where along with gossip and advancement of others it is the main topic e.g. letters on pages 259, 289, 291, 302.

³⁰⁹ Chamier, *Life of a Sailor* p47-8.

He later describes “prize money to a sailor being like blood to a bloodhound”.³¹⁰ Charmier was probably known by one of the Committee as he served under Captain Marryat, the son of one of the Committee, although not until after the Fund was created.

This means of gaining wealth rankled with the Army. Major Adye complains the army are disadvantaged compared with the Navy as “one fortunate capture will enrich a captain of a man of war and his crew, for ever”.³¹¹

So why could the Committee not seek to influence naval officers in other ways? Firstly, beyond alternative financial awards and honours there was little anyone could do to influence the behaviour of naval officers. As Professor Allen stated above if they were not in a Fleet under direct supervision of a more senior officer, then they had almost complete independence. There were not the means of communication to enable close control as now; orders had to be written to allow latitude and judgement by the commanding officer.

Promotion (as today) was another key mode of influence on Naval officers. On the way up to Post Captain, promotion was by selection and there were ways of influencing this, particularly the jumps to Lieutenant and from Lieutenant to Commander, where there were significantly more candidates than places. Promotion in these cases was achieved either through ‘interest’, which could be gained within the service by diligent performance and impressing your seniors and thereby gaining their recommendation, or through battlefield heroism.³¹² The fact that Admiral Jervis felt it necessary to write to Sir Charles Grey, saying he would promote on merit and “pay no regard to the recommendations of any person whatever” shows just how common was the system, as Sir Charles Grey (as First Lord of the Admiralty)

³¹⁰ *ibid.* p104.

³¹¹ S Payne Adye *A treatise on Court Martial also an essay on Military Punishments and Rewards* (Eighth Edition privately printed in London for patrons, 1810) p250 (hereafter Adye).

³¹² Tendency to promote officer bringing news of victory meant being tasked was in effect being selected by your Admiral.

clearly expected his interest to lead to promotion.³¹³ Frederick Hoffman comments how previous EIC officers now in the Royal Navy had been promoted by interest without going to sea³¹⁴ and how rewards and promotion were only for the few.³¹⁵



Cruikshank's cartoon of "Mr B Seeking the Bubble" or promotion for bravery in battle

Once you were a Post Captain, promotion was earned simply by outliving your peers, hence Thursday's Toast of the Day in the Royal Navy, 'A bloody war or a sickly season.'

Roger Morriss summarises:

*"the distinction of individuals was a vital part of the promotion process" and "Private enterprise operated on the basis of individual responsibility" but for state bureaucracy as obliged to check against fraud and abuse "it practised collective responsibility."*³¹⁶

³¹³ Davidson, *Admiral Lord St Vincent, Saint or Tyrant* p176.

³¹⁴ Hoffman, p27.

³¹⁵ *ibid.* p96.

³¹⁶ Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* p14.

The City could not use personal links to pressurise naval officers and encourage the behaviour they wanted. Michael Lewis found that just 3.9% of naval officers came from a business and commercial background.³¹⁷ More recently Evan Wilson found a quite different answer, with 36% being from those classes. Wilson accounts for this by how they conducted the sampling but, while he does not draw out the point, when he looks at Colquhoun's figures for their parents' incomes, he demonstrates that only a very small percentage came from family with an income of greater than a £1,000 per annum.³¹⁸ With the number of nobility and landed gentry he found then this must mean there are very few financier's sons in the list, as one had to be earning more than that to be able to donate the fee to be a member of the Committee. There were only four of the committee who had direct family links to the Navy. Germain Lavie's brother was serving; Secretan and Marryat had sons in the Navy, although for Marryat that was from 1806 and John Fraser's father had briefly served in the Navy as a Midshipman and Masters' Mate in a gap in his employment on EIC ships.

Whether social rank or military rank was more important was highlighted by the Midshipman's Mutiny of 1791, which "revealed a high degree of sensitivity to matters of honour among the corps of officer trainees".³¹⁹ These were not necessarily young gentlemen as we might understand it. Moore the Midshipman was 31 at the time that he was court martialled for leadership of this mutiny, and was from a reasonably wealthy family or as Dillon puts it "a gentleman of independent fortune".³²⁰ Gardner speaks positively of him in his memoirs "another worthy fellow"³²¹. Mutiny in response to this debate was rare however.³²²

³¹⁷ M Lewis, *A Social History of the Navy 1793-1815* (London, George Allen & Unwin 1960) p31.

³¹⁸ E Wilson, *A Social History of British Naval Officers 1775-1815* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2017) pp86-9. (hereafter Wilson, *British Naval Officers*)

³¹⁹ Cavell p30.

³²⁰ Lewis (ed) *Sir William Henry Dillon I*, p29

³²¹ *Recollections of James Anthony Gardner, Commander RN, 1775-1814* (NRS 1906) p82.

³²² S A Cavell "Social Politics and the Midshipmen's Mutiny, Portsmouth 1791" (*The Mariner's Mirror* 98:1 2012) p37 (hereafter, Cavell)

Awarding glamorous swords sent a direct appeal to naval officers, especially the middling sorts, who were not able to get to the top and therefore would not get other distinguishing marks. Wilson establishes that the desire to be considered a gentleman was at the heart of a lot of how naval officers acted. But “Sea officers, even the well-born ones, had long been saddled with a reputation for poor manners. The isolated environment of a ship coupled with rough living conditions and the company of common sailors did nothing to endear officers to polite society.”³²³ Men’s fashion post 1793 became plainer and simpler; rather than aping the excesses of French fashion, men embraced “a simpler shape, with full-length trousers, narrow tailored coats and elaborate cravats”³²⁴. But even post Napoleonic fashion was still “inspired by ideas of Chivalry”³²⁵; the naval officer’s uniform allowed him to stand out, and a glamorous addition to that uniform in the form of a sword added to that impact.



*Typical clothes of 1780s and 1800s and naval uniform of the 1790s*³²⁶

When one of the definitions of a gentleman was “anyone who had the means to dress well and wear a sword”³²⁷ getting a sword they would be proud to wear probably accounts for why all the early recipients sought swords rather than silver plate. A gentleman needed a home to display silver plate, whereas the sword could be worn each time he ventured out in public.

³²³ Ibid. p37.

³²⁴ Castle Museum York men’s fashion 1800-1820.

³²⁵ Castle Museum, York.

³²⁶ 1780s Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1800s is © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Naval is Pellew, in the 1790s uniform once second epaulet adopted, NPG,

³²⁷ Wilson, *British Naval Officers* p192.

So the challenge for the Committee was how could they enhance the social status of Royal Navy sailors at a time when society needed but did not quite like the warrior; in other words how could they encourage Nelsonian-style heroes, to defend merchant shipping, and win the actions that maintained command of the sea? One way to do this was through awarding badges of honour such as medals, swords or silver plate, so that, as today, recipients were able to show they had been honoured by wider society for their service. Major Adye said “The coin of honour is inexhaustible and is abundantly fruitful in the hands of a prince who distributes it wisely.”³²⁸ It was an aspect of support that Nelson loved, leading to Lord St. Vincent to write about him:

*“Poor man, he is devoured with vanity, weakness, and folly, was strung with ribbons, medals, etc, and yet pretended that he wished to avoid the honour and ceremonies he everywhere met with upon the road.”*³²⁹

Why would they believe the City should do this?

There are many aspects of public life that today we would expect the Government to organise and fund but were, in the 18th and early 19th century, much more the purview of the private sector, although this began to change around 1815.

While Lord Mayor in 1789-90, Alderman William Pickett began significant infrastructure improvements to London through the City Corporation. This started with roads and removing obstructions and putting in a sewerage system. These works were delayed by the resumption of the war in 1803.³³⁰ Dr Cookson notes that the City was not only contributing to the Patriotic Fund but also paying for public events that we might expect to be paid for by the state, for example, the 1803 Militia Review. Cookson states this was to help

³²⁸ Adye, p275.

³²⁹ *Naval Miscellany II* (NRS, 1912) St Vincent to Nepean, 17 January 1801.

³³⁰ White. *London In the Nineteenth Century* Chapter 1.

prevent the state going the “French Way”.³³¹ Thomas and Tracy also note the involvement of certain commercial/merchants in various charitable funds.³³²

Health care and education were completely private or, where provided for the wider population, were paid for by charity. There were 20 hospitals in London, three colleges, 45 free schools and 17 public schools, 237 parish schools funded by private subscribers and the £75,000 given annually by the city livery companies.³³³ Being a subscriber usually came with some benefit. A good example of this is the London Hospital, often known just as The London, whereby a subscriber could recommend people to its care. As will be seen in Chapter 10 in this thesis, the main subscribers to the Fund were often subscribers to hospitals.

Subscribers to Lloyd’s also undertook national work. While the Royal National Lifeboat Institution (RNLI) arose separately, the subscribers at Lloyd’s provided a limited national lifeboat service from 1802 and kept it going for 22 years until the RNLI took on the work.³³⁴

Final thought

The City was used to war and many individuals involved in the Fund made considerable profits out of it through their funding of Government debt and the rise in insurance. But they were not used to a war that might completely destroy them and all they held dear. They had an incentive to make sure the war went well. There were particular reasons why they shared the nation’s concerns in 1803. As the Navy Record Society editor selecting from Lord Barham’s papers summarised, it:

³³¹ J E Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford, Oxford University Press 1997) p 218.

³³² Thomas & Tracy, *Master and Madman* p159.

³³³ *Picture of London* p 234.

³³⁴ Grey, *Lloyd’s Yesterday and Today* p27-8 and Worsley & Griffith *The Romance of Lloyd’s* p99.

*"was not the danger of invasion, which our historians have represented as paramount, but the possibility of danger to the trade. The country was alarmed and was mustering by its thousands in the ranks of the volunteer; ministers were anxious and giving a ready ear to projects of sea-mines or submarines, which it was to take a hundred years of investigation to render efficient"*³³⁵

The Committee who were better informed than the wider populace and probably better informed than the Government knew just how perilous the situation was, and used their wealth to reinforce the rewards and honours that incentivised particular forms of naval behaviours, especially the defence of trade.

³³⁵ *Letters of Lord Barham Volume 3 pxxxii.*

Chapter 4

Other Nations' Presentation Swords

Prior to looking at how the Patriotic Fund used swords as awards, this chapter examines what other nations were doing regarding presenting swords. It concentrates on France and America, two of the most significant opponents during this war. America's sword history is entwined with that of France and Britain. With naval swords it is noticeable all navies in Europe modelled their swords on either the French style, as Denmark, Norway, Sweden did, or the British style as the Italians and Germans have done.

Swords seem to have been given as rewards in the Arabic culture earlier than in the West. In 2014, Dutch historian Niels Anderson produced a study of presentation arms from Tunis and Algiers.³³⁶ His introduction makes clear that Turkish, Persian and Indian weapons are hard to date even when of presentation quality, due to the length of time the designs remained current.³³⁷ The earliest he has been able to positively date is from 1753, which was a gift for the Danish King Frederik V from the Bey of Tunis, but he draws attention to swords being gifted prior to then, as a 1687 painting³³⁸ of Thomas Hees, a Dutch diplomat to Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, which has two clearly shown in the background. In a study of the siege of Vienna of 1683,³³⁹ Andrew Wheatcroft refers to part of the customary gifts to the Khan of the Tartars for him to fight for the Sultan was a jewelled sword. There is though one dagger that may have helped inspire the British gifting swords. When the Ottoman Sultan, Selim III, sent Yusuf Agah his first ambassador to England in the 1790s a gold dagger was one of the gifts for King George.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ N A Anderson, *Gold and Coral: Presentation Arms from Algiers and Tunis* (Denmark: Danish Arms and Armour Society, 2014).

³³⁷ Although not true for Japanese swords where the maker is often known and they can, therefore, be roughly dated.

³³⁸ Anderson, *Gold and Coral* p7 at Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam SK-C-1215.

³³⁹ A Wheatcroft, *The Enemy at the Gate: Habsburgs, Ottomans and the Battle for Europe* (London: The Bodley Head, 2008) p47.

³⁴⁰ M Downer, *Nelson's Lost Jewel* (Stroud: The History Press, 2017) p27.

However, in both the Arabic and Indian cultures the elaborate swords given to the recipient were not made for the individual recipient. Both countries were skilled in metalwork, particularly the use of inlaying in Arabic culture and Kudan³⁴¹ in Indian culture, and produced many fine weapons. These were then given out by their rulers. We see this in British Georgian collections with weapons presented by various Sultans/Beys in the period 1798 to 1807 when the Ottoman Empire was a British ally. These include those presented to Nelson and Sir Sydney Smith and the royal families discussed in Chapter 6, but there are at least six others to officers. As Arabic swords do not carry hallmarks or makers details they are impossible to date. So while they were given in the years below, they could be much older.

Three were presented by Turkish Naval Captains, (more likely Admirals although referred to as Captains) one to Captain Frank Austen for driving the French away from a beached Turkish ship of the line;³⁴² one to Colonel Hill following an action in 1801 in the Egyptian Campaign³⁴³ and one by the Captain Pasha of Constantinople to Commander Vincent in 1804 when he visited the city and was accidentally fired on.³⁴⁴ The Pasha of Egypt also presented at least one and the Dey of Algiers at least two. The Pasha's was given to Captain Mackay in 1807 for his command of the Grenadier Company of 2nd Battalion 78th Regiment of Foot at El Hamet.³⁴⁵ The Dey of Algiers presented one to Captain Murray probably in 1798 and one to Captain Bowen probably in 1799.³⁴⁶

³⁴¹ Kudan is the uniquely Indian skill of setting jewels into a latticed gold frame, see Prince Khurram's dagger for the battle of Deccan, 1617 in the Wallace collection.

³⁴² C Caplan *The Ships of Frank Austen* (Journal of the Nelson Society Vol 2:7 2013) p442.

³⁴³ E Sidney, *The Life of Lord Hill G.C.B.* (J Murray, London, 1845) p41.

³⁴⁴ J Marshall, *Royal Navy Biography* (Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1823) p916.

³⁴⁵ Lot 68, Thomas Del Mar 14 December 2005.

³⁴⁶ Lot 229 by Charterhouse 25 March 2011. Unclear which Captain Bowen. R Hales in *Islamic and Oriental Arms and Armour: A Lifetime's Passion* (Guernsey, Robert Hales, 2013) suggests William H Bowen due to later label but better candidate is the more obscure James Bowen who visited Algiers in 1799 on *Argo* and persuaded the Dey to release six British slaves, having only visited to arrange food and water according to W James, *The Naval History of Great Britain Volume 2* (Bentley, London, 1859) p360.



Sword presented to Captain Murray by Dey of Algiers³⁴⁷

There are Indian presentation weapons. These are also hard to date because already existing elaborate weapons were gifted.



Indian Rajah presenting sword and a 19th-century silver Indian presentation sword³⁴⁸

It has not been possible to identify a reference that covers military and naval weapons of Europe, or even for many countries a work that covers their swords. The closest is May and Annis' two-volume work *Swords for Sea Service* but that is Naval only and based on those held by the NMM. Some countries are well covered but others glossed over. The book has no example not covered in this thesis. It might be expected the states that form Germany would have given presentation swords. Solingen made blades for other countries' swords and the Germans became fixated on swords as a badge of office a century later. There are two major German texts on old German

³⁴⁷ Chichester Museum.

³⁴⁸ Lot 344 Roseberry's 24 April 2017 and Lot 261 Hutchinson Scott's 16 January 2020.

swords³⁴⁹ both well researched and including items in private collections. Both include Napoleonic era weapons, in particular Prussian, but neither has a presentation sword from this period. One challenge for this period is many countries no longer exist and texts are usually produced from a national perspective. For example, I have been unable to identify any reference covering the Republic of Genoa's swords.

It has not been possible to find any studies of the subject in Spain or Russia despite their sword production at Toledo and Tula. Studies of auctions and museums have furnished examples. A sword was presented to General Miguel Ricardo de Alava by the town of Vitoria in gratitude for saving the city following the battle of 21 June 1813.³⁵⁰ There are two swords in the style of British presentation swords at the Madrid Maritime Museum. One was presented to Cosme Damián de Churruca y Elorza sometime prior to 1805 made by the French maker Boutet, who is discussed later. The other belonged to the Spanish Governor of Montevideo at the time General Beresford was defeated at Buenos Aires. Similarly a Russian sword was auctioned that had been presented by Catherine II for suppression of the Cossack Rebellion in 1774.³⁵¹



Cosme Damián de Churruca y Elorza's sword at Madrid Maritime Museum

³⁴⁹ H Hampe & R Dauzat, *Legacies in Steel* (Oxford, Casemate Publishers, 2019) and H Hampe & V Diehl, *Deutsche Marinedolche* (Goppingen, Druck und Bindung, 2009).

³⁵⁰ Lot 20, Christies Raglan Sale 22-23 May 2014. Alava gave it to Lord FitzRoy Somerset, later 1st Baron Raglan, circa 1836. Alava served as a Spanish Admiral at Trafalgar and for the British at Waterloo.

³⁵¹ Swords, 13 April 2021 Lot 146.

French presentation swords

There are French presentation weapons from the Napoleonic era but there are key differences both in the weapons themselves and how they were gifted.

The French had various official swords for different military units before the French Revolution in 1789. French naval officers, just like British naval officers, could carry whatever sword they chose, and these could be quite elaborate. They continued to carry these post the Revolution. Our main evidence comes from those surrendered, such as Admiral du Chayla's from the Nile held by the City of London, or Pickersgill's portrait of Captain Ball, which shows him wearing a French sword.³⁵²

Initially during the Revolution all sorts of weapons were taken into service and even historic arms were raided and used. Supposedly one revolutionary even brandished the 17th-century sword of Henri IV. However, once revolutionary governments were established they reinstated the old patterns but changed their model numbers, dating them from 1790. Over the Revolutionary period and into Napoleon's reign, new patterns were introduced.³⁵³ There are key differences that are typical of French swords. The first is more use of brass because France had challenges with importing steel (produced in England and Germany) and the rise of a citizen army meant production had to considerably increase. This meant the quality significantly declined. Secondly, was the adoption of Roman or *l'Antique* weapons, representing a revolutionary tendency for classical Republican imagery.³⁵⁴ Unlike Patriotic Fund swords, as will be discussed later, this is expressed not in symbology on the weapon but rather by the shape of the blade and hilt. So gladius-style weapons and simple cross hilts are far more common; these are almost never seen on Georgian presentation swords. This hark back to classical imagery

³⁵² May & Annis, *Swords for Sea Service Volume 1* p143.

³⁵³ N Hall, *Some French Revolutionary Swords* (Heritage Magazine, Col 1 No 2, 1974 pp23-27) p23.

³⁵⁴ *ibid.* p24.

can be seen in some of the paintings from just prior to the revolution when Jacques Louis David later a supporter of first Robespierre and then Bonaparte, and in effect almost a minister for art, painted *Oath of the Horatii* (1784) which was a royal commission supposed to demonstrate the importance of loyalty to the state, but David's work includes many pictures that are less political but still concentrate on the classics, such as *Death of Socrates* (1787) and *Funeral Games of Patroclus* (1778) .

The other common feature of French swords, shared with many other continental countries is their style of pommel, adopting one slightly leaning forward. An unknown type of sword being sold with this style of pommel would be described as a Continental pattern. There is one British army sword that adopts this French style pommel; in memory of the Napoleonic Wars in 1832 the Household Cavalry deliberately adopted a French-style weapon for their state sword. This pattern ceased in 1872. The Duke of Clarence's own fighting naval sword was of a continental design.³⁵⁵

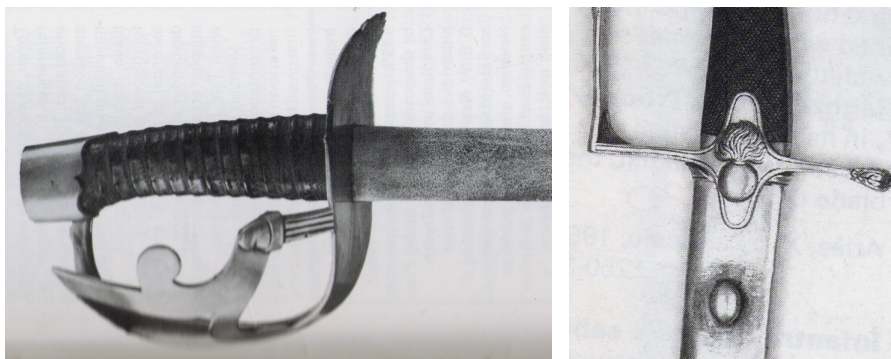


A typical British and Continental pommel, here on 1805 British naval sword and Austria-Hungary naval sword, note the grip curves on the British where the continental sweeps to a more rectangular pommel, they fasten into the tang differently.

There are other changes that occur in markings on the weapons and guards. Naturally the royal symbols of the *fleur de lys* and the sun disappear to be replaced with a Phrygian cap, or Cap of Liberty, and sometimes the *fascis* symbol. Royal markings were replaced or obliterated. Tenby museum has a

³⁵⁵ NAM item 1965-10-205-1.

sword captured in the 1797 invasion. The “Roi” on the blade has been obliterated by dots stamped over it. There are three other symbols that tend to appear on French swords. The first is an exploding hand grenade and then, after Napoleon comes to power, a bee or imperial eagle might be used.



French Cavalry Dragoon Model of 1779 with fleur de lys on the hilt replaced with a Phrygian cap and fasces, and the exploding hand grenade symbol³⁵⁶

Unlike in Britain, French presentation swords always seem to be given directly by the government in whatever format that is at the time. The earliest known French presentation sword awarded after the Revolution was presented to an Englishman. The Paris Commune awarded “CSW Nesham for defending a corn storekeeper from a violent mob.”³⁵⁷ These swords are less elaborate, being based on existing designs and were sometimes mass-produced and, therefore, cheaper to make than British swords.

Nicholas Hall believed part of the reason the cash poor French governments presented swords was because it was cheaper than awarding a pension. However, they came with an elaborate ceremony. He comments that the Royal Armouries collection has two swords from a batch of 400 ordered by Napoleon in 1799 for presentation to ordinary soldiers. The initial presentation was to a full company of 150 soldiers who had performed well at Nazareth during the Egyptian campaign, this meant the other 250 were for presentation

³⁵⁶ Hall, *Some French Revolutionary Swords* p25 and Lot 100 Sotheby South 13 July 1999, photograph courtesy of Sotheby's.

³⁵⁷ *ibid.* p26.

later.³⁵⁸ These were clearly following an existing format as an identical pattern sword appeared at auction that had been ordered by the French Minister of War General Scherer to the company who defended Fort de Corte, and was presented on 1st April 1798.³⁵⁹



Presentation sword for the Troop at Nazareth³⁶⁰

France seems to have settled largely on a single supplier. There was a national arms manufacturing facility established at Klingenthal in Alsace in 1733 by Louis XV recruiting craftsmen from Solingen.³⁶¹ However, the better weapons are usually produced by Boutet. He was the son of the last King's armourer and director of an arms manufacturing facility at Versailles. Once Napoleon came to power the swords at the senior end get more elaborate, including those made for the consuls, but even here Roman elements dominate. Napoleon gave swords to some of his top officers and had several made for his roles as well. There is both his court sword³⁶² and his sword as first consul of France. This interest in swords extended into his love of paintings. The portrait of him in his study at Tuileries by Jacques-Louis David shows one of his ornate swords on the cabinet and the painting Napoleon purchased in 1808 to establish his art collection at La Malmaison was one of Jeanne d'Arc receiving her sword from Charles VII by Hippolyte Lecomte. This interest seems to extend to others in his family. His younger brother Jerome Napoleon ordered two elaborate swords on becoming King of

³⁵⁸ *ibid.* p27.

³⁵⁹ Lot 309, Antony Cribb, 7 April 2020.

³⁶⁰ Lot 56, Bonham's 24 November 2010.

³⁶¹ P Willcocks, *The Spoils of War* (The 88th London Antique Arms Fair Catalogue for Spring 2012) pp11-15 p11.

³⁶² *Swords and Hilt Weapons* (London, Prion Books, 2012), Ed M Coe p91.

Westphalia in 1807.³⁶³ This competition in culture between the two systems can be seen in other visual arts as well as swords.



Napoleon in his Tuileries study and Jeanne d'Arc³⁶⁴ the sword as power and glory



Consul's sword by Boutet circa 1799³⁶⁵

Napoleon took as personal trophies the sword and dagger belonging to the Grand Master of Malta after seizing the island in 1798. These had been presented to Jean de Valette by the King of Spain for his defence of Malta during the 1565 siege. Napoleon is supposed to have carried the dagger during his time in Egypt as a talisman.³⁶⁶

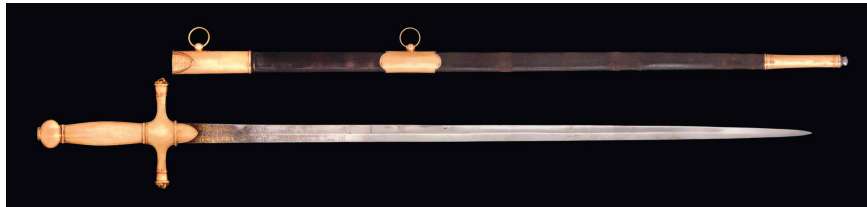
³⁶³ At Chateau de Fontainblane <https://www.napoleon.org/en/history-of-the-two-empires/images/two-luxury-swords-belonging-to-jerome-napoleon-king-of-westphalia/> accessed 26 April 2021.

³⁶⁴ National Gallery of Art in Washington, Chateau de Blois in the Loire.

³⁶⁵ Royal Collection RCIN 61171.

³⁶⁶ These are at the Louvre.

There are other swords believed to have belonged to Napoleon. Christies sold a sword reputed to be his in 2015. It had been acquired by Wellington, as part of his trophies from the war, who in turn presented it to Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry Hardinge in 1817. The similarity in style to the consul's sword is noticeable.



*The Wellington-Hardinge Sword*³⁶⁷

The French government even seems to have brought this direction to at least one conquered territory, as shortly after capturing Rome in 1798, a new pattern sword was introduced for members of the City's government. The French influence can be seen in the pommel.



*Rome City government sword, c1800*³⁶⁸

Boutet mass produced presentation firearms and swords. A pair of presentation pistols made by Boutet are on display in the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow. These are one of 55 pairs made for presentation to important generals and foreign allies.

Swords were given for victories by senior officers as well as the system of being enobled for military performance, *noblesse d'épée*.³⁶⁹ Captain Ross

³⁶⁷ Lot 48, Christies' 17 December 2015.

³⁶⁸ Picture by Hermann Historica, from their auction 25 June 2020 Lot 11239.

³⁶⁹ Wilson, *British Naval Officers* p176.

when writing his memoirs of de Saumarez recalled having been sent ashore to negotiate an exchange of prisoners when the French officer showed him a bulletin recording Linois' victory. In return he was presented with the Gazette account of Linois' defeat. Linois' supposed victory had been such that he was sent a handsome sword from the French government. It led to Ross recording this epigram (italic in original):

In the days of the Bourbons, a man was *rewarded*
For *standing* the brunt of the day:
But, now, this old maxim in France is *discarded*,
Men are honoured for *running away!*³⁷⁰

A French presentation sword on display at York Army Museum belonged to a French General. It was captured at Waterloo by Lieutenant Edward Trevor of the Royal Artillery. The Roman style and its simplicity compared with British presentation swords are obvious. The langets and mounts on this have been removed, presumably someone thought they were solid gold not just gilt. The blade was made at Klingenthal and the rest by Boutet. There are two variations of this type, 20 from the Consulate period, which this is, but more of the second from the Empire period.³⁷¹



French General's Presentation Sword captured at Waterloo

A further example is shown below. This sword was presented to General David Hendrikus Bruce, a Batavian officer who served in the Peninsular.

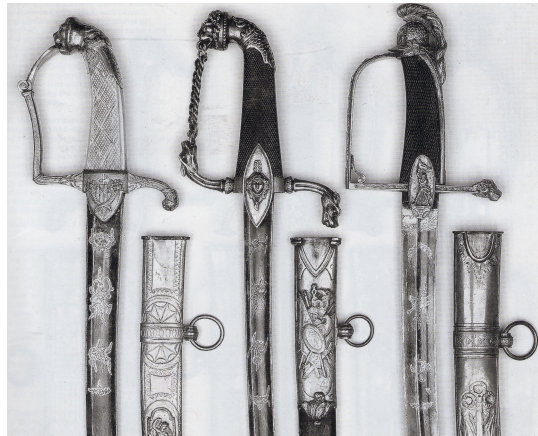
³⁷⁰ J Ross, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Admiral Lord de Saumarez* (London, Richard Bentley, 1838) p381.

³⁷¹ Wilcock, *The Spoils of War* p13.



General Bruce's presentation sword³⁷²

Sotheby's sold three presentation quality swords in 1999, shown below. The left one belonged to General Jean Lemarois, Napoleon's aide de camp. All were made in Solingen and not by Boutet, and it is possible they were private purchases as the new nobility came into being, rather than presentation swords. However, they show how much the French swords tend towards a particular design and all have typical French symbols on them.

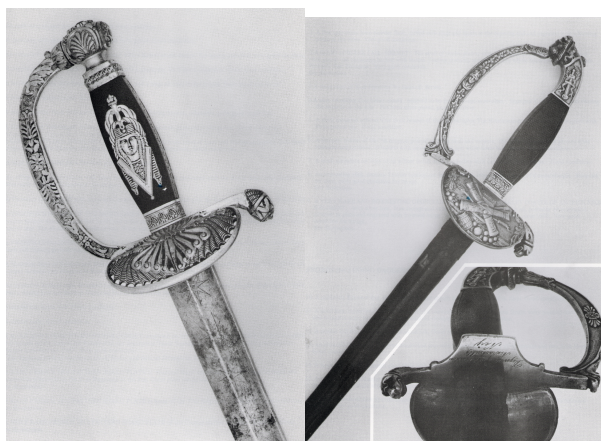


Three French Presentation Quality swords³⁷³

There is also a French version of the Egyptian Club Nelson's captains formed after the Nile, discussed in Chapter 6, known as the Institute of Egypt and formed from the Doctors who served with Napoleon during his Egyptian campaign 1798-1800. The Emperor's own sword from this Institute differed from the rest as it had a pearl grip.

³⁷² Lot 84 Bonham's 20 April 2011.

³⁷³ Lots 106, 107 and 108 Sotheby South 13 July 1999. Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's.



*Egyptian Institute Sword and sword thought to be gifted to Marshal Ney*³⁷⁴

There is also one sword from just after the Napoleonic wars ended, when in 1816 the Governor General of the French Establishments in the Indies presented a sword to Captain Swanston in the name of the King of France, for escorting the Governor.³⁷⁵

The key differences for French presentation swords are they are centralised in their giving, coming from the government whether that be the commune or Napoleon. They are mass-produced; being made and then presented as required and can be quite simple. They are also a different style and symbology.

American presentation swords

American presentation swords start almost as soon as the country was established as an independent nation. In 1780 during their war of independence, Louis XVI presented Commodore John Paul Jones of the future USN with an elegant presentation small sword.³⁷⁶ The Second Continental Congress that governed prior to the US constitution being agreed, on 28 October 1778 passed a resolution to have manufactured a set of Congressional Swords. These were to be awarded for conspicuous service

³⁷⁴ Lot 131 Elliott & Snowden 9 November 1970 and Lot 62, 14 December 1970.

³⁷⁵ NAM item 1962-06-4.

³⁷⁶ P Tuite, *US Naval Officers Their Swords and Dirks*, (China, Andrew Mowbray, 2004) p120. (Hereafter Tuite *USN Swords*)

during the Revolutionary War. The first was presented to the French Marquis Lafayette, who led the French troops. This was presented in 1779.³⁷⁷

At this time the American manufacturing was not in a position to make high quality weapons and so nearly all swords were imported from Europe, either from London, Paris or Solingen. Despite the support France had given during the war, officers tended to have their own swords reflecting their pre-war linkage. Even George Washington saw “no political inconsistency in displaying British manufactured items both during and the after the war.”³⁷⁸ However, after the war they move towards the continental style, especially as they establish their own production. Thus in 1785 “Congress authorised Colonel David Humphreys, Secretary of the American Legislation in Paris, to obtain ten silver-hilted small swords”³⁷⁹ part of 15 awarded for this war.

The late 1790s see what is probably an attempt by a German cutler to enter the American market, because there is a sword that belonged to George Washington known as the Alte Sword. Made by a Solingen-trained cutler, who had moved to France and was a gift, although its arrival was a little circular. Its exact date of manufacture is unknown but it was received by Washington in 1796 so probably made a year earlier.³⁸⁰ There does appear to be a tradition becoming established of giving a captured sword to an individual as a means of thanks. Washington is thought to have presented at least three in this way.³⁸¹

The Congressional Gold Medal for military and naval actions was introduced in 1800, with Captain Truxtun earning it for capturing the larger French ship *Vengeance* with his *Constellation*. One of the early awards was to Commodore Preble for the Barbary War, and the same resolution awarded swords to his officers and midshipmen. Other swords were awarded by Congress during

³⁷⁷ M Loades, *Swords and Swordsmen* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword 2010) pp384-389.

³⁷⁸ *ibid.* p371.

³⁷⁹ Wolfe. *Naval Edged Weapons* p71.

³⁸⁰ Loades, *Swords and Swordsmen* pp375-380.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

this war although the only known surviving example is that awarded to Captain Decatur for the Barbary campaign. The State of Maryland also presented a sword to Captain Gordon for his part in this war.³⁸²

This is followed by the award of a series of Congressional swords for the 1812-15 War. There are several swords awarded by other American political bodies; the City of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania both presented swords to Decatur and the State of Virginia presented at least four, Commodore Warrington, First Lieutenant O'Bannon, Midshipman Heath and Lieutenant Tayloe.³⁸³ New York presents at least three to Commodore Macdonough, Captain Reid, and Commodore Jones.³⁸⁴ The Congressional swords are awarded to all officers in the actions and thus are numerous. Peter Tuite estimates at least 76 for four naval actions in the Great Lake campaign, presented to Midshipmen and sailing masters. There are some presented by Congress to military officers as well and various State and Municipality legislatures present swords later for this war. I have not found an example of an individual presenting to their friends until the US Civil War 50 years later.³⁸⁵



*Congressional Sword to Midshipman Peleg Dunham for Lake Erie 10
September 1813³⁸⁶*

³⁸² Tuite, *USN Swords* p125.

³⁸³ *ibid* for Warrington and Heath and Lot 383 Freeman's 13 November 2014.

³⁸⁴ Tuite, *USN Swords*, p127-139.

³⁸⁵ Colonel R H Rankin USMC, *Small Arms of the Sea Services* (Connecticut, Flayderman, 1972) based on US Naval Academy holdings p33 & p35.

³⁸⁶ Met Museum of Art.

It is clear these swords were desired. Arthur Sinclair comments on the lack of recognition for his endeavours on Lake Ontario, moaning that he had got less:

“than many who have received publick [sic] thanks – freedom of the citys [sic] in gold Boxes – swords and dinners and lord knows what.”³⁸⁷

American naval swords had largely adopted the eagle on their hilt by the early 1800s, even when imported from Britain.³⁸⁸ This adoption of the eagle as their symbol becomes fairly ubiquitous within presentation swords although a few are small swords or Roman style. Like the French, the American presentation swords pick up on the national story of the new nation and utilise its symbols. Taking the 1812 Congressional sword as an example:

“The hilt and grip show panoply of naval arms with superposed spread-winged eagle. The underside of guard has 18 stars and the letters “US” separated by laurel wreath. The grip is rectangular with high relief mermaid holding an urn over her head on both sides. The pommel is a helmeted Roman soldier. The guard is pierced with a central medallion of a Romanesque woman’s bust. The blade reads ‘CHARLES L. WILLIAMSON, MID-SHIPMAN, LAKE CHAMPLAIN, 11 SEPTEMBER 1814’ Latin motto is also inscribed in central panel: ‘ALTIUS IBUNT QUI AD SUMMA NITUNTUR’, which translates to ‘He who aims highest, rises highest’. Other patriotic panels include panoply of naval arms, the naval battle on Lake Champlain, and a beautifully detailed American eagle.”³⁸⁹

Other revolutionary symbols appear on officers’ own weapons. The Phrygian cap is one showing that link with the French revolutionary tradition.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁷ R Malcomson, *Lords of the Lake, the Naval War on Lake Ontario 1812-1814* (Toronto, Robin Brass Studio 1998) p245.

³⁸⁸ Tuite, *USN Swords*, p26.

³⁸⁹ Description of symbology Lot 2010 James D Julia 16-18 August 2017.

³⁹⁰ Rankin, *Small Arms of the Sea Services* p62.

Summary

It is clear the ideas used by America in presenting swords are much closer to the French ideas than the British. In both America and France the awards are more egalitarian than Britain, but still in America only down to warrant officers, while France does go down to the common soldier as might be expected of revolutionary state. In America and France swords were produced in quantities and then subsequently determined who is to receive them rather than ordered for a specific individual and then made. It is distinctive that they are not awarded by merchant bodies nor presented by colleagues in the Napoleonic Wars, rather it is seen as a state function and they are exclusively presented by official bodies in America mostly by Congress but including municipalities and State legislatures and France by the government. This is not the case for Arabic and Indian presentation swords where they are one of existing elaborate weapons and given by state leaders to leaders. Therefore, this gifting of presentation swords by individuals is a British and British colony phenomena.

Chapter 5

Pensions and Medals

This Chapter will briefly deal with three issues, following on from the exploration in Chapter 3 as to why the Fund felt it was necessary to do something, and before looking at the giving of swords and plate in Chapter 6.

First, it will demonstrate that raising subscriptions was the generally accepted way individuals expressed thanks or helped people in misfortune in this period. Second, it will explore the promise to award pensions to those injured and to widows and how this fitted in with other organisations doing similar work in other fields. It will show that in this aspect alone the principle of promising to make awards *prior* to the event was not unique, although the Patriotic Fund was the only body to undertake this without relying on an endorsement by Parliament. Third, it will compare with some other awards given to all ranks and rates, in particular the private awards of medals such as Davison's Nile Medal and Bolton's Trafalgar medal, as well as the general use of tokens in this period of history. This will demonstrate that it should have been expected that the Fund would have done more medals than the one it did award.

Subscribing as groups for charitable purposes

As previously mentioned, this was an era when Government generally did not provide support. Therefore, many disasters at both national and individual level were dealt with by subscription to a charitable fund. A relic of this remains in the Royal Navy, with the tradition of the masthead auction of personal affects of a deceased sailor with high prices being achieved and with items submitted for resale in order to provide funds for bereaved dependents.³⁹¹

³⁹¹ Personal experience, have seen several at sea.

Subscriptions could be by small groups or national collections. Captain Frederick Hoffman records that in 1794, early in his career, a civilian boat capsized when surprised by ceremonial salute. “The officers among the squadron made a subscription for them, and the mids, although not rich, were not backward.”³⁹² The memoirs of one Committee member David Pike Watts, recalled an incident in Weymouth, probably in 1809, where a boat was upset, the officer drowned but two seaman were rescued. A collection was raised for those completing the rescue. The subscription was treated as a matter of norm. Pike Watts is discussing whether the individuals could read and write and if that made them braver.³⁹³

As seen from these examples, charity was usually not for the benefit of the subscribers. This is clearly illustrated in one of the strangest examples of charitable work. The Bank of England donated to female convicts in distress (single women or with children) about to be transported to Australia, even though it was the Bank of England that had prosecuted many of them for ‘uttering’ (forging) of bank notes stemming from the banking crisis a few years earlier. 1802 saw a lesser charge introduced of ‘holding a note’ with a mandatory sentence of 14 years transportation rather than death for forgery. This encouraged many to accept the charge. Women were a quarter of those convicted³⁹⁴ and nearly all received at least £5.³⁹⁵

Originally the Bank of England used its Poor Box to make charitable donations. This received fines on Directors and other minor fees and genuine donations, but from January 1740 the Directors started to vote bank funds to charitable causes. It made only three charitable donations between 1740 and 1793, two small contributions (£20 and £15) to the needy in the Banks’s locality and £1,000 to relief and support of the Government forces dealing with

³⁹² Hoffman p8.

³⁹³ By his daughter, *Some account of the Late David Pike Watts Esq London* (Gilbert & Rivington, 1841) p99.

³⁹⁴ D Palk *Going to the Bay in Utmost of Distress’: Women Convicts Being Transported to Australia 1803-1824* (The Trafalgar Chronicle New Series Volume 3, Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing, 2018 pp176-191) p179.

³⁹⁵ *ibid.* p181.

the Jacobite 1745 rebellion. However, from 1793 the Bank contributed significant sums to various subscriptions, usually through Lloyd's Coffee House. The suppression of the mutiny at the Nore and British prisoners of war both received contributions.³⁹⁶

Such activity was considered a natural part of life. Major Payne Adye referred to it dating from classical times:

*“Among the Athenians, all disabled and wounded soldiers were maintained by the public; the parents and children of those who fell in battle were taken care of.”*³⁹⁷

Earlier fundraising by the City

The City of London had raised funds on numerous occasions prior to the foundation of the Patriotic Fund. Lloyd's was at the forefront of this and it was not unusual for key City players to assemble at Lloyd's to raise a subscription. The first such recorded following a disaster was after HMS *Royal George* sank on 29 August 1782 for which they raised £7,000³⁹⁸ while the first recorded for a military action was after the battle of “the Glorious First of June” in 1794. After news of the battle was received at Lloyd's, a general meeting was held. That meeting recommended raising a subscription for the relief of the wounded and *The Times* noted:

*“to the honour of the subscribers of Lloyd's Coffee House, they, with the liberality which will ever distinguish that respectable body of men, in less than one hour subscribed a thousand guineas.”*³⁹⁹

These activities required a committee to organise the donations and gifts. For

³⁹⁶ W Marston Acres, *The Bank of England from Within* (London, Bank of England, 1931) pp600-2.

³⁹⁷ Adye, p275.

³⁹⁸ Worsley & Griffith *The Romance of Lloyd's* p171.

³⁹⁹ Lloyd's Nelson Collection Factsheet 2.

the *Glorious First*, the committee chairman was Angerstein. That subscription raised £21,281 with more than £1,300 coming from a charity performance put on by Sheridan, at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.⁴⁰⁰ They raised the first 1000 guineas in under an hour.⁴⁰¹ The subscription funded presentations of silver plate including at least two silver soup tureens in memory of Captain John Hutt of HMS *Queen* and Captain John Harvey of HMS *Brunswick*, who:

*“gloriously fell in the Important Action of the 1st of June 1794 when the French fleet was defeated by the British fleet under of Command of Admiral Earl Howe.”*⁴⁰²

There is also a twin-handled silver-gilt cup inscribed:

*“Lloyd’s Coffee House. A Tribute of Respect from his Country to ADMIRAL LORD GRAVES, for his gallant Conduct in His MAJESTY’S SHIP The Royal Sovereign on the ever memorable 1st of JUNE 1794.”*⁴⁰³

They also presented at least five pieces of plate to more-junior officers. The Lloyd’s collection holds three silver cups awarded to Lieutenant Alexander Ruddach and Midshipman Richard Shorland both of the *Marlborough* and Midshipman John Bennet of the *Montagu*. Two others have appeared in auctions, one to Mr Francis Jackson Snell,⁴⁰⁴ a 14-year-old Midshipman on the *Queen Charlotte* and the other to Captain Walter Smith of the Marines from *Bellerophon*.⁴⁰⁵

That was not the only subscription from Lloyd’s in 1794. Although not mentioned within the various histories of Lloyd’s, an English frigate enabled her two partner frigates to escape a much stronger French force, before

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Messenger, p9.

⁴⁰² From Inscriptions, displayed at Lloyd’s.

⁴⁰³ Lott 187 Bonham’s 23 Mar 2016.

⁴⁰⁴ Lot 5 Bonham’s Marine Sale 13 September 2011.

⁴⁰⁵ Lot 4449 Sotheby’s Silver, Vertu and Russian Works of Art sale 29 October 2013.

getting into Guernsey Road herself and the *Birmingham Gazette* noted that the:

*“Gentlemen who frequent Lloyd’s have already nobly subscribed upwards of 3000l. for the relief of the widows of the petty officers and sailors who have fallen or been maimed in the late engagement.”*⁴⁰⁶

Similar happened with the Battle of the Nile. This time they raised more than £38,000 to relieve the suffering of the wounded and bereaved and in addition voted Nelson £500 ‘...to be laid out in plate in such a manner as you will be pleased to direct, as a small token of their gratitude...’⁴⁰⁷ This is now referred to as the Nile Dinner Service. This subscription was also managed by Angerstein. They added to Nelson’s collection of plate after his 1801 victory at Copenhagen, in contrast to the City of London and the Government, and the Bank of England Directors also made a donation to this. Clearly, some collections were better remembered than others; in 1826, Sholto Percy described how the Patriotic Fund was Lloyd’s third effort at fundraising, when it was at least their eighth for a major event.⁴⁰⁸ It is possible there are others not recorded. In 1801, the Bank of England contributed 500 guineas to a fund being raised “for the relief of the widows and orphans of the British Forces who have suffered in Egypt”.⁴⁰⁹ It is unclear who was managing this but it sounds similar to much of the other fundraising by members of Lloyd’s.

They also got involved in subscriptions for smaller events. On 25 January 1809, they gave £210 to a local subscription for the Deal Boatmen involved in saving the crews of the East Indiamen *Britannia* and *Admiral Gardner*.⁴¹⁰ They even collected money for the Spitalfields Soup Society.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁶ *Birmingham Gazette*. Friday 6 June 1794. The three frigates were *Crescent*, *Eurydice* and *Druid*.

⁴⁰⁷ Lloyd’s Nelson Collection Factsheet 2

⁴⁰⁸ S & R Percy *London* (London, T Boys, 1824) p78. These include the loss of the Royal George £7,000, Glorious 1st £21,000, St Vincent £2,615, Camperdown £52,609, Nile £38,436, Copenhagen £15,500, Algeciras £668 and Boulogne £640.

⁴⁰⁹ Acres, *The Bank of England from Within* p601.

⁴¹⁰ *The Times*, 6 April 1809.

⁴¹¹ *The Times*, 8 April 1809.

The presentation of silver as part of a subscription was not unusual, as will be explored in the next chapter.

National commitments to fundraising

The giving of some form of relief to those who suffered misfortune had a long history in Britain.

National church services of thanksgiving, as held after Trafalgar, where the collection went to the Patriotic Fund, were a longstanding tradition. Charity Briefs, whereby the King issued a proclamation, were used for raising ransoms to release British slaves from the Barbary pirates. The earliest Linda Colley identified was in 1579.⁴¹² These continued into the 18th century on a national and local basis. Tavistock had 30 such collections between 1660 and 1680. Charity Briefs were used for a wide variety of problems including “flood victims, or survivors of an outbreak of plague, or a town devastated by fire.”⁴¹³ Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre identify two examples when towns devastated by fire had money raised to enable them to recover. These were Marlborough in 1653, when most of the town was burnt, and for which Cromwell issued a fire brief asking for subscriptions to ‘alleviate the suffering and rebuild the town’ and contributed £2,000. The other is Colerne in 1774 where donations were collected at various places including coffee houses in Bath.⁴¹⁴

As mentioned above, the raising of funds for the Glorious 1st saw fundraising theatrical performances. These continued to happen, including for the Fund.

⁴¹² Colley, *Captives* p76.

⁴¹³ *Ibid* p77.

⁴¹⁴ Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre Blog <http://www.wshc.eu/blog/item/fire.html> accessed 8 January 20.

MILITARY THEATRICALS.—On Monday last the Tragedy of *The Carmelite*, with the farce of *The Mayor of Garrat*, were performed at the Theatre, Colchester, by Officers of the Garrison, for the benefit of the Patriotic Fund. The characters were ably supported throughout, amidst the applauses of a numerous and respectable audience.

*Charity Theatre Performance*⁴¹⁵

Giving of pensions

Following the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII, it became apparent something had to replace their charitable work and the first Poor Act was passed in 1552. The Parish was made responsible for supporting its own poor. The Act was updated in 1601 and was still in force until after the Napoleonic Wars. This law required support for the legitimately needy in their community and allowed for taxing wealthier parishioners. They only had to provide for their own parish. Workhouses or Poorhouses were one means by which Parishes offered relief and employment for those in need.

Some parishes were more generous than others, so just as migrants might seek the best-funded location now, the same happened then. There were various means by which people could become resident and entitled to poor relief.

Sailors - who by nature of their profession may have lost their links with their original parish – and could struggle to prove eligible for relief if no longer employed at sea due to injury or age. Several charitable funds provided sailors and their families with support. Funds were raised by an allowance from all ships, under the denomination of 'widow's men'. The pay of an additional fictional crewmember was added for every 100 men in a ship's company and was appropriated for the fund. Two such funds supported all naval ratings - the Chatham Chest and Greenwich Hospital. These had many cross-linkages.

⁴¹⁵ *The Times* 14 January 1804.

The Chatham Chest, originally literally a chest at Chatham in which the money was kept, started in the Elizabethan era and gave “smart” money, usually a year’s pension in advance and then subsequent payments based on the severity of the injury. In 1803 the administration of Chatham Chest was moved to Greenwich hospital and the two merged in 1814. Greenwich Hospital provided a home for retired and injured sailors although competition for a place often depended on some form of interest to get in. It also provided ‘out-pensions’, so sailors could live elsewhere.⁴¹⁶

If the sailor was killed in action the state paid an additional sum of money to the widow annually. This was known as the King’s Bounty.

An earlier short-lived attempt to support families was the United Society for the Relief of Widows and Children of Seamen, Soldiers and Marines and Militiamen. Created in 1793 at the commencement of the war it appears to have only raised £10,118 and ceased within a year.⁴¹⁷

There were charities just for officers. The Charity for Sea Officers’ Widows was established in 1732, funded by a deduction of 3d. in the pound, upon the pay of all commissioned and warrant officers. In 1809, when a bill was brought before Parliament to reform some of its processes, it had £700,000 of stock supporting 1,800 widows and paid £80 per annum to a Captain’s widow. The 1809 bill removed the need to apply annually in London and allowed the widows to be paid quarterly at home. The Compassionate Fund received the same change.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁶ Newell, *Greenwich Hospital, A Royal Foundation 1692-1983* p85 these started in 1763.

⁴¹⁷ *A List of the Subscribers to the United Society for the Relief of Widows and Children of Seamen, Soldiers and Marines and Militiamen Together with the resolutions and rules of the Society, the sums subscribed, etc* (London, 1794).

⁴¹⁸ *The Times*, 1 March 1809.

There was a naval variant of the still existing Military Knights of Windsor called The Poor Knights of Windsor of the Foundation of Samuel Travers'.⁴¹⁹ It has a colourful history.⁴²⁰ It was established in 1803, even though the benefactor endowment was made in 1725, due to a series of legal challenges. The endowment was for 'seven Gentlemen who are to be superannuated or disabled Lieutenants of English Men of War'. The first seven were appointed in 1795. Their houses and mess hall at Windsor were completed in 1802. Indicative of the Charitable nature of the time, the original bequest was supplemented by a legacy from Lieutenant Robert Braithwaite in 1805.⁴²¹

There was a pension society open to Naval personnel, The Amicable Society. This scheme allowed for members to pay an annual contribution of £6 4s each. Anyone aged 12 to 45 was eligible to join and, at the end of each year, the contributions, less running costs, were divided between the beneficiaries of members who died that year. The society also provided annuities from 1807, when it obtained a new charter and broadened its aims, adopting the improved methods used by rivals. Under the new arrangements, premiums varied depending on age and circumstances of the member. The society was originally limited to 2,000 members, but raised this to 4,000 in 1790 and to 8,000 in 1807.⁴²²

Similarly, the Amicable Navy Society started as a club for naval officers in London in 1739 and initially campaigned on the creation of a naval uniform and then on changes to half pay. It did not meet between 1776 and 1791 and, when resurrected, had reasonable funds. Therefore, in 1791 it changed its

⁴¹⁹ St George's Chapel Archives & Chapter Library Research Guide No.3 Naval Knights <https://www.stgeorges-windsor.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/ResearchGuide3-Naval-Knights.pdf> accessed on 6 January 2020.

⁴²⁰ Originally required to remain bachelors and attend church daily, they objected and there are several accounts of bad behaviour.

⁴²¹ Records are inconsistent here, Lieutenant Robert Braithwaite died in 1807 according to *The Commissioned Officers of the Royal Navy* but Newell, *Greenwich Hospital, A Royal Foundation 1692-1983* p107 gives his legacy as from 1798. Whether Admiral Richard Braithwaite who died in 1805 causes any of this confusion is unclear.

⁴²² In 1866 merged with Norwich Union.

purpose to provision of pensions.⁴²³ Naval officers paid a graduated contribution, either as a one off or annually, based on rank and the Society disbursed money to its members as needed. This was open to commissioned officers, chaplains, masters, pursers, physicians and surgeons. One of the Lieutenant Governors of Greenwich, Nelson's mentor Captain William Locker, tried to reinvigorate this during the French Revolutionary War.⁴²⁴ This started in a coffee house, Will's Coffee House, and morphed into the Royal Naval Charitable Society and then into the Royal Naval Benevolent Society for Officers, which is still operating.

The Marine Society, despite its main aim being the provision of manpower to the Navy, also had a fund. It produced £300 a year to provide 30 pensions of £10 a year for "widows of deserving naval officers". In 1809, this fund was receiving £500 a year from the Bank of England.⁴²⁵

Some charities supported members of the merchant navy. Trinity House was operating its pension scheme by this time, and was supporting 3,682 pensioners in 1800, rising to 7,012 by 1815.⁴²⁶ Patrick Colquhoun, writing in 1800, refers to The Merchant Seaman's Association helping merchant sailors in the same way the Greenwich and Chatham Chest helped Royal Navy sailors among others.⁴²⁷ It is possible there were others. We know, for example, in 1656 the charities for sick and maimed sailors - Chatham Chest, Ely Place and Savoy Hospital - amalgamated under the Chatham Chest, and that Elizabeth Alkin or 'Parliamentary Joan' was running a charity for sailor's families in Portsmouth in 1653⁴²⁸, but we know nothing else about these charities.

⁴²³ *Two Hundred and Forty Years of a Naval Institution* (Britain, Royal Navy Benevolent Society 1979) p9.

⁴²⁴ P MacDougall *London and the Georgian Navy* (Stroud, The History Press, 2013) p138.

⁴²⁵ *The Times* 17 June 1809.

⁴²⁶ M Lincoln, *Trading in War* (London, Yale University Press, 2018) p155.

⁴²⁷ Colquhoun, p518.

⁴²⁸ M Oppenheim, *A history of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping 1509–1660* (Shoe String Press, London, 1961, originally published by Bodley Head in 1896) p323. (hereafter Oppenheim).

The Patriotic Fund was not the only organisation giving rewards in this area. The members were well aware that their pensions would be on top of these other awards. Indeed, they were insistent that this was the case.

It was quite possible to have several of these pensions, as demonstrated by two letters by John Smale, who wrote to the Admiralty complaining about the behaviour of a lady of that parish.⁴²⁹ It is not certain that his letters refer to the same lady, because one refers to Jane Nainby, a deceased Lieutenant's wife and the other just to 'a deceased Lieutenant's wife', but the circumstances are very similar, he comments the lady is getting:

Lieutenant's pension £40

King's Bounty £25

Patriotic Fund £25

The Fund was quite clear its awards should be in addition to others and not replace them. This led to a resolution sent to those managing the poor rates for Manchester when they stopped widow Alice Adamson's grant after the Fund made an award. The Fund resolved that:

*"It is the opinion of this Committee that the relief which spontaneous patriotism has through this fund devoted to the relatives of those who may fall in the defence of the country, was never intended to supercede the assistance to which by the Poor Laws they might be entitled but to alleviate in some degree the loss of those for whom age and poverty had a natural claim; and that in the event of such parochial or township allowance being discontinued, in consequence of a vote from this Fund, its operation would be to relieve the parish or Township, and not the object for whose benefit the money was intended."*⁴³⁰

⁴²⁹ ADM 6/387, one undated and other dated 2 August 1813.

⁴³⁰ Minutes 16 June 1807. They wrote to Mr Seddon of the Manchester committee. Her surname ending is unclear, husband was on *Lilly*.

Did other organisations award individual pensions?

As described above, individuals could apply for a pension from other organisations and have government awarded pensions. There was also a series of pensions created for descendants of a man awarded a title by an Act of Parliament. The last surviving of these was the pension and title awarded to the descendants of the first Earl Nelson, Horatio's brother. This was a statutory pension of £5,000 per annum, which lasted until 1947, when an Act of Parliament revoked it on the death of the heir at the time, which was not expected to take long as he was 87. By this time, all other similar pensions had been commuted by the government with agreement of the recipient. In return for the ending of the pension, the family were allowed to dispose of Trafalgar House, the estate they had been given, although nearly all the value disappeared in death duties.⁴³¹

Outside the government and the charities, it was very rare to award a pension for life as opposed to a one off payment. There is one example, however; two sailors were given a pension by the City of London for recovering dispatches from Napoleon after the Battle of the Nile.⁴³²

Cash awards

Cash awards seem to have been used fairly sparingly by the Fund. While 25 recipients or their relatives opted to take cash, money was awarded for service as opposed to injury only 15 times. A couple of times, cash was used to increase the value of the award. Boy Langfield's award will be discussed shortly but others will be explored in Chapter 6. Eleven of the cash awards were small but four were considerable, up to £500, the same as the most expensive plate awarded. They were all for more junior people, the most senior being an army lieutenant.

⁴³¹ Hansard *Volume 147 House of Lords Debate 24 April 1947* TRAFALGAR ESTATES BILL.

⁴³² T A Heathcote, *Nelson's Trafalgar Captains and their Battles* (Barnsley, Pen & Sword, 2005) p104.

Cash awards were used by other organisations, for example, in line with those made by the Fund, the EIC awarded 300 guineas to Captain Hargood for drawing the enemy away from East Indiamen in the Far East in 1802 prior to the Peace of Amiens.⁴³³

Giving of a medal and recognising an event

Although the Patriotic Fund only awarded one medal, it was initially intended that they be awarded more generally.

The first British military event known to merit the award of a medal was the Armada, where afterwards both the Dutch and the British produced medals. Although individual medals bearing the effigy of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I are known to exist, it is not known to whom they were presented or why, although it would appear that they were worn as marks of royal favour.⁴³⁴ This was 50 years prior to the first award of anything similar to the Army, which was by Charles I. It is thought that the Armada medals were reserved for senior people rather than given to all sailors.

There are probably only three early medals that went to sailors rather than just officers. A royal order of 15 November 1649 says for “several mariners” and we have no knowledge of who they were,⁴³⁵ but in 1650 Captain Wyard of the *Adventure*, a hired merchantman, was in action off Harwich. Afterwards, the crew were all given medals, from £50 value for the Captain down to five shillings for the crew, each “with the service against five ships” engraved on one side, and the arms of the commonwealth on the other.⁴³⁶ For the action off Holland on 31 July 1653 while most were awarded to officers the crew of *Triumph* also received medals for saving the ship.⁴³⁷

⁴³³ *ibid.* p92.

⁴³⁴ Long, p2.

⁴³⁵ This did at least include at least one Corporal, so did go below officers. *ibid* p10.

⁴³⁶ Oppenheim, p328.

⁴³⁷ Long p14.



Dutch and British Medals for the Armada 1588

The situation had not changed by the Napoleonic War. Medals were not routine issue for either gallantry or battles by the government/royalty except for very senior decorations, e.g. knighthoods. George III created a naval gold medal, with a larger one for Admirals and smaller one for Captains, for the Glorious 1st. He then ordered this medal be presented to all Captains of vessels in Naval Victories and to Captains Commanding frigates for distinguished actions. However, it was only ever awarded to three officers below Post Captain, two Lieutenants, Pilford and Stockham, who were commanding their ships of the line at Trafalgar, and Commander Mounsey for the *Bonne Citoyenne* capturing the larger *La Furieuse* on 6 July 1809.⁴³⁸

With the relative cost of medals compared with plate and their popularity at the time, it would have been a reasonable way for the Fund to proceed but instead they decided to offer an elaborate inscription to all those injured.

⁴³⁸Ibid, p36.



Example of a inscription, in this case for the award of £40 for the loss of their son, John Neville, a seaman on HMS Atlas at the Battle of St Domingo, 1806

The one medal they awarded was to Boy William Langfield of *HM Sloop Rattler* for throwing a burning shell overboard at some point during 15-16 May 1804 in an action against the Flushing flotilla. The Fund also awarded Langfield £20 to be “laid out in clothes and necessaries” under the supervision of his Captain. They chose a medal design by Edward Edwards, an artist who had started his art career making drawings for engravers. The medal was manufactured by Teed and he had to make two because the first one was destroyed by fire.⁴³⁹ The minutes also refer to the Committee accepting an offer from Matthew Boulton, the leading manufacturer whose Soho Mint at Birmingham made coins and tokens, for a medal for members of the Committee.⁴⁴⁰ It is not known whether these were ever delivered and there is no known example.

⁴³⁹ Gawler, p70. Medal is in The Lloyd's Collection.

⁴⁴⁰ Handwritten minutes 13 March 1804.

As with the swords, discussed in the next chapter, the EIC awarded medals to its own military. There are also many examples of medals for militia members. Unlike swords the third major use of medals or tokens was for political reasons.

The EIC commenced awarding medals for battles in 1770 and for gallantry in 1837. Its first campaign medal for Europeans was in 1839 for Afghanistan. Because they were awarded by a company not the King, the medal did not feature the monarch's head on the reverse. The Government did not start recognising battles until 1847, with the Naval and Military General Service Medals (although this was a retrospective award) and gallantry in 1854 with the Distinguished Conduct Medal as part of the Crimean War, the Victoria Cross following two years later. The EIC produced a campaign medal for native troops for the Deccan campaign in 1778, which was followed by several others as shown below. It clearly was an established practice by the time of the Napoleonic War. The first EIC medal system for gallantry started when in 1837 it instituted the Order of Merit, later known as the Indian Order of Merit. It was conferred only for conspicuous gallantry in action. Interestingly it also carried increased pay, an increased pension and, if killed in action, a payment to the widow.⁴⁴¹ The second campaign medal the EIC issued was for the Opium War in China (1840-2). It was going to issue for its troops and so asked permission to issue to the Army as well, authority was granted in March 1841. This had the battles the recipient had been involved in engraved on the rear. The medal for the Sikh campaign in 1845-6 saw the first clasps.⁴⁴² The Turkish Sultan also gave medals to British military, in the French Wars, during the time he was an ally.

⁴⁴¹ P Duckers *The First gallantry Award The Indian Order of Merit* (Classic Arms and Militaria, Oct/Nov 2016).

⁴⁴² P Duckers, *Medals for Afghanistan 1839-42* (The Armourer, July 2019, pp35-8).



Three early examples of EIC Medals: Mysore medal 1792,⁴⁴³ Seringapatam medal 1799,⁴⁴⁴ capture of Isles of Bourbon and France 1810⁴⁴⁵ and the Sultan's medal for Egypt 1801⁴⁴⁶

Likewise, while not given by the Government for regular soldiers, the militias introduced privately made medals. To give an idea of how many there were, the medal sale at Dix Noonan Webb on the 17-18 May 2016, had 10 medals from Militia/volunteer/Yeomanry units in that single sale.⁴⁴⁷



Militia Medals: Nottingham Yeomanry Medal 1802⁴⁴⁸ Norwich Loyal Military Association 1797⁴⁴⁹ Loyal Suffolk Yeomanry 1794⁴⁵⁰

They were equally used within the militia/volunteer movement for skill at arms as shown with these two examples:

⁴⁴³ Lot 80 Warrington and Northwich's 4 December 2019 awarded to Indian Forces under Cornwallis who defeated Tippoo Sultan of Mysore 1790–2.

⁴⁴⁴ *ibid.* Lot 79, awarded to EIC forces for renewed campaign against Tippoo Sultan of Mysore.

⁴⁴⁵ Lot 916 Mellors' and Kirk's 27 June 2019.

⁴⁴⁶ Lot 81 Warrington and Northwich's 4 December 2019 conferred by Sultan Selim III to the troops who defeated Napoleon, NCOS are silver.

⁴⁴⁷ These were Penryn Volunteers Medal 1794, Loyal Clapham Volunteers 1800, Birmingham Loyal Volunteers 1802, Handsworth Volunteer Cavalry 1802, Belville Volunteers 1802, Cardigan Regiment of Volunteers 1802, Fifeshire Volunteers 1802, Royal Edinburgh Volunteers 1804, Dunkinfield Independent Riflemen 1807, Royal Bristol Volunteers 1814.

⁴⁴⁸ Lot 164 Gilding's 25 June 2019, medal unnamed. There are sufficient that Glendining's 20 March 1996 had a series of Lots of them.

⁴⁴⁹ Nesbit's 7 February 2018 Lot 306.

⁴⁵⁰ Alan Judd Sales List January 2018.



Medals for skill at arms: 1st regiment of Royal Dublin Volunteers, 1800 and Coolestown Cavalry 1803⁴⁵¹

The award of medals had equally been undertaken for the Navy by private individuals. Earl St. Vincent, the First Lord of the Admiralty, had medals made by Matthew Boulton⁴⁵² for those who had served him loyally, when he came ashore in 1800. Titled “Earl St. Vincent’s Testimony of Approbation 1800” they show a sailor and Royal Marine shaking hands with the words “Loyal and true” with St. Vincent’s head on the front. Alexander Davison, Nelson’s prize agent, ordered a medal from Boulton for all those involved in the Battle of Nile. This was made in different materials depending on the recipient’s rank: gold for Nelson and his captains; silver for Lieutenants and Warrant Officers; gilt metal for Petty Officers, and copper for seamen and marines. Davison had his name marked on the medal so everyone would know he had given it. Boulton presented a medal at his own expense to all those at Trafalgar. He followed a lower grading than Davison making a silver one for the Captains and a pewter one for the junior officers and men. Several of the men are reported as throwing theirs overboard in disgust,⁴⁵³



The obverse and reverse of Davison’s Nile and Boulton’s Trafalgar medal

⁴⁵¹ Lots 50 and 54 Whyte’s 6 April 2019. Image courtesy of Whytes.com.

⁴⁵² Nearly all of Boulton’s medals are designed by C H Küchler, although Clevely designed the Nile medal.

⁴⁵³ Long, p45.

Did people desire medals and were there any political connotations?

Were medals actually desired by the military, especially considering the account of sailors throwing theirs overboard mentioned above, and were there any other political considerations that might be considered by the Committee?

The evidence indicates medals were desired by officers and men of both services, as demonstrated by the medals made. The Peninsular campaign saw medals produced by regiments for their own members.⁴⁵⁴ The Queen's Royal Irish Hussars Museum holds a 4th Light Dragoon Regimental Medal, privately produced. The reverse is inscribed "Presented to H Allen by Major James Hugonin, A token of his regards and esteem, 1815". Quartermaster Hugh Allen served with the 4th Light Dragoons in the Spanish Peninsular, where the regiment took part in the Battles of Talavera, Busaco, Albuhera, Salamanca, Vittoria and Tolouse.

The Peninsular campaign saw the Gold Medal for Military Officers being instituted. Given as a one off for Maida in 1806, they commenced being issued routinely in 1810; 107 were awarded before it was replaced in 1815 with the creation of the Companion of the Order of the Bath (CB). There were regimental medals earlier than the Peninsular Campaign. The Vth Foot created their own Order of Merit in 1767.⁴⁵⁵ Equally the fact that Boulton had medals made for all those at Trafalgar strongly suggests that the one produced by Davison for the Nile had been well received, and that Boulton was prepared to foot the bill, despite, unlike Davison, not being a financial beneficiary of the action.

Bridget Millmore's thesis on love tokens links the wearing of tokens/medals to the desire of all people in society to be dressed as well as they could.⁴⁵⁶ She

⁴⁵⁴ P Duckers "Medals for the Peninsular War" (*The Armourer*, Sep 2018) p44.

⁴⁵⁵ A Brewis, "The Order of Merit — 5th Regiment of Foot 1767—1856" (*Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 2:9 1923), pp118-124 p118.

⁴⁵⁶ B Millmore, *Love Token: Engraved Coins, Emotions and the Poor 1700-1856* (PhD thesis

refers to John Styles' discovery that:

“the servants in his research chose to spend their money and even incur debts on clothes in their desire to be fashionable. Whilst it is important to remember that the second-hand market in clothes meant that garments were valuable possessions which maintained their worth and could be sold or pawned at any time, the wearing of fashionable clothes was also part of a behaviour which was about a sense of personhood. It demanded attention from others.”⁴⁵⁷

Sailors shared that enthusiasm.

In his work on the social status of naval officers Evan Wilson draws out their desire to be seen as gentlemen. This meant, as seen in Chapter 3, that the desire to have swords fitted in with the desire to be dressed well.

Collingwood's disappointment at not receiving a gold medal for the Glorious 1st, he was not mentioned in the dispatch drafted by Sir Richard Curtis, Howe's Flag Captain, is well recorded. Wilson describes these medals as part of the aspiration of the elite, especially as they acknowledged that your action was worthy, being rare. When Maria Edgeworth, writing in 1813, wishes to draw attention to just how rare praise is from a particular individual she compares it “to a medal struck and appropriated for the occasion”.⁴⁵⁸

It is clear by the number of surviving tokens for various events that they must have been mass-produced and that there was a market for them. Included among these are many for naval and military events.

University of Brighton February 2015) p203.

⁴⁵⁷ J Styles, "Involuntary consumers? Servants and their Clothes in Eighteenth-Century England" (*Textile History Volume 33 Issue 1, 2002*) p18-19.

⁴⁵⁸ M Edgeworth, *Patronage* (reprint Sort of Books, London, 2011) p542. Original 1814.



Examples of tokens for Naval events, celebrating Admiral Cornwallis Admiral of the Channel Fleet, 1794⁴⁵⁹ and the obverse and reverse of a medal awarded to attendees at a service of thanksgiving at St Pauls for naval victories in 1797⁴⁶⁰

Medals were produced for the Peace of Amiens, the Royal Bank of Scotland's museum had a peace dividend coin produced for its employees to celebrate the Peace and there was another medal produced to show support for the government exploring the preliminaries of peace in 1800.



1800 medal commemorating work towards peace⁴⁶¹

There were plenty of patriotic-themed tokens. Examples are:



Medals to celebrate the centenary of the Glorious Revolution 1788,⁴⁶² one for Gosport promoting Britain Triumphant 1798⁴⁶³ King George III safe from assassination⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁵⁹ Part of Lot 306 Nesbit's 7 February 2018.

⁴⁶⁰ © Dix Noonan Webb.

⁴⁶¹ Royal Collection RCIN440032.

A number of medals and tokens were produced for important social issues and used to show support and raise funds. A collection held by the British Museum was shown in 2009 in an exhibition titled “Medals of Dishonour”. This showed how they were used politically. These were designed to be turned in your hand, one side generally showed the monarch and the other the cause you were supporting.⁴⁶⁵ One from this era related to the Covent Garden theatre protest when ticket prices rose in 1809 and people campaigned for the old prices - ‘OP’. Another medal for these protests is anti-Semitic, portraying the theatre owners as Shylock. Another medal portrayed “The Uncharitable Monopoliser” in protest at farmers and traders profiteering from the poor harvests of 1799 and 1800. This unusually has a positive alternative on the reverse, appealing for people to give a helping hand.



Obverse and reverse of Covent Garden theatre⁴⁶⁶ and uncharitable monopoliser⁴⁶⁷ medals

Further tokens supported the antislavery campaign and at least one is for the issue the Fund itself was addressing - the Tom Tackle token. Tom Tackle was another generic name to represent a naval sailor, taken from a popular song by Charles Dibden. This token promoted the need to offer support for discharged sailors and widows and orphans.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶² © Dix Noonan Webb.

⁴⁶³ *ibid.* Part of Lot 306.

⁴⁶⁴ Royal Collection RCIN440020.

⁴⁶⁵ P Attwood & F Powell *Medals of Dishonour* (London: British Museum Press, 2009).

⁴⁶⁶ © Dix Noonan Webb Lot 1735 12-14 June 2018.

⁴⁶⁷ © Dix Noonan Webb Lot 71 1 October 1996.

⁴⁶⁸ J McGrath, *Tom Tackle Tokens* (Classic Arms & Militaria Vol XXI Issue 5, October/ November 2014 pp21-23)



*Tom Tackle Token*⁴⁶⁹

So the idea of getting a medal for being present in a battle became established. Equally, the principle of different levels for different ranks, as followed by the Patriotic Fund for its swords, was established. However, given the widespread use of medals, and their connection with gallantry and participation it is surprising that the Patriotic Fund did not issue more, since they were evidently desirable and indeed, as mentioned earlier, the Committee were happy to receive one for being members. Having made medals part of the original design competition, they clearly expected to issue them when they set up in 1803. They may have decided early on that the award of medals was not likely to encourage zeal by soldiers and sailors and that it was more important to concentrate on encouraging the behaviour of those who made decisions and to then look after those who paid the cost of those decisions, in effect doing their part to mitigate the uneven spread of prize money.

⁴⁶⁹ Private collection.

Chapter 6

Silver and Swords

The Fund made use of two examples of the applied or decorative arts that were becoming firmly established in this era, namely silver vases and presentation swords. To understand why they would think that presenting a sword or a vase might influence the behaviour of individuals, it is necessary to examine the history of presentation swords and other gifts and those who had customarily presented them. As already seen, the members of Lloyd's were involved prior to 1803 in large subscriptions for various battles, but they had also been involved in giving individual pieces of silver plate for a myriad of reasons.

Gifts of silver plate

Gifts of silver plate abound and there are many records of gifts both by groups within the City and also other organisations. Considerable amounts of presentation plate have been subsequently melted down or reused. The leading researcher of mess silver, Roger Perkins, quotes a dealer saying "*there's no demand for stuff with army wording engraved on it*"⁴⁷⁰ so items tend to be either polished out or sent for scrap.

My own experience supports this as my collection holds a later series of silver trophies that were about to be scrapped, including the trophies of the very first naval fencing champion and a silver cigar box, a wedding present, signed by his fellow World War 1 submarine commanders, now considered sufficiently significant that a museum has since borrowed it.

Amanda Vickery links such assets to the new visiting culture of the Georgian period, the first time that the inside of homes became really visible.⁴⁷¹ It is also

⁴⁷⁰ R Perkins, *Military and Naval Silver* (Newton Abbot: Privately printed, 1999) p1. (Hereafter Perkins)

⁴⁷¹ A Vickery, *A Woman's Touch*. Episode 2 *Living with the Georgians*, 10 November 2015, BBC 2

only in 1770 that Sheffield manufacturers developed the techniques for silver plating, the ability to hide the plating marks using silver wire being developed in the 1790s.

An example of a piece known to have been polished out early on is the Monmouth Cup. The hallmarks confirm it was made in 1812 but we do not know what for. Early on it was re-used as it is now engraved "*Auguste, Duchess of Cambridge, to her beloved husband Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, a birthday gift, the 24th Feb 1825*". Furthermore, the lid was replaced in 1814.⁴⁷²

It is important to be aware that engraving can be subsequently added to silver. In the collection at Lloyd's is a large cup awarded to Captain Geo Burlton of the *Lively* by the Underwriters of Lloyd's for "his great zeal in protecting the trade of this country, first by his personal courage and more particularly by the activity with which he has repeatedly resumed his station after returning to port with his prizes." There is then a further inscription at the top of the plate, which says "Lloyd's 16 March 1795". This though is in a different typeface, which combined with the different phrasing of underwriters and Lloyd's makes it look like it was added later to date the events it was awarded for.⁴⁷³ For awards presented outside the Patriotic Fund, there are several ways the subscribers described themselves. Underwriters of London, Underwriters of Lloyd's Coffee House and even Gentlemen of the New Lloyd's are all seen, as well as various descriptions of committees at Lloyd's. As discussed earlier the use of phrases Insurers at Lloyd's means we cannot now determine who was involved in each decision.

⁴⁷² Perkins, p34-5.

⁴⁷³ *ibid.* p122. Lloyd's Collection.

... been inclined to apply for his further assistance. . .
 A short time ago we gave an account of the good conduct and bravery of Captain CUMMINS, and the crew of the *Apollo* brig (a small Guineaman about 120 tons only), in beating off a French privateer of much superior force, to windward of Barbadoes, in March last, and afterwards conducting the *Apollo* safely to her destined port. We are happy in having it in our power to announce to the public, that although those men could not be considered as entitled to reward from the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's, yet, to the honour of the Underwriters on the *Apollo* and her cargo, they have not been otherways forgotten, as we find that the Underwriters, on such part as was insured at Liverpool, immediately presented Captain CUMMINS with a piece of plate. The London Underwriters, as soon as they were informed of the circumstance, immediately signed off two guineas per cent. This subscription, so trivial individually, amounted in the aggregate to 113l. 8s.

*Award of silver by Lloyd's underwriters showing linked to the insurers for the event*⁴⁷⁴

The Burlington cup, was presented by the "Underwriters of Lloyd's", whereas the wine jug to Captain Robert Brine of HMS *Lively*, (an earlier HMS *Lively*) for convoying 20 ships from Gibraltar to England presented in 1777, was from "the gentlemen at the New Lloyd's".⁴⁷⁵ Captain Charles Wyatt's cup in 1783 for his work on the merchant ship *Adamant* was however from the "Principal Underwriters"⁴⁷⁶ and the silver tea set⁴⁷⁷ to Captain Robert Hall for his gallant defence of the ship *Fame* in 1805 was from the "underwriters at Lloyd's Coffee House"⁴⁷⁸ and Captain Lewtas' silver cup for the defence of the *Venerable*, the same year.⁴⁷⁹ These were for actions that would have not been suitable for recognition by the Patriotic Fund as the *Fame* was a slave ship and not a naval vessel and *Venerable* was a privateer. It was probably for the same reason that Captain George Welstead of the EIC ship *Euphrates*, which was carrying a letter of marque, received his silver tureen in 1805 from "the Underwriters of Lloyd's Coffee House". However, the phrase "Underwriters of Lloyd's Coffee House" had been used earlier in relation to Captain Hugh Crow for his gallant conduct in defending the slave ship *Will*

⁴⁷⁴ *The Times*, 12 October 1804.

⁴⁷⁵ Lloyd's Collection.

⁴⁷⁶ Lloyd's Collection awarded for his attention in navigating the *Adamant* in war of 1783. Ironically, seems cup stayed onboard as *Adamant* sank off Cape Sable Island in 1811, there is a report recovered from seabed in 1860.

⁴⁷⁷ Consists of teapot, milk jug and sugar bowl.

⁴⁷⁸ Worsley and Griffith *The Romance of Lloyd's* p173.

⁴⁷⁹ Vase displayed at the National Museum of RN item 1989/126.

against a French privateer on his voyage from Africa to the West Indies, 21 February 1800.⁴⁸⁰



The Lewtas Cup

Other groups of underwriters would present silver plate when the Patriotic Fund awarded an individual a sword as seen with the Dawson Tureen,⁴⁸¹ which is engraved:

”Presented on the 25th January 1810 to William Dawson Esq. Captain, Royal Navy, by the Merchant Ship owners and underwriters of Bombay as an additional mark of the high sense they entertain of his attention to their interests in the protection of the trade of that port.”⁴⁸²

Dawson was first lieutenant to Captain Hardinge in the action against *La Piemontaise* off India for which he was awarded a Patriotic Fund sword as well, while the Captain’s family received a vase from the Fund.

The Backhouse Urn was “Presented by the committee on American Captures at Lloyd’s Coffee House” in 1806,⁴⁸³ whereas the soup tureen given to Amelius Beauclerk, as captain of HMS *Dryad* when he captured the French

⁴⁸⁰ H Crow, *Memoirs of Memoirs of the Late Captain Hugh Crow of Liverpool* (Reprint London, Routledge, 2013, original 1830) p76.

⁴⁸¹ HMAS Creswell.

⁴⁸² Perkins, p124-6.

⁴⁸³ Presented to Thomas Backhouse, their Chairman as a token of their esteem and respect for his able, zealous and indefatigable attention to the object of their concerns for the last ten years, London 10 May 1806”.

frigate *La Prosperine* off the coast of Ireland on 13 June 1796 was presented by the “Committee for the Encouragement of Capturing French Privateers”⁴⁸⁴.

Silver was routinely presented by individual insurers, as the survival of the following silver trophies attests. A tea urn was presented by the insurers, Chalmers & Cowie, at Lloyd’s in 1802 to Captain P Somerville for helping save some cargo.⁴⁸⁵ There are at least five items of silverware by the Bengal Phoenix Insurance Company to Captain Gordon, East India Company, for defending his ship against a French Frigate on 9 August 1800⁴⁸⁶ and a swing-handled oval basket “A gift from the Unanimous and Equitable Associated underwriters to Nicholas Fairles for his intrepid conduct and animating example shown in extinguishing the fire on board the Ship *Joseph & Mary* at South Shields on 7 September 1798”.

Commander Nicholas Tomlinson, captain of HM Sloop *La Suffisante* for taking eight French merchantmen (protected by a corvette and two cutters), capturing the brig *Revanche*, capturing the privateer *Morgan* and recapturing six English merchantmen, was presented in 1796 with both a tea urn by the Corporation of the Royal Exchange Assurance⁴⁸⁷ and a cup from the Merchants of the City of London.⁴⁸⁸

Although it is known some EIC shipowner gave their Captain’s tankards, these appear for length of service rather than a deed.⁴⁸⁹ The earliest identified example of this style of presentation silver is the twin-handled cup given in 1744 to Captain Edward Tyng by the Merchants of Boston for taking the first

⁴⁸⁴ NMM PLT0021.

⁴⁸⁵ *Nelson Dispatch* Volume 13:2 2018 pp117-9.

⁴⁸⁶ Four pieces, a tray, two candlesticks and salt pair, emerged in the 1960s, *Country Life*, 1966, vol. 140, p371. Sugar bowl on sale The Armoury, St James, June 2018, 1801 hallmark so made a year after event.

⁴⁸⁷ NMM PLTO181 made by Robert Salmon 1796/7.

⁴⁸⁸ Ed J G Bullocke, *The Tomlinson Papers* (NRS, Volume 74, 1935) pgxx.

⁴⁸⁹ Known example is the *Ane* – 1672, probably to Captain Zachary Browne, Lot 57 Charles Miller Auction 24 April 2021.

French privateer seen off their coast.⁴⁹⁰ There is an illustration from 1900 and it could still be with his descendants.



Picture of Tyng Cup

There are other examples from before the French Revolution. For example the NMM has a presentation vase, similar in style to those awarded by the Patriotic Fund, awarded by the EIC to John Allen Chief Mate of the East Indiaman *Duke of Dorset*, for taking command after the captain was wounded during a battle with the Dutch on the River Ganges in 1759.⁴⁹¹ At auction in 2013 there was a silver tankard made the same year by Shaw and Priest in London, 1759 inscribed "*The Gift of Stpn. Puckinson / to Willm. Walton.*"⁴⁹² Greenwich also has a punchbowl presented to Captain William Fullerton for his efforts in safeguarding the 150-ton ship *Earl of Bute* during a storm off Dunkirk in March 1767.

⁴⁹⁰ T Alden, *Memoirs of Edward Tyng Esquire of Boston* (Boston, Munro, Francis and Parker, 1808) p4.

⁴⁹¹ NMM PLT 0003.

⁴⁹² Lot 190 Charles Miller's 30 October 2013.



Walton's Tankard⁴⁹³ and Allen's Cup

The quantity of presentation silver and the variety within that plus, as raised earlier the amount that has been lost, means no clear pattern can be established as to the spread of the practice. However, just as we will see with swords, silver was given by militias to their senior members and similar with regular units. For example Perkins work has a cup "Presented to the Officers of His Majesty's 29th Regt of Foot by the Inhabitants of the Town of Halifax in Nova Scotia in Testimony of their High Esteem and Regard"⁴⁹⁴ and the Montagu Tureen presented by the Lieutenant Colonel of the 29th Regt of Foot to his officers in 1804 for their "kind attention to him".⁴⁹⁵ While the Shropshire Regimental Museum has a cup presented to Captain Thomas Lloyd in 1814 by the 2nd Troop of Shrewsbury Yeomanry Cavalry in 1813. While the Green Howards museum has a large two-handed silver cup presented in 1802 to Sir John Lawson by the Catterick Arm'd Association Corps of Infantry' and the Buckinghamshire Military Museum holds a cup presented to QMS Samuel Holmes late 13th Dragoons and late 11th Dragoons by Burnham and Stoke Squadrons of Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry in 1799.

⁴⁹³ With permission of Charles Miller Auction Lot 190 30 October 2013.

⁴⁹⁴ Perkins, p25.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, p39. There is another Montagu Tureen, "To Admiral George Montagu, a Tribute of Respect and Esteem from the Captains of the Royal Navy, A.D. 1809." recorded in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (September 1810)



Captain Lloyd Cup

This was when regiments were buying their own silver as they became more established, for example the Royal Bucks King's Own Militia have a snuff box and four two-branch candelabra presented to the regiment in 1794 and a pair of Jolly Boat double coasters presented in 1803. For the 58th Foot the earliest piece recorded was given in 1792 and for 2nd Royal Anglians their earliest piece is 1799.⁴⁹⁶

Silver was awarded by various groups of merchants. Unsurprisingly as seen with Allen's cup, the EIC was involved and they awarded £400 of plate in 1802 to Captain James Bowen for escorting their ships to St. Helena.⁴⁹⁷ The merchants of London and Bristol awarded Captain Ambrose of HMS *Rupert* a silver cup for capturing the privateer *Duke de Vendome*.⁴⁹⁸ It was presumably the merchants of Guernsey that paid for the two presented to Admiral Saumarez, one for capturing the French frigate *Reunion* with his frigate *Crescent* in 1793 and the other after his victory at Algeciras in July 1801.⁴⁹⁹

Just as Arab Beys were happy to gift swords to the Royal Navy, the underwriters were happy to gift silver to naval officers of an ally. There is a piece saying "Presented by the Underwriters and Merchants at Lloyd's Coffee House in London to Captain Thomas Truxton of the American frigate

⁴⁹⁶ Perkins, p12.

⁴⁹⁷ Walters, *The Memoirs of an Officer in Nelson's Navy* p28.

⁴⁹⁸ R Beatson. *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain from the year 1727 to the present time Volume 1* (London: J Strachan, 1790) p115.

⁴⁹⁹ Both Castle Cornet Museum.

Constitution as a mark of their sense of his services and admiration of his gallant conduct in taking the *Insurgente* French frigate of 44 guns in the West Indies on February 1799".⁵⁰⁰ This practice of recognising the defence of trade quickly resumed after the Napoleonic Wars; the Citizens of Marseilles gave Lord Exmouth a magnificent piece for his attack on Algiers in 1816.⁵⁰¹



Two vases presented by Guernsey to Saumarez, left for 1796, right for Algeciras

Some individuals had items made to show what they had done, where no such reward was coming but money had been received. An elegant example is the tankard made for Captain William Pierrepont to commemorate the capture of the Spanish treasure ships *Thetis* and *Santa Brigida*. It includes 11 Spanish gold pieces almost certainly taken from the capture.⁵⁰² It is thought this was made for him rather than presented as the initials in the monogram are HBP, standing for Henry Bennett Pierrepont. Henry was born in 1810 whereas the capture was 1799, so it appears Captain Pierrepont commissioned it for his family.

⁵⁰⁰ Perkins, p122.

⁵⁰¹ *ibid.* p120.

⁵⁰² NMM PLT0169.



Captain Pierrepont's Cup

These gifts are not just for military events, there are examples awarded for other purposes and by other organisations. It appears from surviving examples that military and commercial fashions were similar, responding to the popularity of calling on people at home and a desire to have items to display showing what the home owner or their family had achieved.

Further examples include Liverpool Town Hall's cake basket presented in 1772 to their town clerk;⁵⁰³ the Royal Bank of Scotland Museum's has a silver epergne to James Mansfield, director of the bank given in 1800 for "important services". While the NMM own a silver tea set consisting of tea pot, sugar bowl and cream jug presented by the Directors of the EIC to Sir Home Riggs Popham in recognition of a treaty with the Sultan of Aden in 1803 and the *Naval Chronicle* describes plate presented to Captain Brodie for his "patriotic exertions and unwearied zeal" in setting up a beacon on Bell Rock from the Incorporation of Leith.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰³ By Robert Hennell it is inscribed "Sacred to Friendship and to the memory of Francis Gilbert Esq. once the beloved Town Clerk of Liverpool. This testimony of Reciprocal Affection and Emblem of Good Offices is to Descend Inalienably to Descend to the Posterity of Thomas Golightly Esq, Mayor of Liverpool in the Year 1772"

⁵⁰⁴ *The Naval Chronicle, Containing a General and Biographical History of the Royal Navy of the United Kingdom, with a Variety of Original Papers on Nautical Subjects* (Volume 11 Ed Joyce Gold, 1804) p73.



Gilbert's Cake basket

In addition to the individual presentations by the insurers at Lloyd's coffee house under various guises, there were two significant collections of silver presented. The fundraising for these events was mentioned last chapter but the collection made for Nelson for his victories at the Nile and then Copenhagen led to a gift worth £500 to Nelson for the Nile,⁵⁰⁵ but also to plate to other officers. The Lloyd's Collection includes a pair of silver oblong entrée dishes presented to Captain Henry D'Esterre Darby of *Bellerophon*. These were presented by John Julius Angerstein in 1800 and engraved from 'Committee at Lloyd's Coffee House, appointed for managing the subscription raised for the relief of those who were killed or wounded in the memorable victory obtained by Admiral Lord Nelson over the French Fleet off the Nile on the glorious 1 August 1798 as a token of the high sense they entertain of his services and in remembrance of the wounds he received on that day". *Bellerophon* was the first to exchange broadsides with the French flag ship *Orient* and was badly damaged. This might not have been a unique award for the battle and could just be the sole known survivor of the plate given. However, *Bellerophon's* casualties were severe and Darby was the most seriously wounded surviving Captain.

This small sample of the plate held across a cross section of collections demonstrates that there was real variety in the organisations giving and the reasons for a presentation as well as the style of gift. The giving of silver and

⁵⁰⁵ Downer, *Nelson's Purse* p163.

medals was commonplace, and yet the Fund primarily awarded swords, despite initially not even agreeing a design for one, and despite Lloyd's Coffee House and the insurance companies linked to it all being generally associated with presentation of silver. As it became established the Patriotic Fund only awarded silver rather than giving the recipient the choice for events that were non-martial, or where the recipient had died and the award was passing to his family.

In fact the giving of swords in such circumstances was rare prior to the French Revolutionary War and reflected several separate contemporary developments; these being the emergence of a desire for such an award, interest in giving them on the part of donors and the technology that enabled the decorative sword to become the gift of choice. This will be explored in the second half of this chapter.

Choosing to give swords

It is now taken for granted that the Fund should have given swords as a reward, and they are considered the iconic item of the Fund.⁵⁰⁶ However, this chapter has demonstrated that, presentations by the City tended to be plate i.e. made of either silver or gilt and to be ornamental vases, cups or similar display items. The giving of swords seems to have started abroad with merchant groups before moving to the City. At the first meeting to discuss business having set up the Fund, the Committee decided to award three items. The published minutes stated that they would award the first recipient with "honorary marks of distinction or rewards (to be considered at a future meeting)". The handwritten minutes add further details, as they decided that the award should be "*a medal, a sword or a vase, all or either of them*"⁵⁰⁷ and requested designs through the Royal Academy with 50 guineas for the top design (with 30 and 20 guineas for second and third place). Equally unrecorded in the published minutes, only in the handwritten, is that on the 29

⁵⁰⁶ This is the underlying assumption in everyone of the lists discussed in Chapter 2.

⁵⁰⁷ Minutes 26 August 1803.

November 1803 they awarded the medal design to Edward Edwards, the vase to John Shaw and agreed that they would not give a sword but give money for a sword to be made by the individual and would offer the inscription.

Patriotic Fund
LLOYD'S COFFEE-HOUSE, Oct. 29, 1803.

AT a GENERAL MEETING of the COMMITTEE for managing the PATRIOTIC FUND, at Lloyd's Coffee-house, held THIS DAY in Merchant Seamen's Office, Sir FRANCIS BARING, Bart. Chairman.

The Committee having taken into consideration their invitation of the 26th of August last, to the Artists of the United Kingdom, to produce Designs for a Vase, a Medal, and a sword.

Resolved, That the Drawings of Mr. John Shaw for a Vase, and of Mr. Edward Edwards for a Medal, (which describe with simplicity, and in an appropriate manner, the arduous struggle in which we are engaged; and the gratitude which the subscribers to this Fund are desirous to manifest towards the brave defenders of their country) are entitled to the first Premium of Fifty Guineas each.

The Designs being nearly the same, may, with a slight variation, serve as the principal ornaments, both for the Vase and for the Medal.

Resolved, That the following inscriptions be added to those designs.

Over the Group of a Warrior combating an Hydra,
"For our King, our Country, and our God."

Underneath, "Britons strike home."

Over the Reverse, being the Figure of Britannia, seated with her Attributes, and presenting a Laurel Wreath,
"A grateful Country to her brave Defender."

Underneath, "Ætate Britannia."

Resolved, That Mr. — Pugh, for the elegance of his Design for a Vase, is entitled to the Reward of Thirty Guineas.

Resolved, That Mr. James Roberts, for a beautiful design of a Vase, is entitled to the Reward of 20 guineas.

Resolved, That, instead of presenting a Sword upon some occasion, the Committee will present to such gallant Officers as may distinguish themselves, and who will accept of the same, a Sum of Money, to purchase Swords of their own choice; and for each of which the Committee will recommend an appropriate Inscription, commemorating the action for which they were voted.

The Committee regret, that in their Decision they must leave unnoticed some most beautiful and elegant designs; but the Committee are not less sensible of the pains which have been bestowed, as well as the distinguished taste which has appeared. They are therefore desirous to make their acknowledgments to the Artists; and will esteem themselves obliged, if they will disclose their names to the Secretary, previous to withdrawing their designs.

FRANCIS BARING, Chairman.

*Announcement that only a silver plate and medal design had been selected*⁵⁰⁸

Considering the number of swords given and that there was only one medal ever presented, it is slightly ironic that their initial decision was this way round. It was not long before they changed their mind and on 10 January 1804 the Committee decided to reconsider their decision at the next weekly meeting, deciding to present swords rather than the money to have a sword made and that the recipient could opt for the money instead. The letters to the first six people nominated were sent that day.

The names of those to whom the first swords were presented differs between the published and handwritten minutes. The published minutes state swords were offered at that meeting to Lieutenants Temple, Bowen, Watt, Rowed,

⁵⁰⁸ *The Times* 2 December 1803.

Shippard, Hawkins and Midshipman Priest, and that £50 was awarded to Richard Burstal, Master of HMS *Atalante*. The handwritten minutes show that originally Hawkins and Burstal were not included. Hawkins and Burstal were actually given their awards at a subsequent meeting on 21 February 1804 and were later inserted into where they should have been for the published minutes. The correspondence book⁵⁰⁹ confirms that it was just the six in the handwritten minutes that were sent letters initially. These are quite different from the order of the actions for which swords were presented. There it is just Bowen, Temple and Priest who were present at that first action when HMS *Loire* cut out French gun brig *Venteux* at Isle de Bas, Brittany, on the 27 June 1803. The recipients from the second and third events in date order to merit awards, Lieutenant Gabriel and Captain Yescombe, were both nominated later.

This first action also illustrates the hard line the Fund took with determining recipients. There are three officers praised by name in the letter to *The London Gazette*⁵¹⁰ that they read at the meeting. The officers were Lieutenants Temple and Bowen and Mr Bridges. The Fund made awards to the officers commanding the boats and subsequently determined this was Temple and Bowen and Midshipman Priest. Having been promoted, probably for this action, Lieutenant Bridges wrote asking whether he could be considered and receives what was probably a hurtful response not only rejecting his request, but going on to say that if they awarded to all who were brave then “*they would have to vote them to almost any man who goes into action*” and that they had limited it in this case to just those who commanded the boats.⁵¹¹

On 31 January 1804, a sub group of Lavie, Martin and Angerstein were directed to determine the design for the sword and that decision was validated by the first two responses received in time for the meeting of the 7 February 1804 from the now Captain Temple and Lieutenant Watt stating that they

⁵⁰⁹ City of London MSS31592.

⁵¹⁰ *London Gazette* 5 July 1803 is the date given in the minutes.

⁵¹¹ City of London MSS31592.

wished to receive swords. Duly on 28 February at a well-attended committee meeting with 28 committee members, which is not mentioned in the published minutes, agreed to the published “sword alterations and amendments” and, therefore, presumably, approved the design.

Their decision was clearly correct as the majority of officers offered a sword took it in preference to either the money or a vase. There is just one action, that of Admiral Duckworth at Saint Domingo on the 6 February 1806, where multiple recipients all chose not to have a sword but opt for plate. Indeed of the 201 times a sword was offered as the award, 152 people opted to take it. Others took the money or plate. This was probably for a variety of reasons. For a few it might have been because they already had a sword. Only Captain Nichols RM opted for a second sword. In one case, the family opted for cash because the recipient had since died and, with huge goodwill, Captain Codrington asked for his award to be taken as a donation to the Patriotic Fund. The Fund never awarded a sword to a deceased officer. It was also understood that a sword might not be the best item for handing down to descendants. For example, a sword was voted to Sir John Hayes in 1798, by the Court of Directors for his intrepid behaviour in an engagement with pirates in the Gulf of Cutch, where he was severely wounded. A footnote states: “As at this time Lieutenant Hayes had family of only three daughters, he requested that the gift might assume another form, and accordingly he received a magnificent silver cup.”⁵¹²

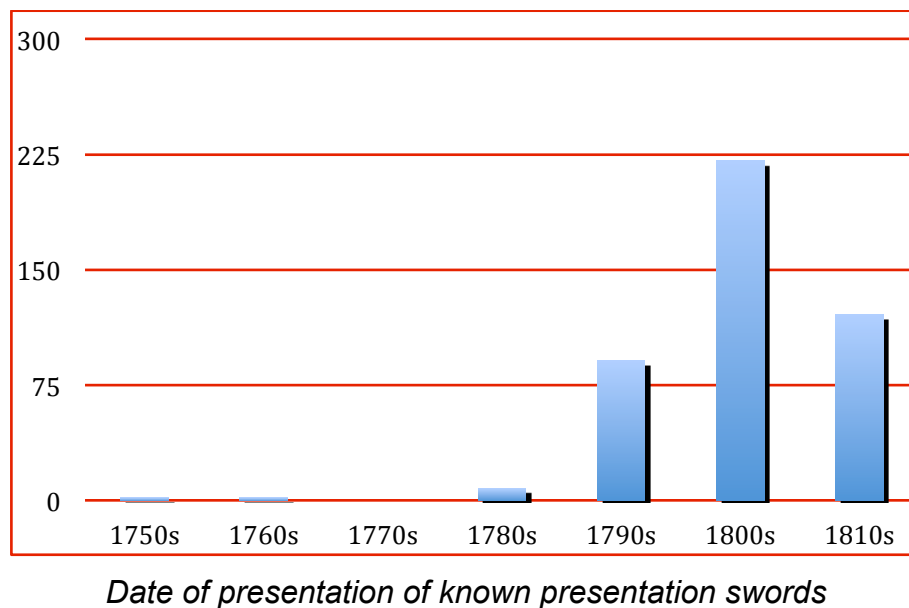
How much the presentation of swords is a new phenomenon is illustrated in the graph below. This shows the distribution of the dates of the 446⁵¹³ identified presentation swords (excluding the Patriotic Fund swords, which would nearly double the size of the column for 1803 to 1809) that have been identified. As discussed in chapter 2 these are most likely to be known through the artifact being seen or via an auction catalogue.

⁵¹² C R Low, *The History of the Indian Navy 1613 – 1863*, (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1877) reprinted by Royal Naval Museum and London Stamp Exchange, 1990, vol. 2, p6&7.

⁵¹³ There are 44 where definitive dates not known attributed to most likely.

134 of these are held in museums and public collections. If this is a similar ratio as for Patriotic Fund swords, of which 32%⁵¹⁴ are in museums and public collections, then you would expect the total number of swords presented in the period to be in around the same as the number in the database. This would infer that the majority have been identified and I would estimate that the total was below 500.

It is important to note the last column only records those presented up to 1816, not the full decade, but does show that the whole decade is at least as high as the 1790s and is considerably above earlier decades. Sword giving drops off after 1816.



As can be seen above, the view expressed by Leslie Southwick that “the practice of giving fully inscribed swords for military or naval merit or service”⁵¹⁵ had been established by the 1780s is premature; he dates his first two examples from 1780 and 1781 and from the weapons that survive it does not seem to be an established practice that early, rather that is the earliest.

⁵¹⁴ Of 165 Patriotic Fund swords, 53 are in public collections or museums. 82 others locations and known via held by family or auction sales. The swords have had wealthy individuals endeavouring to trace them for decades, which should ensure a higher ratio of known locations.

⁵¹⁵ L Southwick, *Presentation Swords A selection of British Swords awarded from 1780* Part 1. (Arms and Armour Vol 17: 4) p 21.

Claude Blair, a former edged-weapons curator of the Royal Armouries, stated:

*The practice of making a formal presentation of a special sword, usually suitably inscribed, to a distinguished soldier or sailor does not seem to have started until the second half of the eighteenth century. In England the practice was already established by the outbreak of the war with France in 1793 but it was during this conflict that it became really widespread.*⁵¹⁶

Lankester, in looking at the work of swordsmiths, comments that presentation “grew in popularity in the early years of the 19th century”⁵¹⁷ and he links it to a new fashion for sabres and Stephen Wood, previously of the National War Museum Scotland, uses Blair’s statement above to support his view⁵¹⁸ but refines it in line with Lankester, stating:

*“Students of British presentation swords quickly realise that the commissioning, manufacture, decoration and donation of these weapons reached its apogee in the two decades of war against France between 1793 and 1815.”*⁵¹⁹

Early presentation swords

So why did the Fund determine to give swords when they had not been a routine object for reward earlier? Several factors are at work here.

Swords have long had a ceremonial role. Nottingham Castle holds the ‘Sword of Tiberius’, which was made in Germany around 15BC. It is believed to have been made for a senior officer after the ceding of victory to Tiberius after a successful alpine campaign in 16/15 BC. On its mouthplate, Augustus

⁵¹⁶ C Blair, *Three Presentation Swords in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (HMSO 1972) p1.

⁵¹⁷ Lankester, *Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Decoration of Sword Blades* p10.

⁵¹⁸ S Wood, *For Skill, Valour and Gallantry: Two Swords Presented to Scotsmen for Distinguished Service in Spain in 1805 and 1811* p241

⁵¹⁹ S Wood, “A Patriot and his Sword” (*Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* Vol 16:2 1999) p61.

appears in the pose of Jupiter receiving a statuette of Victory from Tiberius, with Mars Ultor and Victory in attendance. Swords are also mentioned being offered as a trophy in classical literature. Homer refers to Achilles offering as a prize a Thracian sword with a fine silver mounting, which had been taken from Asteropaeus on the battlefield, at the funeral games held in Patroclus's honour.⁵²⁰

*“The custom of giving swords as presents dates from Ancient times. Ctesias of Cnidos, one of the comrades of Xenophon, relates in a passage preserved by Photius, how he had received two swords, one from the hand of Parisatis, mother of Artaxerxes, the other from those of the Great King himself.”*⁵²¹

A Sword of State has been associated with the throne in England “since the Coronation of the Saxon King Aethelred, in A.D. 978”⁵²². However, it was during the reign of Edward III (1327-1377) they were first carried by civic mayors. The first granted permission was the Mayor of London and it only extended to seven cities by the end of the 14th century. Lincoln, York and Chester received their swords directly from the King.⁵²³ The tradition evolved over the centuries, those entitled cities and towns slowly growing in number. Even Oliver Cromwell increased the number, granting permission to the City of Salisbury.⁵²⁴ These are ornate swords but it is worth noting they are intended to be displayed sheathed and therefore only the hilt and scabbard carry ornate decoration; the blades remain relatively plain. They often bear classical references. For example, the Hertford Civic sword dating from circa 1680 has a representation of Julius Caesar on the pommel (a play on the name of the person who paid for it)⁵²⁵ and a classical representation of justice on the chape. However, it is noticeable that the late eighteenth century saw a

⁵²⁰ Homer, *The Iliad* (Bath, Softback Review, 1997 translated by Robert Eagles) pp584-5.

⁵²¹ E De Beaumont, *The Sword and Womankind* (London: Imperial Press, 1905) p86-7.

⁵²² L Southwick “The Hertford Civic Sword of State, 1680, struck with the rare silver-hilt maker's mark of Hugh Humphries” (*Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* Vol 12:6, 2018) p307.

⁵²³ Ibid. p308.

⁵²⁴ Ibid. p308.

⁵²⁵ Donated by Sir Charles Caesar. Ibid. p308.

reduction in making these. Most of these swords are either from the mid seventeenth century or earlier or the Victorian era or later.⁵²⁶

People decorated their swords with jewels to show their prowess and power. The French leader in the 100 Years War, Jean d'Orléans, Count of Dunois' sword "was reckoned worth 20,000 gold crowns, for it was mounted with rich jewelled work" and there "were jewels to the value of 225,000 livre (L 9,000 sterling) on the hilt of the nadajar carried by Ali-beg, while the Duc d'Epéron, on days of state, wore a sword mounted with 1,800 diamonds."⁵²⁷ Elaborating a standard sword by adding jewels appears to be an ancient practice. A sword that is a standard Roman gladius except that it is elaborately decorated with ivory and shells has been found at Pompeii.⁵²⁸

The giving of a useful weapon of war is quite different from items that are intended for display and a useful weapon is how I would describe the sword gifted by Queen Anne in 1702 to the 1st Duke of Marlborough when she appointed him Captain General of the Forces in the Low Countries. The fact this has a colichemarde blade, which tended to be used for fighting rather than display, indicates it is in that vein and it is a typical sword for a senior gentleman of that period.



*Small sword given to 1st Duke of Marlborough*⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ Lt Col E Barrett, *Ceremonial Swords of Britain* (Stroud, The History Press, 2017). From the tables there are 34 from C17th and first half of C18th, with just Newcastle getting a second c1791 and Royal Wootton Bassett in 1812 before the six Victorian.

⁵²⁷ Ibid. p111.

⁵²⁸ Katherine J. Wu, SMITHSONIANMAG.COM, 27 January 2020.

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/2000-year-old-skull-might-belong-pliny-elder-180974055/> accessed 7 February 2020.

⁵²⁹ Guards Museum labeled as first presentation sword although details states first inscribed sword. Inscription just below hilt.

Within the British context, it would appear that the first organisation to give a presentation sword was the Asian focussed EIC, which included a sword among the gifts to honour Clive of India in 1753 for his achievements in Madras. It then awarded a second to Commodore William James of the Bombay Marine. This is presumed to be for capturing Gheria and Severndroog, the forts run by Tulaji Angre as bases for the Maratha Navy that harassed EIC ships, among other actions.⁵³⁰ While the EIC continued to present swords, it appears the idea was next taken up by the West Indies. Captain Middleton was presented a sword by the merchants of Barbados for keeping down privateers in 1761.⁵³¹ Slightly earlier Captain Reed was given a presentation pistol by the Council and Assembly of St Christopher's, Leeward Islands, St Kitts in 1759.⁵³² These are all for actions against threats to trade. These two places seem to be the main source of presentation weapons for the next 30 years. This earlier start by the EIC with presentation swords is mirrored by its earlier adoption of both campaign medals and gallantry medals.⁵³³ The awards of swords in the 1780s to Lieutenant Colonel James Hartley, Lieutenant Popham and Captain Pruen by the EIC and Alex Dirom by Jamaica show this practice continued.

In addition to this style of presentations weapons, there are several weapons that are gifts but are to mark an occasion rather than an achievement. Considering the cost of an ornate sword in this period would be in the region of £100 to £200 it is not surprising that these came from wealthy individuals if not royalty. There are three well-known examples: Stephen Martin Leake, Garter King of Arms, was given a gold small sword by Adolphus Frederick 4th Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (brother of Queen Charlotte) on the Duke's investiture with the Order of the Garter; the smallsword that appears to have been given to the historian Edward Gibbons around 1780-90 and one given

⁵³⁰ Low, *The History of the Indian Navy 1613-1863* 138 and in 1784 portrait held by the NMM.

⁵³¹ Edited by Sir J Knox Laughton, *Letters and Papers of Charles Lord Barham Vol 1* (NRS, Vol 32, 1907) pxvii, sword held by Victoria & Albert (Item M.17&A-1978)

⁵³² NMM AAA2417.

⁵³³ EIC 1770 and 1837 compared with Government 1847 and 1854.

by the Chevalier d'Eon to the poet, artist, naturalist and antiquarian, George Keate dated around 1777.⁵³⁴

There is also one to a naval officer that could fall into this category as a sword is given by Prince William Henry to Lieutenant Locke of HMS *Hebe* in 1785. Both the Prince and Locke were Lieutenants onboard. HMS *Hebe* was not recorded as being involved in any significant action in 1785 and the sword is therefore likely to mark this single year that the two served together before the Prince was promoted to take command of HMS *Pegasus*.

A series of events in the 1790s establish the trend and desire for swords rather than plate. In particular, there is an increase in the giving of swords, which moves towards London: there is the establishment of pattern swords for the military with mass production; there is the establishment in London of those who can make these weapons and new techniques become available. Lastly there is the establishment of a pattern of sword giving by organisations.

The giving of swords as prizes for competition linked to military activity continues to this day. Until the demise of the Royal Tournament in 1999, a small dagger to keep was presented to the Champion At Arms and even today the trophy awarded is a mounted sword, which is passed from Champion to Champion. This was also true, although rare (judging by the lack of surviving examples) in the 18th century. Certainly the Huntly Races awarded several swords for the victors in the early 18th century.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁴ British Museum, Nottingham Castle and Royal Armouries.

⁵³⁵ Lot 535 Lyon & Turnbull 14 August 2019 was a silver basket hilted broadsword circa 1700-1710. Auction notes state this was part of a small group of race prize swords for the Huntly Races. The other known surviving prizes are three basket hilted swords for 1701 (National Museums of Scotland), 1713 and 1727 (both Royal Collection) and two pieces of plate, a cup and cover circa 1725 (Private Collection Mount Stuart) and a thistle cup 1695 (National Museums of Scotland). The Huntly Races were held from 1695-1749 and termed the 'Charles Fair' seem to have been in commemoration of Charles II, and therefore really in support of the Jacobite cause. Prizes usually took the form of silver or gold plate rather than cash. That so few survived suggests they were often converted back into cash.

How the giving of presentation swords moved towards London

Throughout this period, the EIC and the Assemblies in the Caribbean continued to present swords, however, the practice expanded and other commercial centres started to do so, particularly Jersey and Guernsey. Jersey presented its first in 1780 to Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot for protecting them from a French invasion fleet the previous year led by Prince of Nassau Charles Henri Nicolas Otton Nassau-Siegen.⁵³⁶

There is one sword whose title is initially misleading. Sir Barnard Turner was presented with a sword by the London Foot Association for his efforts in restoring and preserving the peace in the metropolis.⁵³⁷ This would appear to be by a militia, but it was a militia formed for a single event. During the Gordon riots in 1780 he 'stimulated a number of gentlemen to form a group of volunteer horse, at the head of which he preserved the Bank [of England] from plunder'.⁵³⁸ This marks the first sword presented by a group within London, rather than one by a Militia the recipient maintained.

The 1790s see the first presentations to officers by their units. The earliest known is that to Captain Polhill of the 15th (King's) Light Dragoons,⁵³⁹ dating from 1791 from his Regiment for suppression of the Birmingham riots. The next is to Captain (later Admiral) Joseph Yorke, who received one from the officers of HMS *Circe* in 1793, presumed to be for the capture of the French *L'Espiegle*, his major seizure that year.⁵⁴⁰

In 1794, the King presented a diamond hilted sword valued at 3,000 guineas as well as other marks of honour to Lord Howe for the naval victory at the Glorious 1st.⁵⁴¹ This sword is still in the family⁵⁴² the gift demonstrated that the

⁵³⁶ G Priest, "The Battle of Jersey" (*The Armourer*, April 2018) p50.

⁵³⁷ City of London Museum A27278.

⁵³⁸ <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/turner-sir-barnard-1742-84> accessed on 25 February 2018.

⁵³⁹ NAM 1987-09-5.

⁵⁴⁰ 1891 Naval Exhibition Catalogue item 2705 held by family at time.

⁵⁴¹ Long, p35. His first mention of a sword.

giving of a sword had the highest level of approval. After a Royal Gift there could be no doubt that a sword was suitable for a successful naval officer, of any rank.



*Lord Howe receiving his sword from King George III*⁵⁴³

In 1796, we see the first presentation by underwriters, in this case of the East Indiaman *Princess Charlotte* to Captain George Gooch EIC merchant service presumably for saving the *Princess Charlotte* from some disaster, as he was Captain of another East Indiaman the *Sir Stephen Lushington* at the time.⁵⁴⁴ That same year a series of swords were presented to officers who raised volunteers or militias.

In 1797, the first sword was presented by the City of London, to Admiral Jervis for the Battle of St Vincent. The City has continued to present swords, the

⁵⁴² Confirmed by private discussion with Lord Howe Whale Island Glorious 1st Dinner 2019.

⁵⁴³ Two versions at Whale Island Wardroom and NMM. Henry Briggs was commissioned 1828 for the gallery at Greenwich.

⁵⁴⁴ Auctioned by Thomas del Mar 2009.

latest being for the Falklands Conflict in 1982. Admirals Duncan and Onslow received swords in 1797 for the Battle of the Camperdown and Nelson received one for the Nile in 1798. The City presented 14 more before the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

Table 10: Earliest known dates of swords presented for an achievement

Donor	First Known Presentation
EIC	1753
Caribbean Assemblies and Merchant Bodies	1761
Channel Islands	1780
By a group of merchants in London	1780
By a unit to their Officer	1791
By the King to Lord Howe	1794
By the underwriters in London	1796
By a Militia to the officer who raised them	1796
By the City of London	1797

Admiral Earl St Vincent, perhaps appreciating the one he had been awarded, in 1800 decided to award a 100 guinea sword to Acting Lieutenant Jeremiah Coghlan for an exceptional feat in cutting out of the *Cerbère* (during which he had been badly wounded).⁵⁴⁵ This was exactly the sort of activity that that Patriotic Fund would later recognise. The Navy had joined the King and the City in marking its approval by this gesture.

It is also probable that there was influence from the interest in swords of some key personalities, in particular the Royal Family and Nelson.

Royal Family interest in presentation swords

⁵⁴⁵ J Marshall, *Royal Naval Biography Supplement Part II* (Longman Rees, Orme Brown & Green, 1828) p301.

In this period the male members of the Royal Family started to appear in uniform in public and in portraits, because they had in effect created a citizens' army with the volunteers and militias they sponsored,⁵⁴⁶ as Beechey's portrait of the Duke of York at the Guard's Museum shows. While Beechey's painting of the King and the Prince of Wales reviewing their soldiers at Hyde Park, lost in the 1992 Windsor Castle fire, is another example.⁵⁴⁷



Beechey's portrait of Frederick Duke of York

The often-obsessive interest of the Hanoverian Royal Family likely made military uniforms, and the accoutrements that go with them such as swords, more desirable. In the early 1800s the Prince of Wales started ordering expensive and elegant small swords that he gave to members of his household. John Prosser made these and it is estimated that the Prince of

⁵⁴⁶ Zamoyski, *Phantom Terror*, p100.

⁵⁴⁷ The National Army Museum has a copy 1971-05-30-1 the Prince of Wales was added later so copies exist without him.

Wales bought 60 such swords.⁵⁴⁸ Prosser was not the Prince's only supplier within the period; there was also at least one made by Osborn and Gunby⁵⁴⁹ and one by Thomas Price given to one of his brothers.⁵⁵⁰ It is also known the Prince bought pieces from Brunn for the dedicated armour display room he had built at his residence Carlton House.⁵⁵¹ Certainly the Prince of Wales was given at least two elaborate Indian swords. Two captured by Lord Cornwallis were acquired by Sir John Craddock and presented to the Prince in 1811,⁵⁵² and the King was presented with the Creese, (now spelt kris) of the Rajah of Assam which had also been brought back by Cornwallis but had then been acquired by Lord Wellesley who presented it to the King in 1804.

The Prince of Wales was Colonel in Chief of the 10th Hussars and gave swords to the officers of the Regiment.⁵⁵³ He is wearing their uniform in the painting above. These occasionally appear in auctions. They are not presentation weapons because they were not for an event but part of his leadership of the regiment, but they are often inscribed. It has been stated these were supposed to be returned if the officer transferred to another regiment.⁵⁵⁴

The Prince of Wales did award a presentation sword in the proper sense to Captain Aylmer in 1815 for taking on the teaching of Austrian sword exercise to the Light Dragoons.⁵⁵⁵

The Duke of Sussex also gave at least one sword. In 1798 he presented one

⁵⁴⁸ G Marks, "Swords of an Ancient Style" (Classic Arms & Militaria Vol 12:1 Feb/Mar 2014) p48-9.

⁵⁴⁹ Lot 32 Morphy's 24-26 February 2017, Blade marked Osborne and Gunby of Birmingham and Pall Mall so date from 1808-1818 according to Bezdek,

⁵⁵⁰ Lot 453 Cowan's New York 30 October 18 William Koch collection, dated in inscription 22 July 1816.

⁵⁵¹ Southwick, L. *New Light on the Georgian Sword and Gunmaker, Samuel Brunn* (Journal Arms and Armour Society, Vol 23:3 March 2020 pp168-206) p186.

⁵⁵² Queen's Librarian, *Trophies and Personal Relics of British Heroes* (London, John C Nimmo, 1896) Section VII. In 1896 in Royal Collection,

⁵⁵³ Full regimental name 10th (Prince of Wales's Own) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons (Hussars) so also referred to as 10th Light Dragoons.

⁵⁵⁴ Referred to on website *The Empire* entry for 10th Hussars quoting as source *Elegant Extracts 1814* but not recorded B Robson's *Swords of the British Army* (Britain, NAM, 2011).

⁵⁵⁵ Lot 374 Bonham's 30 November 2017, made by Prosser.

to Captain Thomas Pickstock, commander of the *Herald*, for an action against French forces in the Bay of Naples, although how much influence the fact that the Duke was in the vicinity of the action had, is not known⁵⁵⁶. It is possible he showed a similar interest in his regiment's swords as Prince of Wales did. The Loyal Northern Britons, a Militia regiment he was involved with, had very distinctive broadswords.



*Sir Bellingham Graham of the 10th Hussars and one of the swords inscribed
"HRH George PW to REW 10th Hussars 1808"⁵⁵⁷*

Prince William Frederick, the King's nephew and son-in-law had a sword in the style of the new City of London swords made in 1801⁵⁵⁸ and Prince Frederick Duke of York had his own elaborate sword made.⁵⁵⁹ However, the Duke of Clarence went further. Enjoying his life at sea, he appears to have wanted to mark his gratitude to various naval officers. There are at least five

⁵⁵⁶ Jersey museum. Action occurred while Duke of Sussex visiting Naples, asked Captain Pickstock to visit him that evening. The sword although gifted was not engraved until much later, with Duke agreeing the words.

⁵⁵⁷ Lot 297 Wallis & Wallis 9 June 2015, attributed Lieutenant Rowland Edward Williams.

⁵⁵⁸ Lot 454 Cowan's New York 30 October 18 William Koch collection, made "I W M a Solingen".

⁵⁵⁹ Visible in John Jackson's 1820 painting at Bamburgh Castle.

coffin pommel swords presented by him that are pre 1805⁵⁶⁰ as after the introduction of the pattern sword he always gave a valid pattern of naval sword, initially the 1805 pattern and then the 1827 in due course, but with the addition of marks of his position. Including more general gifts of swords it is known he gave at least 35 swords in his lifetime, and there are at least two whose recipient is unknown.⁵⁶¹ There is no known definitive list of these swords and their existence is only known from the surviving items and references in letters.

Many of the recipients may have received two swords from the Duke; initially an 1805 and then another when the Naval pattern sword changed in 1827. Admiral Sir John Gore recorded he received his when he was the Admiral at the Nore. This was 1818 to 1821, so must have been an 1805 pattern. However, his surviving sword is an 1827 pattern. There are others that could be in the same position, for example Admiral Hardy. It is not known whether they returned their earlier ones or kept both.⁵⁶² However, the preservation of the family swords by the Pellet Green family indicates that not all were replaced. Admiral Pellet Green's 1827 pattern sword is not one from the Duke of Clarence.⁵⁶³ Of the 20 known 1805 pattern swords, it is likely Admiral Pellet Green's, Admiral George Cockburn's, Admiral Sir Charles Rowley's and Admiral Augustus Clifford's were given after the Napoleonic Wars due to their career paths as well as Sir John Gore's mentioned above. But the other 14 recipients⁵⁶⁴ are likely to date from the Napoleonic Wars with at least four more where it is possible there was an earlier 1805 pattern as well.⁵⁶⁵ It is naturally unclear whether the unattributed 1805 pattern sword is pre or post 1815.

⁵⁶⁰ At least five coffin pommel swords. Certainly presented to Duckworth, Nelson, Vincent and Durham. Location of Vincent and Nelson's unknown but three known and unattributed.

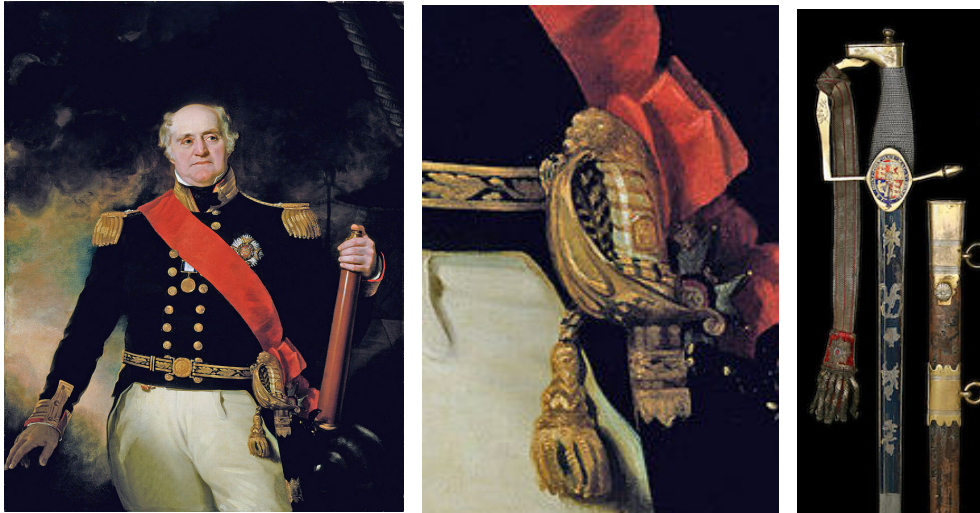
⁵⁶¹ In addition to the at least one unknown sword in the footnote above an unattributed 1805 pattern Duke of Clarence sword was sold at Bonham's 26 May 2021 Lot 81.

⁵⁶² Unreferenced assertions by Sim Comfort that Duke of Clarence helped determine 1827 naval pattern, might mean he wanted naval officers around him to carry it.

⁵⁶³ Personal visit to the family collection.

⁵⁶⁴ Others are: Blackwood, Baker, Collingwood, Fitzroy, Hargood, Hoste, Martin, Maitland, Northesk, Spencer, Stopford, Thornbrough, Ussher and Warren.

⁵⁶⁵ Codrington, Hardy, Hope and Keates.



Vice Admiral Hardy in a painting dated 1834, crest detail shows it is a Duke of Clarence⁵⁶⁶ and an unknown recipient's Duke of Clarence coffin pommel sword⁵⁶⁷

In *Naval Swords and Dirks*⁵⁶⁸, the author goes further, arguing the Duke of Clarence collected swords, but no other evidence has been found to support this and there are other areas where the author gives personal opinion as fact without any supporting evidence.⁵⁶⁹

The Duke of Clarence also gave swords as general gifts. It is known Lieutenant Colonel Cooper, his Groom of the Bedchamber, was given a sword⁵⁷⁰ and the Duke continued this habit in later life giving a sword as King William IV to Lord Hill as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in 1834.⁵⁷¹ Considering that the Duke of Clarence's interest in the Royal Navy is credited with improving recruitment of officers from members of upper class society,⁵⁷² it must be equally plausible that his giving of swords might influence society. But whether his giving helped create the desire or whether it was a response to the desire he knew existed (from his time in the Royal Navy) is currently open to speculation.

⁵⁶⁶ NMM

⁵⁶⁷ Lot 212 Bonham's 29 April 2010.

⁵⁶⁸ S Comfort, *Naval Swords and Dirks* (London, Sim Comfort Associates, 2008) Vol 1 p151.

⁵⁶⁹ View supported by Chris Allen who critiqued Comfort's book.

⁵⁷⁰ Bonham's 6 April 2006.

⁵⁷¹ NAM 1963-10-123.

⁵⁷² J Davey, *In Nelson's Wake* (London, Yale University Press, 2015) p29.

Nelson and presentation swords

It is often wrongly stated (on the internet) that Nelson received his City of London sword with his Freedom of the City.⁵⁷³ In fact, Nelson received his Freedom of the City of London for the Battle of St Vincent and received the customary ornate box (usually 100 guineas worth) that went with it, as did Admirals Thompson, Waldegrave and Parker. Admiral Jervis already had the Freedom of the City, which he received for his work in the West Indies alongside Major General Grey in 1794. This is possibly why the City gave a different item - they wished to give him a sword as a further mark of recognition for the Battle of St Vincent. It appears the idea of getting a sword appealed to Nelson, because six days after the Battle of the Nile he sent the surrendered sword of Admiral Blanquet to the City of London.⁵⁷⁴ It was with their letter of thanks for the gift of Admiral Blanquet's sword that they in turn awarded Nelson a sword.⁵⁷⁵ It is known Nelson himself presented at least one sword, to Captain Cockburn, his flag captain in the action in *Minerve* against *Sabina* in 1796. There are others claimed to have been given by Nelson although the evidence is weak⁵⁷⁶, but it is probable that this was not a unique action by Nelson.

In 1798, the battle of the Nile linked the giving of presentation swords with the Arabic tradition of giving ornate swords. There are definitely three presentation swords given to Nelson, one by the City of London (discussed earlier), the second by the King of Two Scillies and the third by the Egyptian Club.

⁵⁷³ Including entry by City of London Museum who hold it <https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/137774.html> accessed 25 February 2018.

⁵⁷⁴ Letter dated 8 August 1798.

⁵⁷⁵ City of London, *Roll of Fame* p74-83.

⁵⁷⁶ For example I was approached by RN museum, to verify a sword as given by Nelson to Admiral Carter in 1805. While O'Byrne's Naval Biography self submitted record says he got one. The sword examined had several errors indicating it was not naval and not of the period.

The Egyptian Club was formed by the Captains present at the Nile for the purpose of commissioning a painting of Nelson and to give him a sword. The Club did not give to themselves, although it is clear at least some of the Captains had swords made of the same style. This popular misconception has led many people to assume all Captains had such a sword, for which there is no evidence. These are sometimes recorded incorrectly as if presented⁵⁷⁷ but were self purchased and it is known that some officers who were not Captains also had swords made.⁵⁷⁸ Indeed the prize agent Davison had one for himself and possibly presented one to the Duke of Clarence. Several dirks with crocodile heads have been seen in auctions.⁵⁷⁹ These are usually thought to be linked to officers at the Nile,⁵⁸⁰ although there is an alternative possibility, as the crocodile is also associated with the West Indies. There is at least one sabre which while not a presentation sword uses both a crocodile and a sphinx. It is believed this could indicate that the owner served in both the West Indies and Egypt, although could just be Egypt, since it is an Army infantry sword it cannot be for the Nile.⁵⁸¹



Army sword with crocodile and sphinx

Personally, I do not think all members of the Egyptian Club had swords made. If that was the case you would expect them in their portraits that commemorate the battle. William Beechey's portrait of Captain Darby from

⁵⁷⁷ Castle Cornet Museum holds Saumarez's sword and had this error in 2016.

⁵⁷⁸ Lieutenant Cuthbert did: McGrath and Barton, *British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship* p86-7. S Comfort, *Naval Swords and Dirks Special Supplement* indicates Lieutenant Capel may have done

⁵⁷⁹ Lot 43, Elliott's 15 October 2016 and Lot 90 C&T 5 December 2016.

⁵⁸⁰ It is known Cuthbert had a dirk, S Comfort, *Naval Swords and Dirks Special Supplement*.

⁵⁸¹ Lot 55 Wallis & Wallis 7 October 2009.

1801 shows Darby wearing his Davison medal commemorating the battle but does not show him with any sword. As will be seen later this is unusual if he had such a sword, where even on half-length portraits they sometimes cradle it in their arms.



Captain Darby

At least two⁵⁸² ornate Arabic swords were presented for the Nile, one by the Sultan of Turkey to Nelson and one held by the Murray family. The latter was presented by the Dey of Algiers and was possibly intended for Nelson, especially considering Captain Murray was not present at the Battle of the Nile.⁵⁸³ There was also an ornate sword presented by Sultan Selim III to Sir Sidney Smith in 1801 for his work in defeating the French in Egypt⁵⁸⁴ and he also got two further presentation swords for the capture of Acre from the City of London and from the Turkey Company,⁵⁸⁵ which was formerly known as the Levant Company, and was the London merchants trading with Turkey. It

⁵⁸² There is possibly a third from Zante but I believe this is not true see McGrath and Barton, *British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship* p87.

⁵⁸³ M Barton, *Murray's Sword (The Nelson Dispatch, Vol 12 Part 6 Spring 2016)*

⁵⁸⁴ Howard, *The Memoirs of Sir Sydney Smith* p144.

⁵⁸⁵ *ibid.* p102, and *The Scots Magazine, Or, General Repository of Literature, History ...*, (Volume 61, Edinburgh, Alex Chapman & Co, 1799) p791.

should be noted that these Arabic swords, colloquially known as scimitars, have the flat blade of sabres that were so popular for presentation swords.

Type of sword used for presentation weapons

The change in style of presentation sword over the first few years evidences that technology was driving their increase in popularity as a gift for the giver. Most pre-1793 presentation weapons are small swords, having come into fashion in the mid 17th century. The decoration of these involved the addition of jewels and gold and enamels with pictures of events, none of which could be industrialised. With the decline of the sword being worn as a practical weapon on a day-to-day basis but rather being worn to denote status it became less often worn by the general public. This was the case by the start of the French Revolutionary War. It was worn only for formal events. The British court sword today is a small sword.

Leslie Southwick notes a similar development in the 1820s and 1830s as presentation swords morph from sabres towards mameluke-hilted swords. The earliest known mameluke is from 1802 given by General Lord Paget to his Aid-de-Camp. Southwick postulates that the:

*“practice of wearing such swords in the British Army may have originated from the Egyptian campaign of 1801, when eastern swords taken from the arsenal at Cairo, or from service in India. In the early years of the 19th century, mameluke-hilted swords were carried unofficially by officers in certain regiments of Light Cavalry and of Dragoons, and this practice had spread by the end of the Napoleonic War.”*⁵⁸⁶

and then argues:

⁵⁸⁶ L Southwick, *Presentation Swords A selection of British Swords awarded from 1780 Part 2* (Arms and Armour, Vol 17:7) p16

*“the main reason why the sword continued to maintain its popularity as a presentation design was that in 1831 it had become the official pattern for a sword for General Officers (a pattern still in use today). Consequently, as many of the important presentations throughout the century were to commanding army officers, it seems natural that a presentation piece should be modelled on a sword used by officers of senior military rank.”*⁵⁸⁷

With respect to the use of weapons the same as those in Service,

*“From about 1780 to 1815, presentation swords modelled on service patterns ... are not commonly found. It was after the Napoleonic War had ended when presentations were made less frequently that it became common for a regimental pattern of sword to form the basis of a presentation piece”*⁵⁸⁸

So at the time of this study the majority of weapons that were presented are sabres modelled on the 1796 light cavalry pattern.

Establishment of pattern swords for the military

This period saw the adoption of the first British military pattern swords. Swords were moving from being individually made to mass production at the same time as the armed forces expanded and demand grew. Up to 1788 the Colonel of a Regiment would determine the weapons his regiment would carry. However, possibly due to the experiences of the American War of Independence, in 1787 it was determined to create official patterns of army uniform swords. The first official pattern sword was adopted by the infantry in 1786 and then another pattern was adopted by the cavalry in 1788 with separate patterns for Light and Heavy Cavalry, with the Dragoons and Household Cavalry continuing to use different patterns. The Flanders

⁵⁸⁷ *ibid*,

⁵⁸⁸ *ibid*. p18

expedition in 1793 showed that the quality of weapons and their style was inferior. An officer accompanying that expedition, Major J G Le Marchant, set to work to both design a new sword and convince the Commander-in-Chief to adopt it. He worked closely with the leading sword makers and was successful.⁵⁸⁹ Thus the light and heavy cavalry swords were updated in 1796, with an infantry officer's sword pattern being adopted the same year. Infantry regiments continued to have officers flouting the new regulations, particularly in flank companies where a short curved blade suitable for a cutting stroke more likely to be more useful in scouting and skirmishing operations. As rifle regiments commenced around 1800 they adopted similar designs.⁵⁹⁰ This became formalised with the adoption of the 1803 pattern that was designated for officers of the Grenadiers and the Light Infantry.⁵⁹¹ This was adopted by other groups, including swords with ivory grips by general officers.

How much this was driven by the need to move to British production is unclear. Traditionally, at this period, the main producers of sword blades were European manufacturers based at either Toledo (Spain) or Solingen (Germany). Neither of these provided certainty of supply of blades to Britain. Spain was an ally of France in 1803 while Solingen belonged to the Duke of Bavaria and thus was allied to Napoleon from 1799 until it was exchanged for another piece of land to become a French vassal territory. So the move to British blades enabled by the production of these standardised patterns would reduce the need for imported blades with the complete sword then being made up by individual cutlers.

The effectiveness of these cutting swords as weapons is debated and it is often argued they are more of a fashion statement with officers wishing to appear as hussars or light cavalry. Lieutenant Kincaid of the 95th Rifles compares it unfavourably with the French weapons:

⁵⁸⁹ Robson, *Swords of the British Army* p16-7.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid* p146-148.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid* p148.

“The Frenchman held that in his hand which was well calculated to bring all sizes upon a level – a good small sword.....with our small regulation half moon sabre, better calculated to shave a lady’s maid than a Frenchman’s head, he made it descend on the pericranium of his unfortunate adversary with such force which snapped it at the hilt.”⁵⁹²

Martin Dougherty the Chief Assessor of the British Federation for Historical Swordplay, comments that the 1803 pattern sabre was created as a combat weapon:

“but fashion being what it is, it was adopted by many users who might never go anywhere near the enemy. This was probably for its panache and the image that went with it. A sabreur was a man who fought his enemies hand to hand, a brave and fearsome man, whereas those who never engaged tended to carry dress swords. This was probably the reason behind some of the variants that appeared. Thus very senior officers might be seen sporting this weapon, or officers whose duties kept them in England. Beautifully engraved and decorated variants emerged, along with variations on the blade type. These included blades with an extremely steep curve, which would be difficult to use in combat. This was not their purpose of course; these were weapons intended to impress, not to fight with.”⁵⁹³

What is clear is that these curved sabres with flat blades and the adoption of bluing and gilt as standard markings gave a basis from which a sword could start to easily have a presentation inscription on the blade and they were also the weapon officers liked to be seen to wear.

Establishment of suppliers of technology to make them

⁵⁹² J Kincaid, *Random Shots from a Rifleman*, (Reprinted within *The Complete Kincaid of the Rifles* (Milton Keynes, Oakpast Ltd, 2011) as part of Shot the Fourth - Sword Law p302.

⁵⁹³ M Dougherty, *Classic Arms and Militaria* Vol XXI Issue 6 dated Dec/Jan 15. p32-33

There are two elements to this, the technology to make them in this number, and suitable suppliers.

It is important to recognise just how new the technology to create the popular blue and gilt effect was, and that it enabled far more rapid production.

The swords presented by the City of London and the Committee for the suppression of privateers were elaborately made small swords using enamelling techniques. The Guildhall library holds a document from Teed, the supplier that lists the number of components he held in 1806,⁵⁹⁴ as can be seen in the Table below. Therefore, we know the Patriotic Fund swords were made much more using a production line approach. That unofficial swords could continue to be made after the Fund stopped awarding them indicates there were still spare components in 1809.

Table 11: Parts listed by Teed

Parts	Number in stock
Hilts	3 ready for gilding, 7 nearly, 12 chased, 16 in the rough
Trophies	17 trophies ready for mounting and 9 in the rough
Scabbards	2 scabbards mounted for chasing, 29 sets of small trophies and 19 sets of long trophies chased for scabbards, 65 nurlled borders for scabbards, 5 scabbards no mounted, 10 medallions chased
Belts	51 buckles for belts in the rough, 60 snakes in the rough, 30 ferrels rough and some chased, 20 parts of belts in sets all but the medallions,
Blades	40
Other parts	40 sundry other parts

Therefore, key to production on this scale was the ability to have a blade that could be decorated with an inscription. That technique came about with

⁵⁹⁴ City Library MSS35170 dated 1806.

development of blue and gilt decoration. It is known Teed subcontracted this work out for a large number of them as a workbook has survived by the Samuel Lines who did the work. This lists many of the inscriptions. Peter Tuite, an American sword expert, comments that English swords were particularly known for this and that the technique cannot be currently reproduced. This is partly because the work entailed exposure to chemicals in a way that would not now be allowed. He describes the process as follows:

“First, the blade was covered with an acid resistant wax and the blade motifs were scratched through the wax coating. Next the blade was etched by an acid bath or wash and the acid seeped through the wax scratches to the steel blade. The wax coating was removed, and a copper sulphate solution was placed on the areas to be gilded and the gilding process began. It typically involved a mixture of gold and mercury. These materials were placed into the previously etched surfaces and fired. During the firing process, the mercury evaporated and the firing blued the blade and left the gold in the etched designs. Workers in this trade had significant health problems from mercury poisoning. Blade surfaces that were to remain clear were coated with a form of shellac before the firing. The final step was blade polishing.”⁵⁹⁵

It is clear the Patriotic Fund Vases were premade as well and then inscribed. The Victoria and Albert Museum has a blank one, which does not appear to have been polished out but rather never engraved.⁵⁹⁶

The earliest British swords made in a production line rather than individually that have been identified with blue and gilt blades are the two ‘coffin-hilted’ 10th Light Dragoon and Royal Horse Artillery swords in a private collection.⁵⁹⁷ They can be positively dated to 1792 and 1793 respectively. Both blades were made in Solingen so therefore would have been manufactured a year or two

⁵⁹⁵ P Tuite, *British Naval Edged Weapons—An Overview* (ASOAC Vol 86) p38.

⁵⁹⁶ V&A Item no 803:1, 2-1890.

⁵⁹⁷ R Dellar, *The British Cavalry Sword 1788 – 1912: Some New Perspectives* (UK: The British Cavalry Sword, 2013). RHA plates 3.8–3.13 and Light Dragoons plates 3.5–3.7.

earlier than the dates of the swords themselves, probably around 1790-1791. Examination of *Me Fecit Potsdam*⁵⁹⁸ and *Sabres Francaises*⁵⁹⁹, the respective texts for German and French cavalry sabres, reveal none pre 1790 either. So it would seem that circa 1790 saw the development of an industrial process to use this technique.⁶⁰⁰ Richard Dellar, author of the *British Cavalry Sword 1788-1912*, and Philip Lankester concur with this conclusion.⁶⁰¹

When Le Marchant went to make arrangements with the leading sword makers for supplying the army, as discussed previously, he headed to Birmingham and in particular to deal with the sword manufacturer Henry Osborne.

The suppliers who provided the early presentation swords are jewellers by main profession and for them a sword is just one of the items they make. Rundell (who later joined with Bridge to form the jewellers still in business) was really a hilt maker. Similarly Morisset was original an enamellist and jeweller and only started doing swords once he partners with Lukin in 1779. Likewise Cornelius Bland was a silver chaser and Thomas Read a goldsmith. Some of the one-off weapon makers are also of this style, although later, Gray and Constable were goldsmiths, silversmiths and enamellers who set up in 1794, Philip Gilbert started 1806 and John Ray and James Montague took over from Morisset and Lukin in 1801. Thomas Price another well-known presentation sword maker started later and appears to have been a subcontractor for Rundell's, having started as a goldsmith registering his mark in 1802 no sword has been identified bearing it prior to 1810.⁶⁰²

Those who are really sword suppliers or army equipment suppliers and who also sometimes manufactured guns appear in London in the 1790s. Names

⁵⁹⁸ B Windsheimer *Me Fecit Potsdam* (Germany: Biblio Verlag 2001)

⁵⁹⁹ Christian Blondieau, *Sabres Francaises*, (Paris: The Red Képi, 2002)

⁶⁰⁰ There is a sword with blue and gilt decoration described as 'English Short Sabre' in G C Neumann, *Swords and Blades of the American Revolution* (Texas, Scurlock Pub Co, 1995) plate 149.S. This silver hilt has hallmark 1777-8 but blade shortened and thought to be later.

⁶⁰¹ Private correspondence on this question.

⁶⁰² L Southwick, *The maker's mark of Thomas Price on British Presentation Swords* (Arms and Armour Vol 4, No 1 2007 pp 5-44) p5.

included in this group are Henry Tatham (set up shop 1790), Richard Johnstone (starts 1794), John Prosser (1790).⁶⁰³ Thomas Gill and Osborne (who become partnered with Gunby) both start off in Birmingham but expand to London in 1799 and 1806 respectively.

Teed, who supplied the Patriotic Fund, was a bit of an anomaly and it is not clear why he won the contract. His first listed profession is antique jewellery dealer and then a goldsmith/silversmith/hilt maker and sword cutler. He started in 1785 but made very little of the Patriotic Fund sword; instead he assembled components he had made by others. For example, James Tassie and Edward Burch made the scabbard, sword hilt decorations and medallions and Samuel Lines of Birmingham seems to have done most of the inscriptions.⁶⁰⁴ But each sword is inscribed at the top of the scabbard with *Richard Teed, Dress sword maker to the Patriotic Fund, Lancaster Court, Strand.*

So along with the expansion of presentation sword giving, we see an expansion in the methods of making them and an increase in potential suppliers able to meet demand and therefore no doubt enable competition in the market. It is clear that ornate swords were made and subsequently decorated to suit the purchaser. In my collection is a silver small sword, probably 1790s, which has the hilt decorated for a naval officer but the blade is simply decorated so that it can be used for any purpose. It was intended to be worn in the evenings and at public events and not for action and therefore was not intended to be drawn and the blade seen.

⁶⁰³ Although initially establishes himself managing Mary Callum's shop.

⁶⁰⁴ P J Lankester, *Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Decoration of Sword Blades* (Arms and Armour Vol 5:1 2008 pp7-68).



A Patriotic sword, a 1796 Light Cavalry sabre of the same shape and a Royal Horse Artillery sword circa 1793 showing the use of blue and gilt on a production weapon

Establishment of a pattern of sword giving by organisations

By the beginning of the 1790s several organisations started to present gifts in a more organised fashion, in particular swords, rather than for just an individual event. There were previous attempts prior to the Fund by Merchants in London, one by the City of London itself, one by another Government department and lastly a trend within the militia.

The two previous attempts by groups of London merchants to establish a fund to award swords both had links to defence of trade. The first was for preventing attacks by privateers and the second for efforts in lifting a blockade of London by mutinous sailors.

With respect to swords by group of merchants in London, the first group to give presentation items over a period of time was the “Committee of Merchants to encourage the Capture of French Privateers”, which awarded

both plate and swords and, in particular, presented five swords between 1791 and 1796.⁶⁰⁵ All were for the suppression of privateers in the Caribbean, despite the challenges of privateers closer to home and these all being London merchants. This was initiated because of London's role in the West Indies trade and insurance and the scale of the problem. During the period Victor Hugues was running Guadeloupe, his campaign of privateering between 1796 and 1798 saw more than 700 vessels listed as prizes in the Guadeloupean prize court.⁶⁰⁶ All six founding members⁶⁰⁷ had key interests in the West Indies⁶⁰⁸ among their wider mercantile and financial interests, but others soon joined them who had wider interests.

They also gave several awards of plate of lower value⁶⁰⁹ and gratuities to injured sailors. This fund ceased its activities in 1800 with an announcement stating they had made awards as listed in Table 12:⁶¹⁰

Table 12 Total Awards by Committee of Merchants to encourage the Capture of French Privateers

	£	s	d
Plate and awards	2432	14	11
Gratuities to wounded and other seamen	1007	7	10
Advertisements	333	16	3
Costs	235	0	0
To the Corporation for the relief of merchant seaman	17	19	0

⁶⁰⁵ Captain Samuel Hood in 1791, Rear Admiral MacBride 1793, Alexander Cochrane and Sir John Borlase Warren in 1795 and Vice Admiral Kingsmill in 1796.

⁶⁰⁶ H J K Jenkins, *Questions of Piracy: Caribbean Confusion during the French Revolutionary Wars*, (*Topmasts*, Newsletter for Society of Nautical Research, May 2017 No 22) p8.

⁶⁰⁷ These were: Sir Richard Neave Chairman of the Society of West Indies Merchants, Peter Thellusson owned plantations, William Manning a partner in a West Indies trading firm, George Hibbert whose family owned sugar plantations, John Brickwood owned ships trading with West Indies and Beeston Long Senior Partner of a firm of West Indies merchants.

⁶⁰⁸ Listed on the front page of *The Times* Thursday 12 February 1793.

⁶⁰⁹ There is no established list of awards but *The Times* 24 April 1793 when reporting first sword also lists four pieces of plate and one payment to a sailor for injury.

⁶¹⁰ *The Times* 22 February 1800.

The fund awarded its last sword in 1796 and in 1797 the City of London awarded its first sword, a small sword very similar in style and decoration to that of Admiral Kingsmill's. With the fund for the suppression of privateers, it appears they felt that a sword was more valued than plate, as Cochrane received a £50 piece of plate in 1793 when supporting Admiral MacBride and then subsequently was awarded a sword in 1795. When Cochrane received his sword, the Captain of the ship supporting him John Beresford was awarded plate of 100 guineas.

The second endeavour set up by the merchants was for suppression of the Nore Mutiny. This group awarded six swords although only five were made as one recipient subsequently died before receiving his. The other unusual step was that these unlike all previous awards were not to senior officers but were to five Lieutenants and the Regulating Captain at Gravesend. With the landing of the Captains by the mutineers, the First Lieutenants were left as the senior person onboard the vessels. The fund was caught out by how quickly the mutiny ended, so its initial efforts of rewards for information to convict the mutineers and grants to enable the recruitment of replacements was superseded by a request to the Admiralty to reward those who had been active in dealing with it. Most of the just over £7,500 it raised was spent on these awards to individuals and the left over money was donated to the Marine Society and Merchant Seaman's Office.⁶¹¹ Far more than the Spithead mutiny, it was the Nore mutiny that concerned the City particularly with the blocking of trade to London. While this Committee gave swords, there were other gifts by other individuals and Earl St Vincent's medal was discussed in the previous chapter.

There are two further swords for suppression of the Nore Mutiny, it is unclear whether these were missed from the lists or given independently. The Royal Marine's Museum holds one awarded to Lieutenant Rea, it is a similar style to

⁶¹¹ S Wood, *In Defence of the Commerce of Great Britain...A group of swords presented to officers of the British Royal Navy in the 1790s*. ICOMAM 50, 2007 p195.

the others, however the inscription says presented “by the committee of Merchants in London appointed for the purpose of countering the mutiny” and then the name is unclear but it could be ‘Hugh Engl. Esq.’ and states “in the Chair Feby 20 1798”. That name does not match any of the committee. The second is held by the NMM⁶¹² and is noticeably less ornate than the others but has similar wording and was awarded to Lieutenant William Daniels, the son of Captain William Daniels. Both officers were awarded £25 by the main fund. So it possible they were subsequently approved after they stopped making honorary awards or self purchased using that money.

The idea that these swords could have been from a separate subscription is supported by the fact there are at least two other subscriptions made around that time and so, therefore, there could have been more. The first was by “the Gentlemen Merchants and Traders of the Town of Yarmouth” who raised £54 to reward the crew of *Venerable* at Yarmouth Roads because her crew did not depart to the Nore after being talked around by Admiral Duncan. This was spent on porter and vegetables for the crew, giving them a seasonable refreshment.⁶¹³ A subscription was also raised by the crew of *HMS Argonaut*. Led by John Mitchell, the Boatswain’s Mate, and Alex Hean, Serjeant, this raised a collection of 10 shillings per man to “drive before us into the sea all scoundrel enemies of Old England, and other blackguards that would take their parts”. It was given to their commander, Lieutenant P Hue.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹²NMM WPN1553 and WPN1554.

⁶¹³ Knight&Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet* p201.

⁶¹⁴ *The Cruikshank Momus by the Three Cruikshanks with their pictures set to Popular Ballads of the time*, (London, John C Nimmo, 1892) p13. *HMS Argonaut* was in ordinary by Tower Hill for the “better reception of those Jolly Tars that glory in humbling the pride of the enemies of Old England” presumably a receiving ship for pressed men.



Collection post the Nore mutiny by the crew of HMS Argonaut

All six founding members of the Committee to encourage the Capture of French Privateers were also involved in the committee for dealing with the Nore mutiny and several others who joined them were in turn part of the Patriotic Fund Committee. The relationship is clarified and illustrated in the venn diagram later in this chapter. But it is important to recognise there are significant links between each of these committees in turn.

The giving of swords by the City of London has already been mentioned but the link to Lloyd's is more noticeable when Howe received his freedom of the city for the Glorious First of June, although he only received the ornate box (this being prior to Jervis's sword) it was accompanied with the resolution to:

“pay into the hands of Mr. Thomas Taylor, the Master of Lloyd's Coffee House, the sum of Five hundred pounds for relief of the wounded petty officers, seamen, and soldiers and also the widows and children of those who so gloriously fell on those days in the service of their King and Country.”⁶¹⁵

The City of London continued to donate to funds being raised at Lloyd's Coffee House and gave £100 “to the fund at Lloyd's for the relief of the

⁶¹⁵ City of London *Roll of Fame* p77.

*widows and orphans of the seamen, marines and others who fell*⁶¹⁶ for the battle of St Vincent, and £500 to the relief of “*the seaman wounded and the widows and orphans of such seaman who gloriously fell in the said conflict*”⁶¹⁷ for the Battle of Camperdown. So the involvement of the City was becoming more routine, with both honours and money for those injured and pensions for the widows becoming associated with each other.

There are two further organisations that start giving presentation swords. The first of these is a government department - the Customs Commissioners. They were a powerful and influential body in their own right and were noted for a conflicting and antagonistic relationship with the navy at times⁶¹⁸ as they both desired to use the limited supply of vessels and seaman for different purposes at the same time. Revenue collection was critical to Government needs and aspirations and this led to a certain amount of freedom as to how they did their business. The Commissioners would make generous awards to senior individuals for meritorious duty and do so without seeking permission of parliament. There are several examples of such awards in museums. The Customs Museum at Liverpool holds a silver cup given to Commander Bray. The inscription reads:

*For Mr Gabriel Bray, commander of the ‘Nimble’ Admiralty Cutter presented by order of his majesty’s Customs in testimony of their approbation of an important service rendered by him to the Revenue under their management on 25 Dec 1784.*⁶¹⁹

The Customs Commissioners gave at least one presentation sword to a Lieutenant Dobbin of the *Diligence*, a cutter involved in suppressing the French landing near Fishguard in 1797. Since the letter from the area commander, Lord Cawdor, to the Commissioners heaps higher praise on

⁶¹⁶ Ibid 76.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid 85.

⁶¹⁸ Correspondence Mr Butler, Liverpool Customs Museum Curator, 2016.

⁶¹⁹ *Nimble* cutter stationed at Deal, thought to be for an incident where Bray killed a well known smuggler.

Lieutenant Hopkins for that action, presumably something was also given to him. While the whereabouts of the sword are not known, a photograph of it is held at Fishguard Town Hall.

The other organisations that gave a significant number of swords were the militias and volunteers raised as part of the defences against the threat of invasion. These are nearly always from the regiment to their officer and a typical inscription would be as on the sword given to Captain Palmer of the Mountrath Militia in 1800:

*By the NCOs and privates of the Mt Rath Cavalry re their captain as a mark of esteem and respect for his unremitting attention in promoting the discipline of the Corps*⁶²⁰

Officers who raised a regiment were responsible for arranging the uniforms and weapons. Furthermore, the militias and volunteers did not follow army pattern swords until at least 1796. Two examples exist that indicate quite elaborate weapons from this era that were for officers but were self purchased.⁶²¹ It is a logical conclusion that sourcing swords for the regiment would have generated interest in the design and features. This is evidenced by the fact that several books on fencing in this period are written by militia officers: *The Art of Defence on Foot with Broadsword and Sabre* by C Roworth of the Royal Westminster Volunteers 1798; another book of the same title (and based on it) by John Taylor in 1804; *A treatise on the Science of Defence* by A Gordon in 1805 and *The Amateur of Fencing* by Joseph Rowland 1809. McArthur who was writing on the Royal Navy at the time also wrote *The Army and Navy Gentleman's Companion, or a new and complete Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Fencing* in 1781.

The significant percentage from militias/volunteers is immediately apparent in the table below and indeed in 1803 the only six presentation swords awarded

⁶²⁰ Lot 138 Bonham's Waterloo Sale 1 April 2015.

⁶²¹ Honourable Artillery Company (HAC) and Berkshire Yeomanry Museum. HAC known to belong Colonel Paul Le Mesurier and predate 1799.

are for officers of the militias/volunteers, because although the Patriotic Fund gave swords for events in 1803 they were not awarded until 1804.

Table 13: Swords by militia/volunteers to their officer compared with all others.

	Volunteer/Militia presentation swords	All other presentation swords
1800	9	4
1801	2	7
1802	8	16

Also of the 10 presentation swords that can be identified as being from between 1803 and 1813 but where the precise year of the award is not known, nine are to officers in the militia/volunteers.

Other influences

The practice of groups furnishing their own swords and weapons extended beyond the militias. Specifically in London in 1803 the constables were established with swords and pistols and the local justices had to procure them.⁶²² Hoare's Bank went further supporting the creation of the Loyal London Volunteers, providing payments to some of its staff for being members as well as paying for training and the uniforms as well as the muskets for its own defence mentioned earlier.⁶²³

Another influence may have been the influx of swords presented by various Arabic Deys and the Sultan. The swords for the Nile have already been mentioned, but there is a series of others given around this time. Anderson

⁶²² F Wilkinson, *A police officer pistol* (The Journal of The Arms and Armour Society, September 2015 pp203-215) p208.

⁶²³ *Hoares Archives* p42.

identifies⁶²⁴ swords given to Georg Alfred Koefoed by the Dey of Algiers in 1800 and one to the Danish King from the Bey of Tunis in 1811 and then swords given to the Prince Regent in 1811 and Consul Blanckley in 1810. Given the difficulty in dating Arabic swords, discussed in Chapter 4 and the significant number of ornate weapons, it is unlikely these are the only examples. Indeed Anderson misses the Murray sword, mentioned earlier.

There are examples of legends being invented about certain presentation swords, which one could conjecture as being in the hope of establishing the process. Two particular culprits in this are Clarke and McArthur, the editors of *The Naval Chronicle*. McArthur had a particular interest in swords and swordsmanship; in 1782 he had published a book on fencing.⁶²⁵ *The Naval Chronicle* carries four accounts of a £500 sword being presented by the King for bringing home news of a victory - Captain Darby for Martinique in 1761, Captain John Campbell for Quiberon Bay in 1759, George Young for Pondicherry in 1778 and William Johnstone Hope for Texel in 1799.⁶²⁶ These are often quoted later⁶²⁷ using *The Naval Chronicle* as the source. They all seem to be implausible. Neither of the first two is mentioned in any document within 40 years of the event, no such swords are known to be in existence, they are not seen in any paintings of the individuals, which would be normal practice, and £500 is an implausibly high amount for such a gift at this time. The diamond-encrusted sword presented to Colonel Close in 1799 was worth only £300. Similarly, the 1805 account⁶²⁸ of Nelson's Suckling family sword that fell from his hand at Tenerife is almost certainly false.⁶²⁹ It would seem that the editors are trying to generate or reflect an interest in giving swords rather than faithfully recording fact, presumably because it made a better read. Petrides and Downs both note inaccuracies in *The Naval Chronicle*,

⁶²⁴ N A Anderson, *Gold and Coral: Presentation Arms from Algiers and Tunis* (Denmark: Danish Arms and Armour Society, 2014).

⁶²⁵ J McArthur, *Theory and Practice of Fencing* (London: J Murray, 1784).

⁶²⁶ Darby - *Naval Chronicle* XXIII (1810) 90. Hope - *Naval Chronicle* XVIII (1807) 273, Campbell see below.

⁶²⁷ For example N Tracy, *The Battle of Quiberon Bay 1759* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2010) 165 references the *Naval Chronicle* 1802.

⁶²⁸ *Naval Chronicle* XIV (1805) p471.

⁶²⁹ For explanation see McGrath and Barton, *British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship* p83.

crediting it to a desire to play down negatives.⁶³⁰ Equally I have not managed to find any evidence that an officer expected to receive a sword for bringing the news back; rather, they hoped for promotion, as Major Wybourn reflects in a letter he sends home in 1799.⁶³¹

What other evidence shows presentation swords were desired?

It must be remembered that the initial options chosen by the Patriotic Fund were silver, sword or money. At the beginning, the Committee could not have known the sword would prove so popular a choice. But there is evidence swords were desired before 1803.

It is known that some naval officers hoped Lloyd's would have presented swords with some of their earlier fund raising. A letter from Midshipman Anderson to his parents after Copenhagen in 1801 says in a postscript clearly delighted with the prospect "P.S. The Papers intimate that we are to have swords in the room of medals in honour of the Action."⁶³² In a slightly later letter, he says: "I understand the subscriptions at Lloyd's are very great; I am informed that I shall get about an hundred pounds."⁶³³ An application was made to Lloyd's for a wound gratuity for Anderson as he became blind as a consequence of his wounds at Copenhagen but he died shortly after returning home.⁶³⁴

The Links Between Committees who gave swords

I have established above that the giving of swords, in addition to the options of plate or cash, as a reward for meritorious action in the period before the establishment of the Patriotic Fund while very much new was becoming

⁶³⁰ Ed. A Petrides & J Downs, *Sea Soldier, The Letters and Journals of Major T. Marmaduke Wybourn RM, 1797-1813* (Parapress Limited, Tunbridge Wells, 2000) pxi.

⁶³¹ *ibid.* p16.

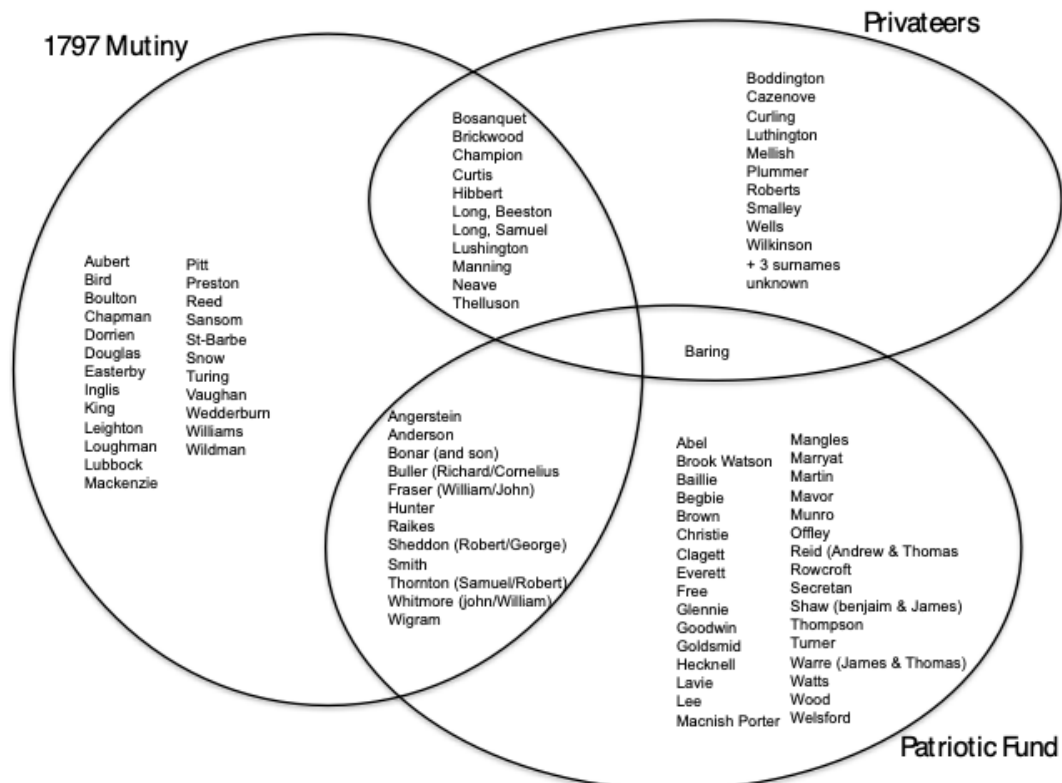
⁶³² D Bonner Smith, "Midshipman W. G. Anderson" (*The Mariner's Mirror*, Volume 15:3, 1929, pp238-250) p245. Letter referenced British Museum MSS40730.

⁶³³ *ibid.* p247.

⁶³⁴ *ibid.* p249.

accepted practice. Furthermore, it seems that the practice was associated with a number of key individuals who carried the idea from one committee to another. This appears to be via an intermediate step, so the suppression of privateering committee links to the suppression of the mutiny committee, which by different members links to the Patriotic Fund.

All six founding members of the committee that gave swords as reward for the suppression of privateering in the Caribbean were involved with the committee that gave swords for dealing with the mutiny at the Nore. None of those six was on the original committee for the Patriotic Fund, although William Manning later joined it. However six members of the Nore committee were on the founding committee for the Fund. In addition, seven relatives of committee members for the Nore were on the Patriotic Fund committee. So 14 of the Patriotic Fund committee were linked to the previous committees that presented swords. Furthermore, while the Patriotic Fund had a large committee, many of these were not active in the Fund. However, those linked to previous presentations of swords include the key players, in particular, Brook Watson, Angerstein and Baring.



Venn diagram showing how the committees were interlinked in membership

Brook Watson, then chairman of Lloyd's, chaired the inaugural meeting of the Patriotic Fund, but considered his responsibilities to have ceased and - as the minutes of the second meeting recorded - passed the chairmanship onto Angerstein. Significantly though it is Brook Watson who as Mayor of London initiated the giving of swords by that organisation, starting with Admiral Jervis.⁶³⁵

John Julius Angerstein was the most influential of those involved, as discussed in Chapter 2. He had been at the centre of much of the fundraising for the Nile and Copenhagen, as is illustrated by how often his name features in inscriptions, as seen in the previous Chapter. Commander Worsley and Captain Griffith identify various gifts of silver plate by Lloyd's starting from 1782 and Angerstein is associated with all of them.⁶³⁶

As seen, militia/volunteer units were a significant source of presentation sword giving in the early 1800s. At least 13 Patriotic Fund committee members were involved with the militia/volunteers, often in a leadership role. Furthermore, as shown in Chapter 2, several individuals had links with the Navy or Army and, therefore, were in a position to know that the sword was desired.

The industrialisation of the applied arts

The Patriotic Fund was establishing its rewards in the Romantic Age and Professor David Punter notes that the industrialisation of the period "created new patrons and new markets"⁶³⁷ and that the art was expanding in this market due to be both demand and technical changes. As seen above the advances in sword production mean they could not have been made in the

⁶³⁵ City of London *Roll of Fame* p74.

⁶³⁶ Worsley and Griffith *The Romance of Lloyd's* throughout.

⁶³⁷ B Ford (ed), *The Romantic Age in Britain* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992) p12.

necessary quantities 15 years earlier. Silver plate was one third of the price of solid silver and Rundell and Bridge who made the Patriotic Fund vases employed 1,000 workers.⁶³⁸ Rundell and Bridge won the competition to make the Patriotic Fund vases before establishing their new showrooms on Ludgate Hill and since the Patriotic Fund vases were not the star of their display there⁶³⁹ this indicates these were following style rather than the Fund driving the choice.

The symbology adopted

As established above the gifting of presentation swords was a relatively new phenomenon, particularly on this sort of scale with them being assembled from components. Therefore, we should note the symbology used within the swords that they presented. Professor Lambert comments that Britain “became a seapower by actively constructing a cultural identity focussed on the sea.” and also that it was a “society shaped by classical learning”.⁶⁴⁰ After all it was during the Peace of Amiens that Lord Elgin was arranging for the marbles to be sent to Britain, while Sir William Hamilton had arranged a shipment of various Etruscan and Roman antiquities in the *Colossus* as it returned from the Nile only to be wrecked off Sicily in 1798.

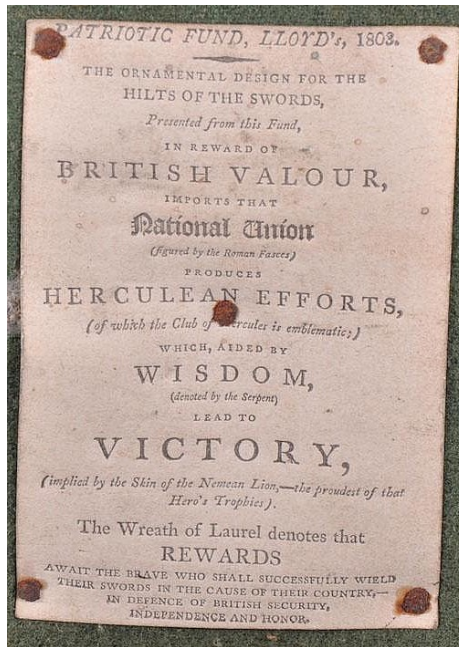
The label on the inside of the box the swords were presented in, sets out the symbology. As an example, here is the wording for the sword presented to Captain Farquharson:⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁸ *ibid* p281.

⁶³⁹ *ibid* 274. The focus was the Prince of Wales silver plate for state occasions.

⁶⁴⁰ Lambert, *Seapower States* p5 and p3 respectively.

⁶⁴¹ Lot 993 Nicholson's Auction 6 April 2011.



Similar symbology appeared on the vases and the style of wording was reflected in the certificates presented with awards to those injured.

'Hercules' had further connotations; he had been adopted by the Dutch, who had been the trade rival of London for the previous century, as a motif⁶⁴² and the Gibraltar Straits, so critical to international trade, were known as 'The Pillars of Hercules'.



Patriotic Fund Hilt and Buckle – showing the classical symbology Hercules killing the Hydra (of revolution)

It is interesting to note that the classical motifs that dominate the Patriotic Fund swords do not appear to the same degree on other presentation swords

⁶⁴² Lambert, *Seapower States* p169.

of the period but that was a decision of Teed rather than the Fund. That Teed thought this would appeal to the Committee when he submitted design for their competition shows what he perceived as the national interest in both making use of the classical motifs and the importance of the creation of Britishness as Professor Punter noted regarding the impact the war had on culture that from “these events was the flow of proud patriotism to which they gave birth” further noting that the “attempt to convert the revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars into the stuff of myths was largely successful”.⁶⁴³

However, the fact that the Committee initially did not accept Teed’s design but rather allowed naval officers to choose and only moved to the one design after that was selected by the initial officers rewarded, indicates they were less convinced of the need for a specific iconography. This would be in line with Angerstein’s support of painters where his collection included “works of art which were numbered among the ‘best’”⁶⁴⁴ buying paintings from those fleeing Europe but a contemporary London guide stressed his support for British art both by buying paintings from contemporary British artists but also acquiring the old Masters which they could study. The Pall Mall home became in effect an art gallery. So here he had wider tastes than the Romantic agency and with his leadership particularly at the formation of the Patriotic Fund it should not be surprising this influence seems to have been followed.⁶⁴⁵

Swords and plate were not exclusive

Being given a sword for an event did not mean that the recipient would not also receive plate from a different organisation. In 1797 Captain Sir Thomas Byam Martin was awarded two swords, and presented with a piece of plate by Antigua, which like the swords, was valued at 100 guineas.⁶⁴⁶ Similarly Sir Edward Hamilton who cut out the *Hermione* in October 1799 as well as the

⁶⁴³ Ford, *The Romantic Age in Britain* p11.

⁶⁴⁴ Twist, *Angerstein* p202.

⁶⁴⁵ *Public Characters of 1803-1804* (London, Richard Phillips, 1804) p396.

⁶⁴⁶ *Admiral Sir Byam Martin’s Letters Volume 1* p249.

300-guinea sword from the House of Assembly in Jamaica was awarded a gold box to the value of 50 guineas by the City of London.⁶⁴⁷

In conclusion, in awarding silver plate the Fund followed a well established tradition but by awarding swords, they took an innovative approach making use of the improvements in the industrialisation of manufacturing processes and in a period before gallantry medals were awarded by government they used a means by which more junior officers as well as Captains could demonstrate their heroic status to those they met when they were in public and it was not dependent on the home being visited. They did this with an item full of symbolic meaning that was quite counter to the method adopted by the republics across the channel and the Atlantic.

⁶⁴⁷ D Pope, *The Black Ship* (Barnsley, Pen and Sword, 2009) p326

Chapter 7

Policy Changes - Patriotic Fund, 1803 and 1809

This chapter examines what the Patriotic Fund changed between 1803, and when the awards ended in 1809, at first sight an odd year to make a major change of policy.

Did the desire for the awards remain strong?

The evidence demonstrates that swords remained highly desired by naval officers, and there was always a genuine reason when a sword was not taken. All of the first group of officers offered a choice of sword, vase or cash chose swords.⁶⁴⁸ Indeed when Lieutenant Mallock replied confirming he was the officer in command of the Marines at the capture of the *Loire* and thus awarded a sword says

“it is a well known fact, that the very idea of a Sword, however trifling its value, spurs on the officer to deeds of the most heroic valor; and I believe it is pretty clearly ascertained that where officers will lead, British sailors and soldiers are sure to follow. The expression of the great Nelson, on going into battle “Victory or Westminster Abbey” animates every one and a Sword from the Patriotic Fund [is?] as grateful to the feelings of a young man as Westminster Abbey was to that immense Hero.”⁶⁴⁹

To be seen in public in uniform with symbols of rank was as desirable then, for many naval officers, as it is now. As a poem of 1812 declares:

*With regulation sword and knot
So bold and smart – you will I wot*

⁶⁴⁸ Handwritten minutes 31 July 1804.

⁶⁴⁹ Handwritten minutes 16 Dec 1806. Brackets are for lost letters due to fire damage.

*Be the delight of women*⁶⁵⁰

Wilson describes how medals “provided handsome supplements to elite officers’ uniforms and post-action portraits, which many officers commissioned as demonstrations of their elevated status.”⁶⁵¹

One piece of evidence comes from the first couple of years of the Fund when naval officers could still chose their fighting sword, with a naval sword that was clearly aping the Patriotic Fund swords. A levee sword (for wearing out rather than fighting) was sold in 2019 that, from a distance, could resemble a Patriotic Fund sword, adopting the distinctive curve, which is not normally seen in naval swords of this period.



*Small Curved Naval Lieutenants or below sword, early 19th century*⁶⁵²

As the Fund itself noted, at the time of the introduction of a pattern sword in 1805, two years in, not a single person awarded a sword opted for a vase. Over the entire period of awards, not a single person offered a £30 sword ever asked for a vase. While taking the cash instead of the award seems to have always been a temptation for individuals, it appears that there was always a good reason they opted for vases. Either they already had a presentation sword or there was some other factor. It appears that where their career stood could impact on their decision. For example Captain Freemantle

⁶⁵⁰ *Naval Chronicle* Volume XXVIII (July-December 1812) (London, 1812) p335.

⁶⁵¹ Wilson, *British Naval Officers* p208.

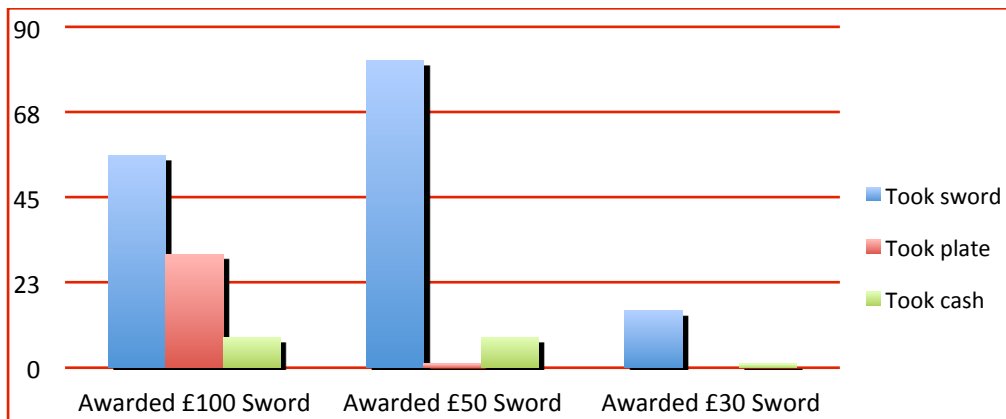
⁶⁵² Lot 94 Del Mar 10 July 2019 image courtesy of Thomas Del Mar Ltd.

awarded a sword for Trafalgar opted for a vase, but he was about to embark on a shore career for the next few years. Having already contested once for Parliament, he renewed his attempt to get a seat in 1806, was successful - thus whether a political career was his aim or whether it was part of trying to gain further interest – a vase on the mantelpiece to remind visitors of his heroic contribution was more useful than a sword to go with a dress uniform he would no longer wear. It is striking that no one awarded a £30 sword opted for a vase – as master's, master's mates and midshipmen, they clearly felt something they could wear to show their heroism was more important than something they could place on the mantelpiece.

Further accounts support this. Sir John Hayes' decision to opt for a vase over a sword due to three daughters was raised in Chapter 6. The Fund made a similar point when they awarded only vases to the families of those who had died. When they award the newly promoted Admiral Sir Richard Strachan for Ferrol in 1805 and Admiral Collingwood for Trafalgar they note that "As the City of London has already rewarded you with the vote of a sword, the Committee thought a vase would probably be a more acceptable testimony of the sense they entertain of the important Service you have rendered your country"⁶⁵³.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, 75% awarded swords took them. But the overall figures hide a discrepancy between ranks. For the Captain's a significant percentage took plate, whereas just one officer at the £50 level and none at the £30 level do so. Indeed at the £30 award, the sole person who did not take a sword, Midshipman Runciman, disappears from records afterwards and did not make Lieutenant. Since this was for an action at Goree, it is possible he like, so many on that station he, became ill, left the navy, or died.

⁶⁵³ Letter noted in minutes 4 December 1805.



*Acceptance of sword awards by rank*⁶⁵⁴

While there are many portraits of naval officers from the Napoleonic era, it is hard to find one of any specific junior officer. The number of miniatures that enter the market of 'unknown naval officers' show they have become separated from the name of the sitter. When Peter Hore wrote Nelson's *Band of Brothers*⁶⁵⁵, of the 79 officers covered, all of whom were moderately well known, he was unable to locate an image of 28, and in a further 35 cases a head and shoulders image only. Although in three cases there is another portrait of the officer where he is shown with a presentation sword.⁶⁵⁶ There are also four portraits where the hand and position of the border show there clearly is a sword but the details of the sword are unclear and two where the image selected is more modern (one photograph and for Quilliam the image used on a stamp). It should not surprise us that so few of these officers had portraits of the size to include their swords, portraits were expensive and most officers were living onboard and did not have significant spare funds.

That leaves eight portraits identified by Hore clearly showing their swords. If these are representative of portraits and their selection gives no reason why

⁶⁵⁴ The figures here do not include those who never claimed their award. sword, Lydiard, Codrington and the RM officer from *Galatea* and discounts Brisbane's £200 sword.

⁶⁵⁵ P Hore, *Nelson's Band of Brothers* (Barnsley, Seaforth, 2015).

⁶⁵⁶ These are Captain Murray, where a family portrait was displayed at Chichester Museum shows him with sword presented by Dey of Algiers and Admiral Saumarez where at least one portrait shows him with his Nile Sword, Admiral Hardy is shown from his tomb rather than his portrait.

they should not be, they show a high correlation between where a sword is shown and it being a presentation sword if they hold one.

Four show the presentation sword they hold. For Durham, Mansfield and Lapontiere it is a Patriotic Fund sword and for Cuthbert it is his Nile sword. For the other four, two did not have a presentation sword (Troubridge and Graves). Grindall's portrait predates the award of his sword.⁶⁵⁷ Only Edward Berry is wearing a regulation naval sword rather than his Patriotic Fund one. The portrait is from early 1806, so it is possible it was painted while the Fund were getting permission for officers to wear their swords, as discussed shortly, and he did not want to appear incorrectly dressed.



The eight with swords, Lapontiere (Patriotic Fund), Cuthbert (Nile sword), Troubridge (own naval sword), Graves (own levee sword), Berry (own regulation sword), Durham, (Patriotic Fund), Mansfield (Patriotic Fund), Grindall (own naval sword)⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁷ It is not surprising there is no later picture of Captain Grindall, he is shown with his family; his two sons followed him into the Navy and died in 1811 and 1812 respectively.

⁶⁵⁸ Lapontiere, Troubridge, Grindall, Berry and Graves are all NMM. Mansfield is with permission Maidstone Museums & Bently, Durham is National Portrait Gallery and Cuthbert was in Sim Comfort Collection.

Durham had another portrait done, which hangs in the Army and Navy Club, it also has the Patriotic Fund sword clearly shown.



Portrait of Durham at Army and Navy Club

There are five other known portraits featuring a Patriotic Fund sword. Two are in private collections; Lieutenant Crofton's was shown in a journal article in 1973 and Sir William Dalryell's is on display at the family home in Edinburgh. There are three in museums; Sir William Henry Dillon's and Captain William Rutherford's are both at the NMM⁶⁵⁹ and General Menzies is held by the currently closed Royal Marine Museum.



Captain Rutherford, General Menzies and Captain Dillon all with their Patriotic Fund Swords

⁶⁵⁹ PAG6568 and BHC2295.

The only two known portraits of an officer who won a Patriotic Fund sword, where they hold a different sword in the picture, are Nicolls and O'Connell.⁶⁶⁰ Nicolls was the only officer who opted for two presentation swords, one at £30 and one at £50. One of those survives at Stonehouse Officer's Mess along with his portrait. The blade has been replaced, probably in the Victorian period, but it is with the £50 scabbard. Nicolls, known for his fighting spirit, was involved in 107 actions. O'Connell became Lieutenant Governor of New South Wales. So either it was due to different personal reasons each chose it or it was because both portraits are after becoming a general and that equally had a distinctive mameluke sword and they wanted to show the entitlement to that. used a standard General's mameluke because he had no intact Patriotic Fund sword.



Picture of Lieutenant Crofton's portrait with his Patriotic Fund sword⁶⁶¹ and Nicolls portrait.

This correlation with portraits should not surprise us, the use of a great sword, which was carried as a mark of office and was not suitable for fighting to mark the captain out both onboard and in paintings is noted by Hoglund in his look

⁶⁶⁰ Nicolls' picture is held by RM Stonehouse Officer's Mess and O'Connell's by the National Library of Australia.

⁶⁶¹ Image only known from article D Spalding, *Trafalgar Swords of Honour* (Arms and Armour Annual Vol 1 Ed R Held, Digest Books 1973 pp258-265) p260.

at symbols of power in the seventeenth century⁶⁶² while Stadin notes the importance of exhibiting the trappings of being a naval hero to act as a signifier in a portrait to establish yourself as a naval hero.⁶⁶³



Example of use of the impractical great sword to mark the Admiral from Dutch Ships Ramming Spanish Galleys of the Flemish Coast in October 1602⁶⁶⁴

Another indication the swords were highly desired is the effort the Wordsworth family went to, to recover their sword when it was lost at sea. William Wordsworth was clearly close to his brother - the family placed a stone to commemorate where he last parted with his brother high up in the Lake District by Grisdale Tarn. John Wordsworth was Captain of the East Indiaman *Earl of Abergavenny* during Dance's Action in 1804 for which he received a Patriotic Fund sword. When she sank off Portland on 5 February 1805, more than 250 died, including John Wordsworth, which led to the establishment of a Weymouth lifeboat that year. The family employed Mr Braithwaite who had a diving bell to recover the sword and some other items. The sword is currently on display at Rydal Mount and shows it has been through something that damaged all of the blade necessitating it being redone, equally the scabbard leather has suffered damage.

⁶⁶² P Hoglund, *Symbols of Power – Attributes of rank in the 17th Century* pp39-50 (*On War On Board* Ed J Ronnby, Stockholm, Sodertorns hogskola, 2020) p41.

⁶⁶³ K Stadin *The Performance of a Naval Hero Admirals in the Nordic Seven Years' War 1563-1570* pp19-38 (ibid) pp24-32.

⁶⁶⁴ Hendrick Vroom, 1617, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



*Wordsworth's Parting Stone and John Wordsworth's Patriotic Fund Sword,
the damage is just visible*

The strongest evidence that swords remained desired was that several individuals, after swords were only allowed as part of the hurt award, opted to spend their hurt money on having one made and that other individuals wrote seeking one only to be rejected (as Mr Bridges did from the first event to be awarded) or sometimes successfully to get their plate converted to a sword (Mr Sutherland).⁶⁶⁵ This matches the evidence from other presentation swords, where we see officers spending their own money procuring one as many of the Nile Captains did with their prize money and just as Captain Rogers did with his money from the Patriotic Fund.

Linda Colley notes that unlike MPs from trade, there were a significant number from the military and navy in Parliament and around London, so uniforms were much more commonly seen. Thus having a heroic sword to wear with it was useful and helped emphasise wartime contribution. She comments they were “Worn on private as well as on public occasions, in the street or in the ballroom as much as on the parade ground or the field of battle”.⁶⁶⁶

While we may think of successful naval officers being awarded with important civil honours that was not the reality for most. Wilson notes there “were more than six hundred baronetcies granted before 1821, and more than eighty per

⁶⁶⁵ The minutes never record it but it is within Teed's account so must have been authorised.

⁶⁶⁶ Colley, *Britons* p190.

cent of them went to men whose primary qualification was their wealth".⁶⁶⁷ So a naval officer had far more chance of showing that he had been a hero and deserved to be shown consideration through being able to wear a presentation sword than he did of gaining a title to impress.

How did the Fund alter its rules in this period?

There were a series of changes in how the Fund operated over the period between 1803 and 1809; most of these were not published in the printed minutes but are apparent from the handwritten minutes. These include ceasing to give medals, starting to support prisoners of war in France, starting to support the education of those whose fathers died in the war and finally the ceasing of awards for zeal. Only the last of these was widely published; although even there the public announcement was not actually as they agreed. Only the last of these went to a wider meeting beyond the Committee. All others were dealt with in committee with the only other Special General Meeting being the one called to hear the news of Trafalgar. They held no annual general meeting. Usual attendee numbers were around a dozen or the 70 plus on the Committee.

It is worthy of note that several attempts were made to add new members to the Committee, as they frequently failed to reach a quorum and thus had to postpone the giving of aid. As shown in Chapter 2, there were active and non-active Committee members. The additional Committee members were also identified in Chapter 2.

Ceasing awarding medals

One of the first changes the Fund made to its awards was ceasing to give medals. Although these were included in the initial work, which decided a design, it was a year into their operation before they made their first and only award, to Boy William Langfield HM Sloop *Rattler*, as discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶⁶⁷ Wilson, *British Naval Officers* p215.

While nothing is recorded in either the published or handwritten minutes regarding a decision, clearly prior to Trafalgar 1805 they decided to issue no further medals. The minutes make reference to this decision when on the 17 December 1805 the Committee write to the Lords Commissioners about the wearing of Patriotic Fund swords post the introduction of a naval regulation sword, stating that presenting of the medal was laid aside due to the “Badges of that nature distributed by his Majesty”⁶⁶⁸. This indicated they saw the presentation of the gold medals for senior officers as being something they did not want to compete with.

Clarifying and refining the scope

Throughout the Fund faced challenges as to who was within scope and, therefore, whom they ought to reward. Nowhere is this more apparent than where awards were connected to the merchant service. On 20 March 1804, they reject giving any reward to Captain Dunbar of Merchant ship *Fortitude* since he was defending private property against two privateers and this was not within scope. However, when the Committee discusses news of the action by Captain Dance of the EIC in 1804 they decided that this was such an important feat that they cannot ignore it, recording the following statement:

*“That the circumstances of an Enemy’s Fleet of Ships of War, commanded by a Admiral, in an 84 gun ship, being attacked, defeated, and chased by a fleet of merchant ships, protecting an immense property, is highly honourable to the British naval character, and affords a brilliant example to the present and future ages.”*⁶⁶⁹

However, in their defence, despite both the EIC and several of its members being generous benefactors to the Fund, they do not recognise the spirited defence by Commander Larkins of the *Warren Hasting* in June 1806 when

⁶⁶⁸ Lloyd’s ADM1/3993 Letter from Lloyd’s signed by Reid dated 17 December 1805 to the Lords Commissioners.

⁶⁶⁹ Minutes 14 August 1804.

attacked by the French Frigate *Piémontaise*.⁶⁷⁰ Supporting the assertion that Dance's action was seen as a one-off is the fact that they were consistent in rejecting awards for injury to death for those involved in the merchant employ. For example on the 12 June 1804 they rejected compensation for two men who had been killed in action fighting for the EIC against the Mahratta powers.

They do however recognise the privately owned HM Packets, which were contracted by the government to deliver mail. The Fund recognises three of their Captains, all for actions against privateers: Captain Yescombe of *HM Packet King George* in July 1803, Captain Birt Dynely of *HM Packet Duke of Montrose* in May 1806 and Captain Rogers of *Windsor Castle* in October 1807. However all three were offered vases only.

Awards not fitting the perceived system

Over this period they make several awards that either do not align with their original object or differ from the standard delineation in what the award would be.

Early on they make three alternative awards, one of a bosun's call and two tankards. There is no explanation as to why in the minutes, so the answer is conjecture, but the most likely explanation is because they felt this was an appropriate piece of plate for the recipients. Such items would have been something they could keep onboard that would show what they had achieved. The bosun's call was to Boatswain John Marks of HM Hired Cutter *Sheerness* for protecting a captured French chasse-marée. After participating in the daring capture of the vessel (for which the officer in command Lieutenant Rowed receiving a £50 sword), Marks, the only person onboard the captured vessel, held off the French crew trying to recapture her using only an oar. Marks was recommended to the Fund by Lieutenant Rowed. The bosun's call since it was often worn to show the status of the wearer has long been seen as a symbol of authority in the Navy, with the French navy using it to act as a

⁶⁷⁰ R Woodman. *The Whale and the Elephant* (The Naval Review February 2006) p43.

symbol of ranks for Admirals in the 1500s and five elaborate ones being found in the wreck of the *Mary Rose*.⁶⁷¹ The only ornate silver bosun call from the first decade of the nineteenth century I have been able to find is illustrated below.



*An ornate silver bosun's call hallmarked 1806/7*⁶⁷²

The first tankard was to William Nesbitt, Master of the Berwick smack *Queen Charlotte*. Admiral Bligh recommended him for the gallant defence of her when attacked by a French privateer in early 1804.⁶⁷³ This was considered to fall within the scope because, despite being a merchantman, at the time of the action she was armed at the expense and order of the Government. As her Captain, Nesbitt gave a spirited defence and forced the privateer to sheer off. He was injured in the action and was given £50 by the Patriotic Fund for the costs of his confinement as he recovered from his severe wounds as well as one hundred guineas from the underwriters and owners of the goods on board.⁶⁷⁴ The second was Richard Robinson Master of the collier *Scipio*, who also beat off the attack of a French privateer, on 26 April 1804. The Committee were clear this was outside scope as it was for defending private property. However, because the city of Durham had raised a fund, which they

⁶⁷¹ P Høglund, *Symbols of Power – Attributes of rank in the 17th Century* p44.

⁶⁷² Sold by John Bull Antiques, London, item reference N5666.

⁶⁷³ Date unknown but letter considered at 7 February 1804 meeting.

⁶⁷⁴ *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* 25 July 1804 from <http://www.leithhistory.co.uk/2004/08/28/the-shore/> accessed 4 June 2011.

had just placed at the disposal of the Patriotic Fund and had within its object the case of Robinson, they felt it would be unfair to exclude him.

In two cases, they also rewarded assistants to the action. The first of these was to Captain Dance's action. Within this they included Lieutenant Fowler, who was a passenger on one of the vessels. He had been lent a brig to try to find escorts and used it to convey messages and get the ships into the correct positions. He was awarded a £50 sword. The other was Captain Rutherford of the merchant ship *Helen* for bringing intelligence of the French Movements by an open boat to help Duckworth in his action off St Domingo on 6 February 1806. This was considered separately to the rest of the awards for those involved in the battle following a letter from Admiral Cochrane directly to the Committee. They awarded him a £100 vase but Captain Rutherford opted to take the cash instead.⁶⁷⁵ This is a different Captain Rutherford from the one commanding a ship at Trafalgar who received a £100 sword.

There are occasions where awards were out of scale. The first was the very first vase they awarded. This was to Lieutenant Charles Pickford of HMS *Inconstant* "whose presence of mind and address in negotiation induced the French garrison at Goree to capitulate with himself then their prisoner".⁶⁷⁶ Pickford had landed the night before to see if Goree was in British hands as it was flying a false flag hoping to entice a convoy in. It had been captured by the French three months earlier. While a prisoner he persuaded them to surrender when the *Inconstant* came in to attack. This vase was not awarded as a sum of money but paid for directly and cost £148 from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell.

Another award out of scale was one of their largest. This has been missed from all currently published lists of Patriotic Fund awards as only cash was awarded. On 4 June 1804, Lieutenant Philip Lys, Edward Touzel and William

⁶⁷⁵ Minutes 15 July 1806 for the award and MSS 35169 has his name circled indicating he took cash which explains why he has been missed by previous researchers working from Rundell Bridge and Rundell's records.

⁶⁷⁶ Minutes 15 May 1804.

Penteny entered a magazine that was on fire at the fort in St Helier and extinguished it, saving the town. The Committee were impressed with the individuals and put some effort into finding out exactly what would set up the three for life.⁶⁷⁷ They discovered that Lys and Touzel would benefit from a lump sum, Lys as he had eight children and Touzel as he wanted to establish his own carpentry business and awarded them £500 and £300 respectively. Penteny got an annuity of £20.

Two further awards out of scale were to Bourne and Yeo. Lieutenant Richard Bourne of HM Schooner *Felix* is awarded on 28 May 1805 for an action against a privateer. He was awarded plate worth £100 where the expected amount would have been £50. He is also not offered a sword. No reason is given in the minutes either handwritten or published and he was clearly not forced to retire due to the injury since, on 18 November 1806, he is still commanding *Felix* because he was then awarded £200 for being seriously wounded. Lieutenant James Yeo is involved in two actions considered together by the Committee for when HMS *Loire* captured the privateer *Esperanza*, in the Bay of Camarinas on 2 June 1805 and then storms the fort at Muros two days later. Her Captain Frederick Maitland and the Royal Marine Lieutenant in charge of the landing party, Samuel Mallock, both receive swords at the expected level, £100 and £50. However, Yeo was really the hero of the action, so not only did he get his £50 sword but the Fund added a £50 vase and gave him £100 for his minor wounds, ensuring he was far more highly rewarded than the others.

The award to Commander Richard Budd Vincent and HM Sloop *Arrow* when along with Commander Arthur Farquhar and HM Bomb *Acheron* he fought two French frigates 4 February 1805 were also disproportionate. While Vincent was forced to surrender after being heavily mauled their performance enabled the convoy they were protecting to escape. Both Commanders received a £100 sword but Vincent got in addition a £100 vase. Both were made prisoners of war but were quickly exchanged, never reaching Verdun. Both

⁶⁷⁷ Minutes 10 June 1804.

lost all they had onboard as the *Arrow* sank and the *Acheron* was burnt; even the elegant sabre Vincent had been given shortly before by the Turkish pasha was taken by the French. Vincent was in charge of the escorts and so the vase was presumably to ensure his award was the higher. Whether the Fund expected them to need funds to survive as a prisoner or to recompense for the loss of their careers as they were captured is unclear.



*Captain Vincent*⁶⁷⁸

Four cash awards were for provision of welfare. The first was to Mrs Elizabeth Brown. While reading all the recommendations for hurt awards for Maida and Buenos Ayres, they also awarded £100 to the Master of the *Lord Eldon* for his injuries in her action on 14 November the year before against Spanish gun boats in the Gut of Gibraltar.⁶⁷⁹ Clearly something in the recommendation of the surgeon of the hospital at Gibraltar caught the eye of the Committee as they made an award of £10 to Mrs Brown despite no application. Mrs Brown was the carpenter's wife and it is quite clear it was not for injury but rather for her "meritorious and active services during the engagement". Presumably this was looking after the injured.

HMS *Minerva* was involved in several cutting out actions during 1806 and three of her officers were awarded swords for their part in them. However, her

⁶⁷⁸ NMM PAD3442.

⁶⁷⁹ Minutes 16 September 1806.

Captain also wrote to the Committee regarding his Gunner's Mate, Peter Ward. Ward was the coxswain of the barge when they boarded a Spanish privateer on 28 July 1806. He was rendering assistance to a wounded prisoner who then treacherously fired a pistol at him. Ward wrestled the pistol off him, threw it overboard and then continued to render assistance. The Fund resolved to give him the sum of £20 *"In testimony of the high sense which the committee entertain of his generous and humane conduct."*⁶⁸⁰

There were two more, which were the last two made before announcing the stopping of awards for pure zeal. These were made in June 1809 for two people involved with the battle of Corunna in January that year. Serjeant⁶⁸¹ William Newman of the 43rd Foot had gathered 400 to 500 stragglers, when the French cavalry appeared. He managed to halt 100 retreating soldiers and repulse the French cavalry attack gradually retiring in formation until they reached the rear guard cavalry of the main force. The commander in chief gave him an ensigncy in the first West India Regiment. To help him be fitted out for this new role, the Fund voted him £50 in testimony *"Of the high sense which the committee entertain of his gallant and meritorious conduct"*⁶⁸² They also strongly recommended Mrs Jane Russell, the wife of a private in the 50th Foot, for her work looking after the wounded and awarded her £15.

There was shortly after this one award to a widow that would normally have been seen as out of scope because dying from disease was not considered within their object. However, at the same meeting that they decided to call the special meeting that would stop the awards for zeal, they decided to include an award to the widow of Surgeon Robert Robertson Lind, who had died of fever. They make an exception because he had caught it looking after those who were injured in the hospital.

⁶⁸⁰ Minutes 4 November 1806.

⁶⁸¹ Spelling used by the Fund.

⁶⁸² Minutes 20 June 1809.

Dealing with the introduction of the uniform sword in 1805

1805 saw the introduction of a pattern naval sword for officers. No longer were officers free to choose their own style. It is not known how long officers continued to use their old fighting swords, but it is thought Nelson ordered an official-style sword when he visited his cutler, Salter, on 21 August 1805.⁶⁸³ No evidence has been found that any naval officer objected to the introduction of this regulation pattern sword, but there were concerns as to whether they would still be able to wear their Patriotic Fund swords.

At least two officers wrote to the Fund regarding this. The Fund's letter to the Admiralty attached a letter from Captain Bayntun about the new regulation. Equally Captain Digby when thanking the Fund for the award of a sword notes "I have been given to understand it that we have not the sanction of the Lords Commissioners of the Admty"⁶⁸⁴ This was also worrying their sword supplier Teed, probably due to the number of swords he had in production. We know this because when he wrote on the quantities of stock of sword components he held in 1806 not only does it have a table giving the stock of each component (see Chapter 6), but of interest here, the only number that matches the swords ordered is the 40 blades he refers to as in the rough and clearly the first to Captain Baker has been sent as he says deducting that one from the number they have ordered he has orders for 40. He then comments "I have now 3 dress swords in hand for naval commanders all different patterns, one from the East India Directors – and presume they will be worn notwithstanding the regulation."⁶⁸⁵

So the Committee resolved to write to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty,⁶⁸⁶ seeking permission for the swords to continue to be worn. The

⁶⁸³ McGrath & Barton, *British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship* p83 with further discussion of evidence on p85.

⁶⁸⁴ D Spalding, *Trafalgar Swords of Honour* (Arms and Armour Annual Vol 1 Ed R Held, Digest Books 1973 pp 258-265) p263 reference Lloyd's Naval Collection p272.

⁶⁸⁵ Guildhall Library MSS 35170

⁶⁸⁶ Minutes 17 December 1805.

letter⁶⁸⁷ was written that day and signed by the Chairman of the meeting T Reid. Adding strength to the argument that the swords were the most desired item, not only do they comment that they had ceased awarding medals as mentioned above but also note that at this stage of the Fund's existence no officer had asked for a vase instead of a sword. Although slightly ironically in terms of timing it was the Battle of Trafalgar that saw the first change to that. While the response has not been located it is clear they were allowed.

Response to Trafalgar

The news of Trafalgar is the only time in the first six years that the Fund have a Special General Meeting, which shows how important it was in the minds of the Committee. Although, to be clear, they considered Trafalgar to include Strachan's action off Ferrol. They held an additional meeting, with the Gazette containing Collingwood's dispatches, on the 14 November 1805. Thirty committee members were present. They determined that this was not just going to be a demand on their resources but also a chance to raise further funds, so they resolved to place an advert in the newspapers, appealing for more funds and that people will *"acknowledge the Interposition of Divine Providence"* and *"remember the Sufferings of those who were the Instruments of this signal manifestations of its favour to these Kingdoms."*⁶⁸⁸

There was a similar announcement from the committee of the subscribers to Lloyd's, as they determined to contribute an additional £5,000 to the Patriotic Fund. The insurer's subscribers meeting was chaired by a member of the Patriotic Fund Committee, William Bell. They equally wanted to call the public's attention to how much they owed to the sailors who had:

"almost entire annihilation of the Naval Force of the Enemy, which has crowned the gallant exploits of British Seaman; and to the hopes of ultimate success, which the courage, discipline, and firmness of British

⁶⁸⁷ Lloyd's ADM1/3993 letter from Lloyd's dated 17 December 1805.

⁶⁸⁸ Minutes 14 November 1805.

Soldiers have inspired in those for whose deliverance from a perfidious Usurper, they are at this moment making the most heroic exertions.”⁶⁸⁹

and that due to this members would want to help encourage those fighting so that

“the British Seaman and the British soldier may alike confidently trust I, that those who are dear to him while living, will in the event of his falling in the sacred cause, find Friends and Guardians in a grateful and generous Country.”⁶⁹⁰

At the next standard committee meeting they determined to call a Special General Meeting to discuss Trafalgar on 3rd December.⁶⁹¹ The meeting was chaired by the Lord Mayor, Sir James Shaw, who although a committee member did not normally attend. The Fund was clear they wanted it known London’s Lord Mayor was involved. There were 38 members present and they resolved to issue a similar address to that of 14 November, but with two further paragraphs, which were:

“At the present crisis, when one expedition had already sailed for the Continent, when others are expected to follow, and when deeds of daring enterprise on the coast of the enemy are on the eve of execution, it is highly important to animate the spirits of the brave men who fight our battles by showing them that British liberality and patriotism rise with the occasions which call them into exercise: that the Fund subscribed for their encouragement and relief at the commencement of the war, so far from being exhausted by the demands made upon it by their gallant exertions, is swelled by new contributions of national gratitude to an amount hitherto unprecedented; and that the pledge given by this Committee, in the Report of their Proceedings will assuredly be fulfilled, - *That the*

⁶⁸⁹ Contained in Guildhall MS35179.

⁶⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁶⁹¹ Minutes 19 November 1805.

seaman, the Soldier, the Volunteer, may confidently trust that those who were dear to him while living, will, in the event of his falling in the sacred cause, find friends and guardians in a grateful and generous country.” (Italics original).⁶⁹²

For the 10 December 1805 meeting it was back to normal business, dealing with those injured in Calder’s action against the Combined Fleets on 22 July. They decided though to give a public assessment of their finances. Prior to Trafalgar they had received £175,000 in donations plus they had made £20,000 in dividends from their investments and disbursed £50,000. They reckoned Trafalgar would cost about £70,000. However, by 14 January they had received £77,170 directly for those affected by Trafalgar (£14,000 came from the collections of the nationwide services of Thanksgiving) and a further £43,400 generally for the Fund, meaning they were now considerably better off than before Trafalgar.

Trafalgar was a major fundraiser, although not all monies found their way to the Patriotic Fund. For example, the inhabitants of Carlisle raised a subscription for the widows and orphans of those who fell in the Battles of Trafalgar and Ferrol, which was not passed to the Patriotic Fund.⁶⁹³ The Corporation of Newcastle took the unusual position of voting 150 guineas to Admiral Collingwood and then decided that “instead of an illumination, to subscribe 100 guineas in aid of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd’s.”⁶⁹⁴

However, there were also plenty of groups that did pass funds on. The Lloyd’s Maritime Archive has five letters, which appear to come from just after Trafalgar, which accompanied some of these donations. These are for: a

⁶⁹² Minutes 3 December 1805.

⁶⁹³ Lot 197, Barbara Kirk Auctions 26 January 2016, featured in *The Kedge Anchor March* 2016 p42.

⁶⁹⁴ W Parsons & W White, *History, directory, and gazetteer, of the counties of Durham and Northumberland: and the towns and counties of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Berwick-upon-Tweed. Together with Richmond, Yarn, and detached places appertaining to the bishopric and palatinate of Durham; including copious lists of the seats of nobility and gentry, and a variety of commercial, agricultural, & statistical information* (Printed for W. White & Co. by E. Baines & Son, 1827) pxii.

subscription raised in Oporto; a collection from the pagodas of St. George,⁶⁹⁵ India, which contained many small sums and only totalled £57; Antigua was at the other end of the scale raising £1,701. The last is from Limerick and has a tale of woe, as some of the funds had been deposited in a bank that had failed and a third of what they had raised was lost.⁶⁹⁶

In terms of the awards for Trafalgar, it is noticeable that all those in command received the sword as if they were a Captain. Included in this were the two Lieutenants who were in command, Pilford on HMS *Ajax* and Stockham on HMS *Thunderer*, as both their Captains were away for the court martial of Admiral Calder. The Fund equally included within the list the two Lieutenants who took command when their Captains were killed, Hennah who took over from Captain Duff on HMS *Mars* and Cumby who took over from Captain Cooke on HMS *Bellerophon*.

The Fund also gave £100 swords to the Captains of the smaller vessels, Lieutenant Young of HM Cutter *Entreprenante* and Lieutenant Lapenotière of HM Schooner *Pickle*. Lastly they included Lieutenant Thomas Simons who died on HMS *Defiance*. They awarded a £100 vase to his father, as Simons was the only First Lieutenant to be killed at Trafalgar, so his peers either got promotion to Commander or straight to Post Captain.

They also followed the same process as many other places with regard to Nelson's memorial, presenting £500 vases to both Earl Nelson and Frances Nelson, ignoring Emma, even though one member of the committee Benjamin Goldsmid took the lead in looking after Emma in the aftermath of Nelson's death.

While the Fund treated both Ferrol and Trafalgar as one event, their sword supplier, Teed, differentiated and the Trafalgar swords have a different marking indicating that the recipient was at Trafalgar. This indicates that Teed

⁶⁹⁵ Presumably Fort St. George at Chennai.

⁶⁹⁶ Guildhall Library MSS 35170.

saw this Battle as significant above all the others.

Starting to give to Prisoners of War

During its first six years, prior to stopping the awards for zeal, the Patriotic Fund started to give money to two other causes: to help those who being held prisoners of war (POWs) and for the education of those whose fathers were killed in the war. These changes will be discussed in the next chapter, which considers why they departed from their original intentions, but what is important to note here is that these two changes did not happen together.

The question of supporting POWs arose first. The first time the Committee provided funds to POWs, was at their meeting on 25 June 1805, when they read a letter from the camp at Verdun. This talked about exhaustion of funds for their hospital. The Fund decided to give £500, with the money to be passed to the care of a committee of five officers in Verdun. Captain Jahleel Brenton (late of HMS *Minerve*) and Dr. Alexander Allen were to be two of those and they could elect the other three.

Their second award of money to the committee in Verdun was in the Trafalgar meeting and they again gave £500.⁶⁹⁷ The third was on 10 June 1806, when they heard that Verdun had exceeded their funds by £200 and so the Fund gave them that £200 and a further £500. However, the committee in Verdun was getting letters from POWs elsewhere in France and had pointed them in the direction of the Patriotic Fund Committee. These were almost certainly merchant POWs, as at the next meeting the minutes record that Angerstein had received a request from 220 Masters of merchant ships who were prisoners in France asking for help.⁶⁹⁸ The Committee replied that it was not within scope and they could not help. However, they equally read a request regarding the creation of a school for the instruction of children in the depots of prisoners in France and decided to give £300 for this purpose. This school

⁶⁹⁷ Minutes 19 November 1805.

⁶⁹⁸ Minutes 17 June 1806.

was for those who were just boys when they were made prisoner and was run very much on a Sunday School style by Reverend Wolfe. It taught boys captured from both merchant and naval vessels.⁶⁹⁹ This was a week before the sub committee on education responded to the similar question in Britain.

On 2 September 1806, the Fund received a letter from Verdun, saying the hospital there had treated 786 people between 1 May 1804 and 1 August 1806, of which 737 were cured, 2 discharged incurable, 12 died and 35 remained in the hospital. They gave assurance to Verdun that further funds would be forthcoming if needed and Verdun replied saying they were down to £57 and the Fund sent £500 in response.⁷⁰⁰

At the meeting on 13 January 1807, they received a report from Verdun by Brenton and Grey and the Committee agree to award £2,000 plus a further £1,200 to establish infirmaries at the POW depots of Givet, Sare, Libre, Valenciennes and Arras, and a further £500 to support the education of British children at the different depots in France. Lastly, they gave £1,000 for anything not covered by the above. They ask Joseph Marryat to open the line of credit to enable this through his correspondents at Copenhagen, which of course the British attacked later that year, although clearly the lines of credit were not stopped by the action, as on 12 January 1808 they give another grant of £5,000.

The inclusion of education of the boys, some of who were from the merchant service, who had become prisoners in France but the exclusion of the merchant navy prisoners seems out of kilter as both cases appear, on the face of it, to be outside the scope of the Fund. However, Angerstein and the Committee did not ignore the plight of the merchant prisoners. They established a separate charity and they donated money to it and just a week later were going to bring education within their routine business.

⁶⁹⁹ Captain M Hewson, *Escape from the French* (Great Britain, Webb & Bower, 1981 Ed by A Brett-James, Original 1809) p72.

⁷⁰⁰ Minutes 7 October 1806.

Starting to give to education

This topic had not arisen in the minutes until after Trafalgar. Until then children were just a factor in the award of the pension to those injured or widowed. However, appearing to come out of nowhere, as far as the minutes are concerned, in April 1806 they resolved to call a Special General Meeting to discuss the education of the children of those killed in action.⁷⁰¹ This was held three weeks later and they resolved to set up a sub committee of seven members to decide whether to assist with education⁷⁰² and then continued with a routine meeting. There is no record of the discussion or indeed whether there was one. The sub committee was made up of David Pike Watts, Joseph Marryat, Thomson Bonar, Germain Lavie, RH Martin, Benjamin Shaw and Thomas Bernard. Bernard was the only of these not present at the meeting and never normally attended meetings.

This sub committee reported in June, a week after they had donated for the instruction of children in the depots of prisoners in France,⁷⁰³ and a further Special General Meeting was called on 1 July. The report from the sub committee stated they were appointed “to consider the best means of providing maintenance and education of the children whose fathers have fallen or may fall in the defence of the country, during the present war”. This was not what the minutes recorded as their purpose on 22 April and the rephrasing presumes that provision of some type of support to education establishment was now a given.

The sub committee had looked at setting up their own school but felt, because they were only a committee for the current war, it was not long term enough and those involved in the Fund were too busy with their commercial interests to give it the time needed. They also had received much correspondence and decided boys should be educated at a school and girls left with their mothers. They had entered discussions with the Royal Naval Asylum, then based at

⁷⁰¹ Minutes 1 April 1806.

⁷⁰² Minutes 22 April 1806.

⁷⁰³ Minutes 17 June 1806.

Paddington, which had between 40 and 50 children of both sexes and between 4 and 14 years old. They noted it paid particular attention to the moral and religious principles and that it was also introducing trades related to nautical employment, including teaching rope walking and was investigating teaching sail making. Significantly, it also had just received £20,000 worth of Government support and was looking to move to near the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. How these schools fit within education at the time is discussed in Chapter 9.

The school met the Fund's main criteria and had selection criteria in the table below.

Table 14 Selection Criteria of the Royal Naval Asylum

Class	Criteria
First Class	Orphans whose fathers have fallen and are without mothers
Second Class	Orphans whose fathers have fallen but have a mother
Third Class	Children of those maimed or wounded during service at sea and are incapable of further service and are most numerous and in need
Fourth Class	Children of men employed in the Fleet in distant waters whose mothers have died
Fifth Class	Children of men employed in distant waters whose families are most numerous and in need

The Fund accepted that it could include daughters where both parents were dead or other circumstances meant staying with their mother was not best and agreed that the Royal Naval Asylum was the best option. In July the Fund donated £40,000 with £5 per year to the girls left under their mothers; in both cases to be until they reached the age of 14.⁷⁰⁴ They later clarified that for children under five they had to make fresh applications when they reached five years of age, and that the applicant had to provide testimonials as to the

⁷⁰⁴ Minutes 22 July 1806.

marriage of the parents before the grant would be made.⁷⁰⁵ The committee stated this money came from the collections at the thanksgiving services for Trafalgar.⁷⁰⁶

However, those seeking support did not meet the decision with delight. When the Committee considered the first two applications a month later, the widows were not actually applying for education they were just asking for help.⁷⁰⁷

They are given that help by nominating their children for the school. In the case of Ann Ellis, from Portsmouth, whose husband William had been killed on HMS *Donegal*, her son William H Ellis was the first recommended boy. Her two oldest daughters would get the stipend to attend a local school. She would have to reapply for her youngest girl when she reached five. Five more cases were considered at that meeting. The total involved 15 children; two were admitted, four received £5 grants, three were too old and the remainder too young. The published minutes record this under the following meeting when the decision was ratified. By the end of the year, the Committee had received requests from parents of the first two admitted asking for the £5 and the children not to be sent away. The Fund acquiesced.⁷⁰⁸

That is all within just eight months. In November, the Committee are informed by Reverend William Morgan that the Naval Asylum had relocated to Greenwich and opened there the day before.⁷⁰⁹ The Committee sent a deputation to see the new premises and in January 1808 approved a request from the Naval Asylum for a further £5000.⁷¹⁰

Acting as a distributor for other funds

While no records are known of for them, it is clear from the handwritten minutes that other Patriotic Funds were established in various cities but the

⁷⁰⁵ Minutes 2 September 1806.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁷ Minutes 12 August 1806.

⁷⁰⁸ Minutes 2 December 1806.

⁷⁰⁹ Minutes 6 November 1807.

⁷¹⁰ Minutes 12 January 1808.

Lloyd's Patriotic Fund was determined to maintain primacy. They sent a letter to a Mr William Fox at the Police Office, Manchester, stating that the money raised by Manchester Patriotic Fund should not be separate but rather be subsumed by them as the Manchester beneficiaries were within their scope.⁷¹¹ Manchester clearly did not agree as they replied saying they had collected £5,000 for those sufferers from Trafalgar but wished to keep their funds separate but wanted the Fund to provide the necessary details so that they could make awards.⁷¹² The Fund said it would be a while before all the details that Manchester had requested would become known but that administering it separately would be difficult and again encouraged them to transfer the money to the Fund at Lloyd's, as Dublin and Edinburgh had done. This time Manchester gave in and wrote saying they had decided that they could not distribute independently and forwarded all they had collected, a total of £5596 13s 4d. This included collections from 174 alehouses.⁷¹³

The Committee were content to disburse money raised by others but limited this to events where it fitted within their normal remit. For example, in December 1804 they agree to distribute the money raised by Jamaica to those on HMS *Renard*.⁷¹⁴ Which of *Renard's* several actions in September 1804 it was for is not known, or indeed whether it was to cover those injured across all of them. But thanks to the Jamaican fundraising Lieutenant John Litchfield's⁷¹⁵ parents received £300 for his death, much higher than the Fund's normal award. Litchfield was not captain of the *Renard* at the time. She was under Commander Jeremiah Coghlan who is thought to have been one of the models for Hornblower. However, the Fund rejected disbursing £400 from Jamaica to the survivors and relatives of those onboard HMS Packet *Chesterfield*, which had been captured on 21 July, instead they handed the task over to an agent.⁷¹⁶ It is notable that these decisions,

⁷¹¹ Minutes 24 November 1805.

⁷¹² Minutes 7 January 1806.

⁷¹³ Minutes 22 April 1806.

⁷¹⁴ Handwritten minutes 18 December 1804.

⁷¹⁵ His date of death is not recorded in the List of Commissioned Officers for 1660 to 1815 just that it was September 1804. The ship was involved in a series of small actions that month.

⁷¹⁶ Handwritten minutes 17 December 1805.

whichever way they went, were only recorded in the handwritten minutes and not published.

As well as Manchester and Durham, who had also originally raised its own fund which had then been placed at the disposal of the Patriotic Fund, there clearly were Patriotic Funds in both Dublin and Edinburgh, which forwarded money and acted for the Committee at various times. However, no details are ever given other than the text of the letters sent, without names of the regional committee members or even where they were located within their cities. This was clearly a mutually supportive link as when they were starting to place boys in the Naval Asylum, the committee at Dublin wrote saying that they would “cheerfully” cooperate in all they had been asked to do and that they would also give a stipend to the boys of such parents where religious sentiments may prevent them from sending them to be educated at the Naval Asylum.⁷¹⁷

Dealing with fraud and false claims

It is clear the Committee took responsibility for ensuring the propriety of awards. They did not always include this in the published minutes and sometimes they are left in the handwritten only, so when on 3 June 1806, Lieutenant Samuel Green of the 8th West Indies Regiment applied for money for an injury with a form sworn by another officer, this was investigated. They sought a report from the surgeon of HM Sloop *Heron* and the doctor did not confirm the story. Therefore, the proposed award was rescinded. Where one individual had already received the money they took action. In 1807, Germain Lavie reports on how a fraud case was going and agreed to attend the Old Bailey to witness the trial. The trial involved John McDermot who had represented himself as a seaman wounded onboard HMS *Leviathan* at Trafalgar. Since there was an Irish landsman onboard *Leviathan* at Trafalgar with that name it is unclear whether it was the claimed injury that was the fraud or whether it was another person masquerading as the John McDermot

⁷¹⁷ Minutes 2 September 1806.

from *Leviathan*. The case also involved the Chest at Greenwich as it was them who informed Lavie that McDermot had been apprehended.⁷¹⁸ There was also a further attempted fraud of the Fund by an Edward Cooper who forged a letter saying he had been injured at Trafalgar, this though never got as far as the Committee.⁷¹⁹

They were also not above allowing other bad behaviour to impact on the award. When they received a letter from the agent for the sick and wounded in Gibraltar, James Robertson, commenting that a mulatto seaman John Williams belonging to HMS *Temeraire* who had been wounded at Trafalgar had been found guilty of swindling and was not worthy of relief. They suspend Williams' award until he could produce testimonials and clear his character to the satisfaction of the Committee.⁷²⁰ It does not appear that he ever did.

It was not unknown for funds voted to be returned because the person distributing it "at their discretion" decided it should not all be given. For example, Mary Scott had been voted £40 for the death of her husband, killed at the battle of Rezzio. It was to be given at the discretion of Reverend John Brand, minister of her parish;⁷²¹ but an entry in the actual minute book, rather than published minutes, for 27 February shows that £35 was returned.

The Fund also sought advice from the Admiralty as to whether someone was deserving. On 26 June 1804 they write to the Admiralty⁷²² asking for information on the conduct of Lieutenant Budd commanding HMS *Lord Nelson* in the previous April. This does not feature in the minutes and never led to an award, so presumably the reply did not praise him sufficiently.

There is also one strange case regarding bigamy. Here the Committee demonstrated kindness. They received a request from Ann Mackintosh, the

⁷¹⁸ Minutes 20 January 1807.

⁷¹⁹ *The Times* 16 January 1807.

⁷²⁰ Minutes 17 June 1806.

⁷²¹ Minutes 3 February 1807.

⁷²² ADM 1/3992.

Plymouth widow of Alexander Mackintosh yeoman of the sheets of HMS *Pique* killed at St Domingo on 26 March 1806. She had provided her marriage certificate from 18 July 1799 and her Navy Pay office certificate. However, a couple of weeks previously they had made an award to Elizabeth Mackintosh, the Portsea widow of Alexander. She had equally produced a marriage certificate, hers dated 14 October 1802 and a Navy Pay office certificate. They split the original award of £60 between the two ladies.⁷²³

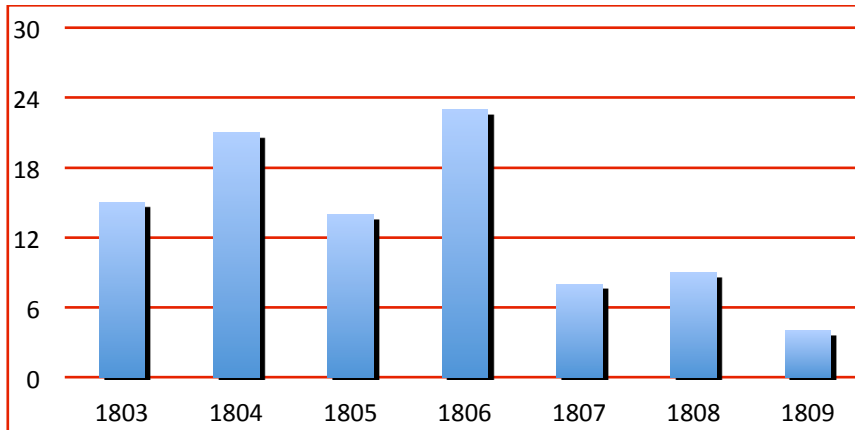
The pace of giving awards

As the war progressed there was a noticeable shift in both the amount of awards given by the Fund and how they are distributed. With the two events with the largest number of awards being Dance's action of 1804 and 1805, it might have been expected that those were the years with the most events attracting an award. That is not the case: the number of events that attracts an award peaks in 1806. What is also noticeable is that the number significantly drops off for 1807 to 1809. It must be remembered that in 1809 they were only awarded for part of the year, so the final number could have been higher if they had continued and more in line with 1807 and 1808.

This change in the pace of giving did cause some confusion among military and naval officers. Viscount Castlereagh later Secretary of State for war, and Admiral Collingwood comment about their capture of Alexandria on 25 March 1807 that they thought it would have been recognised by the Fund.⁷²⁴ They put this down to the fact that they were recently at peace with Turkey but it was probably more reflective of the change in approach by the Fund.

⁷²³ Minutes 10 February 1807.

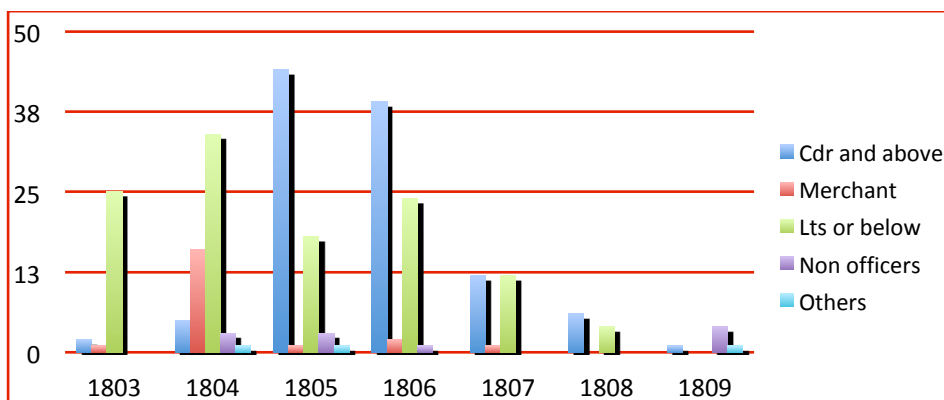
⁷²⁴ Reported in *Yorke's Review* No 20 Saturday 16 May 1807 and No 21 23 May.



Number of events that awards are made in each year

Division of awards by rank

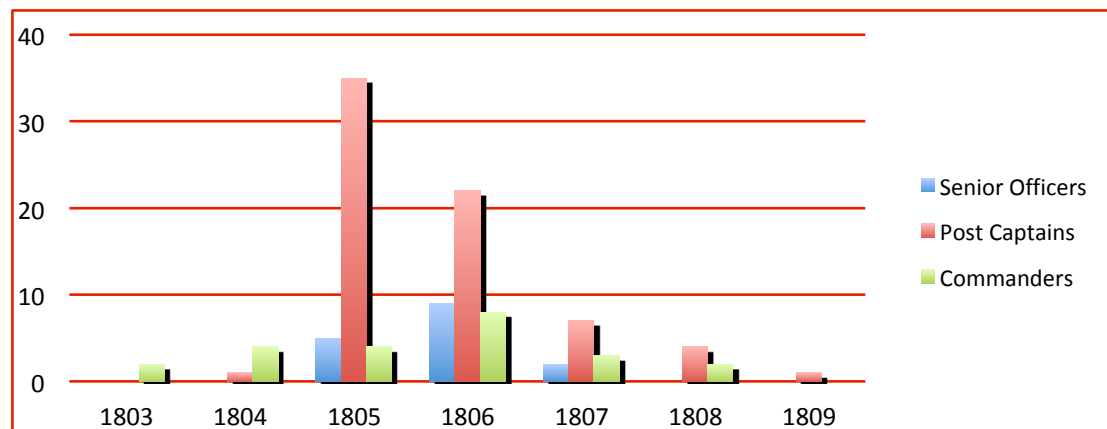
When the awards are broken down by rank groups, divided at the rated vessel command level Commander, Post Captain or Admiral, then the picture becomes much more mixed, but some points of note are discernible. What is clear is that for 1803 and 1804 the awards to Lieutenants outweigh all other groups. However, for 1805 and 1806 it is very much the other way round and it is senior officers capturing places or winning actions between groups of ships that move to the fore, especially for Trafalgar, where seven of the officers were Lieutenants. Merchant officers always remain small in number except for 1804 where Dance's action accounted for nearly all of them. In 1807 and 1808 it is quite noticeable that the Commanders and above and Lieutenants and below are almost exactly level and then for the final year it is those below officer rank who are being recognised, but with small awards.



Awards per year broken down by rank group

The above graph uses Naval ranks but it should be noted that it includes the Army as well, so Majors and above are included within Commanders. Warrant Officers or those training for wardroom are grouped in 'Lieutenants and below', and includes Midshipman and Master's Mates. The non officers are those that were clearly never going to be officers.

If we break the graph down for the Commanders and above, we see further reinforcement of what the graph shows, in that in 1803 and 1804 the awards are very much at the junior end, while between 1805 and just into 1807 the awards are more to those above Captain, with Post Captains dominating. Awards made between 1807 and 1808 were more even and tended to be for single ship actions. In 1809 of course there is only one in this group, Captain Woolridge who led the fire ships in the attack on Basque Roads, with his Lieutenant, Nicholas Brent also receiving one.



Graph showing how the awards to senior officers break down

This change in the pace of giving awards means that there are several actions that are surprisingly missing. The surprise of Castelreagh and Collingwood regarding Alexandria has already been mentioned and there is also the capture of Capri by Sir Sydney Smith on 12 May 1806. Despite its importance to the maritime balance, the second Battle of Copenhagen in 1807 is ignored. But while there may be political reasons why these did not feature and were not considered worthy of honour awards, those injured did receive pensions.

There are other actions that are much more in keeping with those receiving awards in 1803 and 1804 that do not feature, for example, various cutting out actions in the Mediterranean, such as the cutting out by *Imperieuse* under Lord Cochrane of a privateer and two merchantmen in Almeira on the 21 February 1808.⁷²⁵ Equally it is surprising that there is only the sword to Lieutenant Meech Royal Marines, who led a shore party to attack forts from HMS *Emerald*, from the campaign on the Spanish coast by the Royal Navy.

The stopping of giving swords and plate

The Fund publicly stated that they ceased giving swords and other awards for zeal because they needed to make savings and use the funds for other purposes. This appears to have been disingenuous at best. There are two reasons why the publicly stated position is not valid while the actual motivation for stopping will be discussed in the conclusion.

It is true that the Fund needed to reduce its outgoings as the war moved from a maritime campaign to a land campaign, with both the Peninsular Campaign and Walcheren occurring in 1809. The Higher casualty numbers of large scale continental campaigning made increased the demand for hurt awards and awards for widows.

However, the amount spent on swords and plate had always been a small proportion of total expenditure, so the savings made by stopping these were negligible. The sums involved for plate and swords were far less than the amounts involved in supporting prisoners of war and education, neither of which were in the original mandate.

The Committee was conscious of these issues and after a year of operating wrote to the Treasury to try to ensure some of the Fund's income became free of tax, in which they were successful. They summarised their aims as a succinct three purposes: relieving those wounded and maimed; providing for

⁷²⁵ Cordingly, *Cochrane the Dauntless* p142.

the families of those who fell; and thirdly for the honorary awards. Even in these early days, when the presenting of awards was at a high level, they argued that it was “a very small proportion”. They also argued that their administration costs, which are far higher than the costs of the awards due to the advertisements and printing and distribution of the published minutes, constituted a smaller proportion than those of any other charity. From this letter, it is clear that the prizes were the sticking point for the tax relief.⁷²⁶

In the introduction to their second report the Fund said there would be no further appeals for funds, because:

“The contributions already received, with those still expected from our distant possessions, form a fund so ample, in proportion to the demands hitherto made upon it, that the Committee abstain from any new appeal to the public: confident that, should circumstances render it necessary, they shall not appeal in vain; but that the spirit and liberality of Britons will always rise equal to the occasion, when called upon to relieve the sufferings, and reward the valour, of those who distinguish themselves in the defence of their country.”⁷²⁷

Trafalgar, despite the number of awards and injuries and the money to endow the Naval Asylum, actually raised additional funds that were greater than the costs of the awards. However, the Committee did not seek similar donations for subsequent victories. They started reducing the hurt and widow awards as early as the autumn 1806, when they considered their response to the Battle of Maida. Despite making the awards, they also resolved:

“That no allowance be hereafter made to the Relatives of Officers of Navy, Seaman, or Marines, or of Officers and Privates in the Army killed, unless they actually depended upon the deceased for support or assistance, except under extraordinary circumstances.” and also *“That*

⁷²⁶ Minutes 26 June 1804.

⁷²⁷ Second report of the Patriotic Fund, dated 1 March 1805.

*all annuities to Boys cease on their attaining the age of Twenty-one years.*⁷²⁸

In early 1808 when the Fund published their Fifth Annual Minutes, covering 1807, in the summary they comment that their balance was £162,696 4s 6d but that they still had 1,687 killed and 2,171 men wounded to deal with which could reduce it by a third. At this time they stated that they felt they did not need to solicit any more funds.

However, a year later they were giving quite a different account. It is clear that they did not think the battles in Peninsular would bring in extra funds like Trafalgar, although they never intimate why. On 15 August 1809, they resolved to convene a Special General Committee Meeting on finances to see if they should call a full General Meeting of all subscribers. That meeting was held on 18 August but there were only 13 committee members present.⁷²⁹ They noted the following financial position, that over the time they had operated:

Received: £424,832

Voted: £275,186 to relief of 2,050 widows, orphans and relatives and 7,642 injured

Voted to Prisoners of War: £16,700

Voted Honorary Awards: £16,436

Advertising, printing etc: £23,269

This gave a balance of £93,221

They believed they had potential claims of 3,469 killed, which would cost £69,350, and 6,010 wounded,⁷³⁰ which could cost £60,100 and therefore a potential outlay of £129,480, which was more than their balance. As bankers,

⁷²⁸ Minutes 16 September 1806.

⁷²⁹ Bonar, Edward Foster, Glennie, Godwin, King, Kensington, Lee, Lavie. Marryat, Mangles, James Shaw, Reid, Whitmore.

⁷³⁰ There is no breakdown of which actions these were from.

merchants and insurers, they considered this unacceptable. Therefore, they resolved to hold a General Meeting of all subscribers. On 22 August, they held the General Meeting of the Merchants, Bankers, Underwriters and other Subscribers. This meeting took less than an hour, as it was followed one hour later by a committee meeting to record the decision. The Subscribers agreed to cover costs of Talavera and honour the Fund's commitments. They also proposed to add 12 more people to the Committee,⁷³¹ presumably aiming to elicit money.

The Committee met again two days later and reduced the level of hurt/widow awards but continued the awards to Prisoners and the Naval Asylum. They determined to limit the awards for wounds to just those involving loss of limb and disability and not, as originally, all wounds, as others who had been "compensated for that pain by bearing an honourable scar" would not want to deprive widows and orphans.

They also decided to stop the Honorary awards or rather in their announcement they miss that aspect from what they stated they will continue to do. *The Times* on 26 August 1809⁷³² referred to the four new purposes of support that the Patriotic Fund will undertake: to those bereaved; injured; prisoners of war and support of the schools and hospitals at the depot in France.

The minutes margin notes states they will makes awards to two more men: "Capt Brenton (book 8 p79 meeting 16 Oct 1810) and Captain Cow (see book 9 p133 meeting 7 Apr 1812)." (Captain Brenton is discussed further in Chapter 9 and Captain Cow in Annex A). The handwritten minutes note they discontinue awards for merit alone but not for merit and distress. They agreed the sum is "trifling" but they "doubt not but that the liberality of their countrymen, will continue the good work which they have so nobly begun".

⁷³¹ These were Beeston Long, Geo Grote, Edward Thomas Water, Benjamin Harrison, Philip Sansom, John Tunns, John Pearse, Thomas Baring, Wm Manning, Sam Tuiseu(?) Charles Bosanquet, Abram Goldsmid,

⁷³² Original is in Guildhall Library MSS 35179 as one of their key press cuttings.

The minutes state:

“Resolved Unanimously, That the enlarged scale upon which the Military Operations are now carrying, makes it necessary to reconsider the original Resolutions. Under which the Committee have hitherto acted; & that in future the donations from this fund be appropriated exclusively to the relief of the Widows, orphans, and relatives of those whose wounds are attended with loss of limb or disability from future service, to the annual allowance made towards the aged and infirm British prisoners of War, and to the support of the Schools and Hospitals at the different Depôts.”⁷³³

They defend their decision to continue to support the Naval Asylum and prisoners, arguing that although not within their original objects they believe the purpose to be implicit. The POW schools had helped 2,129 young people. All these resolutions are adopted at the subsequent meeting on 29 August and they pass details to the Patriotic Fund in Dublin (Edinburgh is not mentioned). A General Meeting was arranged for 31 August. They do not minute that meeting so it must be presumed it was all agreed as they then returned to routine business.

There is no reason to think the Committee could have not raised further funds if needed, in the period 1807-1808. For example, the hospital The London carried out its first fundraising that was not linked to being able to nominate and rapidly raised £14,000.⁷³⁴ The Chairman of the Subscribers to The London was a member of the Committee, Thomas Rowcroft.

Response to the decision to change purpose

⁷³³ Minutes 24 August 1809.

⁷³⁴ A E Clark-Kennedy, *The London Volume One* (Letchworth, Pitman Medical Publishing, 1962) p201.

The Committee quickly received positive financial responses to the announcement, meaning the risk of shortfall rapidly fell away. Having not launched any heavy fundraising calls for a couple of years, groups felt able to respond. On 24 October, they received £10,000 from the Patriotic Fund in Dublin and with £5,000 from both Lloyd's Subscribers and Bank of England they raised about £45,000 of new funds.

They also raised funds in other ways. *The Times* for 7 March 1812 gives details of the Fund for Relief of British Prisoners Of War in France which at that point had accumulated £77,130 and new subscriptions that month were a further £600. The fund raised further collections following other battles, to enable them to continue to support. On 9 May 1812 there was a collection for Badajos and straight away Lloyd's Subscribers gave £10,000, the Bank of England £5,000 and there were £100 donations from many involved in the Committee such as Baring (and another from his bank), Angerstein, Manning, Anderson, Marryat, Shedden, Thomas King; Thomson, Bonar & Co; Innes, and others. They get a further boost to their funds at the end of 1812 when in December they appealed for funds following the Battle of Salamanca.⁷³⁵ In July they have guests for a Committee meeting, attended by Prince Field Marshall Blucher and chaired by William Wilberforce.⁷³⁶

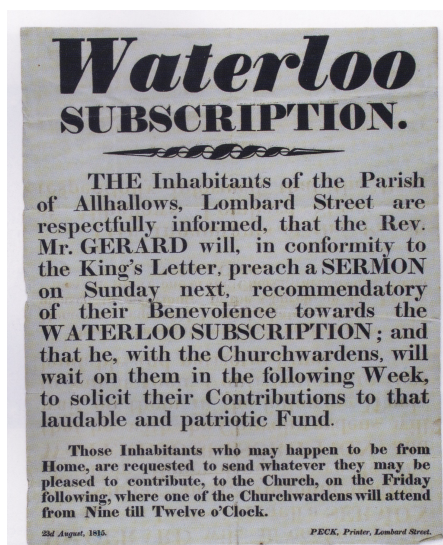
It was not just military events for which they raised separate funds. Some of the leading subscribers created the Charity to Widows &c of Shipwrecked Seamen. This was established at a meeting in Lloyd's Committee Room on 6 February 1812, when Admiral Gambier called for support for the widows and families of the crews of HMS *St George*, HMS *Hero* and HMS *Defence* which had been wrecked on passage to the Baltic, with more than 2,000 casualties. They agreed at a subsequent meeting on 20 February to add the families of

⁷³⁵ They determine to do this earlier at Committee Meeting 1 September 1812.

⁷³⁶ Details are in Guildhall MS35179. This is only in the handwritten minutes and never published so would have been discrete. Wilberforce is well known by several of the committee including the Thornton's (he was their cousin and they sponsored him), Angerstein (Twist, *Angerstein*, p245) and Marten (see Annex B). Blucher is surprising, he was supposedly at his castle at Schneitnig planning for the next war, but it is possible he travelled to develop his plans, as Scharnhorst did earlier that year as part of the preparations. R Parkinson, *The Hussar General* (Chatham, Wordsworth Editions, 2001) pp92-3.

HMS *Saldanha* in which a further 300 men had been lost off Ireland. A committee of 21 was created, three Admirals Gambier, Lord Radstock and Saumarez, then ten of the remaining 18 had been among the initial Committee or co-opted members of the Patriotic Fund nearly a decade earlier.⁷³⁷ Their interest in philanthropy had not waned.

For the Waterloo a similar group, led by Baring, featuring obvious people such as Angerstein and Mellish in key roles, undertook a similar function to the Patriotic Fund. Even the secretary was the same Mr Welsford. Funds were deposited at Hoare's Bank and within a month more than £107,000 had been collected, it rose to more than £500,000 and funded annuities for those in need, which removed the requirement to keep making payments.⁷³⁸



*Poster for Waterloo Subscription*⁷³⁹

There are references to the total sums of money raised and spent in various documents. Without the original ledgers the numbers in different sources do not match but are in the same order of magnitude. Percy gives their total fundraising during the Napoleonic War as £543,450 and stated it helped

⁷³⁷ From *The Literary Panorama*, Volume 11, 1812 edited by Charles p 474. The 10 were: Angerstein, Bonar, Anderson, Clagett, Hoare, King, Lavie Rowcroft, Benjamin Shaw and Sheddon.

⁷³⁸ Hoare's Bank Manuscript of the Month, June 2015, Subscription for the Relief of the Wounded Sufferers and the Families of those who fell in the Battle of Waterloo, 1815.

⁷³⁹ Lot 9 Baldwin's, 23 June 2015.

18,000 people. However, as he states that the Nile subscription was £32,000 (it was more than £38,000) his figures are not necessarily accurate.⁷⁴⁰

The Secretary, Mr Welsford, continued to conduct his business as an underwriter but received a salary of £550 per annum and had an Assistant Secretary, Mr Winter appointed in 1806. In 1825, when Mr Winter died the Fund voted £150 to cover funeral and medical expenses and it paid a £150 annuity to Welsford's widow following his death in 1828.⁷⁴¹ Although by this time their monies were held in trust "for the purpose of providing a foundation for a subscription in the event of a future war".⁷⁴²

It is clear that the Committee's capacity to raise funds had not been extinguished, and that there was money they could call on from other places such as the Dublin Patriotic Fund. This Dublin Fund was so closely connected to the London Committee that it had to apply to it to approve a new secretary. When the Dublin Fund was wound up it forwarded £28,842.6.10 to the Lloyd's Patriotic Fund. It is correct that the main reason why the Fund changed its award policy in 1809 was to make the Fund sustainable but this was by aligning pension costs with their income, not by the stopping of the honorary awards. These were only ever a very small element in their outgoings, significantly less than education and supporting prisoners of war; especially at the rate the awards were being made in 1809 and therefore would have had negligible effect on the sustainability of the Fund. They clearly were not against swords still being made as they allowed officers to still get them. Therefore, it must be due to the Committee not considering them as important at this stage of the war.

⁷⁴⁰ S & R Percy *London or Interesting Memorials of its Rise, Progress & Present State* (London, T Boys, 1824) p78. This is in effect a guidebook to London.

⁷⁴¹ Died 10 June 1828 according to his gravestone at St George's, Beckenham.

⁷⁴² Minutes 24 May 1825.

Chapter 8

War Changes - 1803 to 1809

While being careful not to try to write another history of the period, I will draw out some key aspects of what happened in this period militarily, in terms of British empire, in terms of European trade and domestically, to draw attention to those aspects that had the greatest impact on the Committee.

What changed militarily in the war during this period?

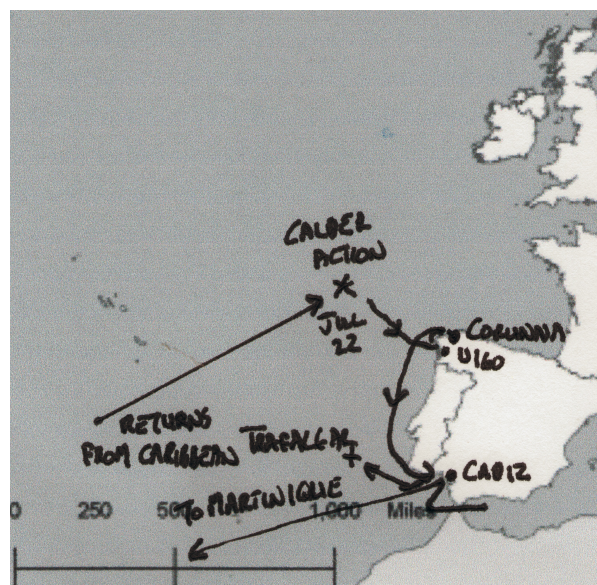
The Royal Navy celebrates Trafalgar annually and the bicentenary was a national celebration, however, it is often unclear whether the dinner and the national celebration are remembering the battle or commemorating Nelson, the two now so entwined in popular conception.

On the mainland of Europe, Britain faced real difficulties, even after it had staved off the initial threat of invasion. 1805 saw the collapse of the Third Coalition. "It took Pitt two years of diplomacy to create the Third Coalition – it took Napoleon four months to smash it".⁷⁴³ An Austrian army surrendered at Ulm on 19 October 1805, Austerlitz on 2 December saw the defeat of the combined Austro-Russian army and news of the armistice with Austria reached London at the very end of 1805. On 21 November 1806, Napoleon declared the Berlin Decree, banning all areas under his control in Europe from commerce with Britain and her colonies. The same year saw Prussia fight against Napoleon and lose. 1807 saw the Treaty of Tilsit where Russia became an ally of France after defeat at the Battle of Friedland and left Britain with no major ally on the Continent. But there was quite a difference between what was happening ashore in Europe and what was happening in the maritime world.

It should be remembered Trafalgar was just part of a series of events that significantly altered the balance at sea and gave the British the freedom to

⁷⁴³ Robson *South America* pxiv.

trade. Just as with the Battle of Britain where German High Command Minutes show that the invasion of Britain was called off prior to the Battle,⁷⁴⁴ the action off Cape Finistere, 22 July 1805 led by Admiral Calder against Admiral Villeneuve, while indecisive as a battle, meant that Villeneuve failed to carry on into Brest to join with another French squadron and achieve the size of force they believed they needed to clear the channel and enable the invasion. Instead, he retired initially to Vigo, then via Coruña, and into Cadiz. This failure to join up meant Napoleon abandoned his plans to invade England and instead his Grande Armée left Boulogne on 27 August 1805 to counter the threat from Austria and Russia.



Sketch showing Villeneuve's voyages in 1805

Also often overlooked now is the aftermath of Trafalgar and the storm. One of the essences of Nelson's plan of cutting the line was that the van of the Combined Fleet was left largely intact. While they initially endeavoured to aid the others, they escape and are caught by Sir Richard Strachan off Cape Ortegal on 4 November 1805. Eleven vessels of the Combined Fleet reached Cadiz and the five that were seaworthy attempted to recover some of the prizes. In the major storm that followed the battle, Collingwood cast off the prizes; two were recaptured, four others rose up and took over from the prize crew but three of these were wrecked on the coast and the French/Spanish

⁷⁴⁴ Minutes held Admiralty Library, Portsmouth.

lost two more vessels in this attempt to get the others back. Only four prizes made it back to Britain, with four others being deliberately burnt due to the state of them.



*Thomas Buttersworth's painting of the Gale after Trafalgar*⁷⁴⁵

This decision to cast off the prizes was controversial at the time. When Lieutenant Richard Marks, who was on HMS *Defence* at Trafalgar, published his book of sermons in 1820, he felt that it necessary to write a defence of the decision in his reflection on Trafalgar, which is a quarter of the book, but only one of 22 sermons.⁷⁴⁶ Both the Vote of Thanks in Parliament⁷⁴⁷ and the awards from the Patriotic Fund counted both Trafalgar and Cape St Ortegal as one battle – putting them both in the same motion.

Post Trafalgar several squadrons of French ships remained. There was the French fleet at Brest that Villeneuve had been trying to join up with. In December 1805 Napoleon put two squadrons to sea under Admirals Willaumez and Leissègues to disrupt British trade. The British dispatched

⁷⁴⁵ NMM BHC0554.

⁷⁴⁶The Author of *The Retrospect, Nautical Essays or a spiritual view of the Ocean and Maritime Affairs with Reflections on the Battle of Trafalgar and other events* (London, J Nisbet, 1820). We know this was Richard Marks who was on *Defence*. Reflection is sermon 21 pp152-197.

⁷⁴⁷ M West, "Sir Richard Strachan" (*Trafalgar Chronicle New Series*, Vol 1, Autumn 2016 pp184-195) p187.

squadrons under Warren and Strachan to catch them. However, Leissègues' squadron was destroyed by Duckworth at St. Domingo on 6 January 1806 and Willaumez's was caught in a hurricane on the 18 August 1806 with three vessels sinking and the remainder scattered and returning individually to France. Warren, while not capturing those two squadrons, unexpectedly came across and defeated Linois's squadron returning from the Indian Ocean on 13 March 1806 in the mid Atlantic. On 25 September Commodore Sir Samuel Hood caught five large French frigates and two corvettes breaking out of Rochefort. So by the end of 1806 there is no large concentration of French vessels at sea and, having received considerable blows, those remaining are blockaded in various ports. The large potential Danish fleet that could have been added to the French is removed at Copenhagen over 16 August to 5 September 1807.

Douglas Allen, in his economic study of this period, summarises various naval studies including Rodger's on the effectiveness of the British Fleet. He comments that over the six major naval battles from 1793 to 1805:

*"The British had just 5,749 killed or wounded compared to 16,313 killed and wounded and 22,657 prisoners of the enemy....Along with a major difference in casualties was a corresponding difference in the number of ships taken or destroyed..... During the Napoleonic wars (1793-1815) the British lost only 17 frigates to the French, of which they recaptured 9, whereas the French lost a total of 229. Over this same period 166 British warships of all rates were captured or destroyed by the enemy, of which 5 were ships of the line. In contrast, 1,201 enemy ships were captured or destroyed, of which 159 were ships of the line....Again we see an imbalance - a fivefold difference in total ships, and an amazing thirtyfold difference in the largest rates of battleships."*⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁸ D W Allen, *The Institutional Revolution: Measurement and the Economic Emergence of the Modern World* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2011) p112-3.

So the naval position with respect to the fleets was very different by the end of 1807 and the threats both of invasion and to trade were significantly reduced. Indeed in 1808, 'Justicus' complained to the First Sea Lord "the commanding superiority of British Fleets had left them nothing to conquer or capture."⁷⁴⁹ The British had command of the sea, or at least dominance and its reputation was built. The war was going to enter a far more land phase from 1809 with landings in both the Peninsular and Walcheren.

The Fund knew Napoleon could be defeated on land by British soldiers as Maida, 4 July 1806, was a British victory. Sir Charles Oman summarised the impact of this small battle with only 11,000 combatants:

of the second half of the great French war. But for all those who were present, or who received the report of an intelligent eye-witness, the little-remembered Calabrian battle of Maida was an epoch-making day in British military history. On the sandy plain by the Amato 5,000 infantry in line received the shock of 6,000 in column, and inflicted on them one of the most crushing defeats on a small scale that took place during the whole war, disabling or taking 2,000 men, with a total loss to themselves of only 320.² The troops and the

*Sir Charles Oman's summary*⁷⁵⁰

This victory was such that William Windham, the Secretary of War, ranked it alongside Poitiers, Crecy and Agincourt,⁷⁵¹ *The Times* called it a "Glorious Victory"⁷⁵² and it led to the naming of an area of North London,⁷⁵³ one of only three Napoleonic war victories thus commemorated; the others being Waterloo Station and Trafalgar Square. Maida also involved four Brigadiers who were later involved in the Peninsular: Cole commanded the Peninsular 4th Division; Acland served throughout the campaign; Kempt commanded the

⁷⁴⁹ Hill, *The Prizes of War* p179.

⁷⁵⁰ C W C Oman *Column and Line in the Peninsular War* (British Academy Proceedings Vol IV, London, Oxford University Press 1910) p13.

⁷⁵¹ Hansard Parliamentary Debates 1807-7 Vol VIII p216.

⁷⁵² *The Times* 5 September 1806.

⁷⁵³ Name Maida is first recorded when "The Hero of Maida" public house was licensed in 1810 in the already existing Maida Hill and adjacent Maida Vale. 'Paddington: Maida Vale', A *History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 9: Hampstead, Paddington* 1989, pp212-7. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22667> Date accessed: 28 April 2013.

Light Brigade and Oswald commanded the 5th Division. Colonel Colborne commanded the 52nd Light Infantry. In an era where the personality of the military leader was a talking point, lucky and victorious commanders gave confidence in a campaign, as Sir Charles Oman highlights.⁷⁵⁴

There were indications that, by the time the Fund stopped honorary awards in 1809, the Army would continue to inflict defeats especially with a supportive local populace. Rolica and Vimeiro showed the British could fight and win back-to-back battles against the French. Although followed by a mix of victories and defeats the campaign was clearly pushing the French out. The overall national confidence might not be there in the Army; as Martin Howard argues in his look at the Walcheren campaign, especially because the Army Commander in Chief, the Duke of York, had had to resign due to a sex scandal in 1809 without completing his reforms. Howard identifies that it had improved since 1807, noting an ex-Secretary of War stated it was then “absurd to think of British soldiers fighting beside Russians and Prussians in the Friedland campaign.”⁷⁵⁵

However, a different type of war needed different charitable support to encourage its participants and this was argued by one of the Committee at the meeting when they agreed to change their objectives.

... THE COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS WERE READ,
A Member of the Committee took the occasion to observe, that although the character of the war was changed, the character of the people had been found the same on land as on the seas. The French had been accustomed to boast, that we were unequal to them on land; but now in a variety of actions, and particularly at the glorious battle of Talavera, 20,000 British troops had been found sufficient to repel the attack of near 50,000 Frenchmen. If ever Buonaparte should now venture to invade this country, he would find that we know how to resist him when fighting on our own ground as well as when fighting to defend our allies.
The Resolutions were all carried unanimously, as were also Votes of Thanks to the Chairman and to the Committee.

*Report on the Committee discussion to change its objects. This element is not reflected in the minutes*⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵⁴ Oman, *Column and Line in the Peninsular War*, p14.

⁷⁵⁵ Howard, *Walcheren 1809* p22.

⁷⁵⁶ *The Times* 25 August 1809.

The changes in the British Empire between 1803 and 1809

The Peace of Amiens saw a return of territory. Once war resumed, many were recaptured. Although the captures were not all one way, the French captured Goree in January 1804, but was recaptured by the British two months later on 9 March. Lieutenant Pickford, who persuaded the French to surrender, was rewarded by the Fund.

The return of several West Indies islands to France gave impetus to the campaign by privateers. Jenkins argues that the French Revolutionary War had three intertwined factors that made privateers such a threat in the West Indies. First was that French revolutionary ideology “had a shattering effect upon a zone whose economy was slave based”.⁷⁵⁷ Secondly the loss of control by the European powers meant the islands, especially Saint-Domingue, became more independent and lastly the American influence with numerous reports of American-fitted ships acting as privateers for the French and islanders, although American merchantmen were the main prey. Jenkin’s highlights that the threat of retaliation if ex-slaves were hurt meant they were treated as privateers rather than pirates.

Over the period 1803 to 1809, Britain made major territorial gains, especially with those areas that enabled successful trade, and trade war against the French economy. Of particular importance to this were the West Indies. Just as Britain had previously:

*“concentrated on retaining the sugar islands of the Caribbean, India and the strategic fortress of Gibraltar. Once this had been achieved, peace was secured by the economic exhaustion of France and Spain.”*⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁷ H J K Jenkins, “Privateers, Picaroons, Pirates: West Indian Commerce Raiders, 1793–1801” (*The Mariner’s Mirror*, 73:2, 1987, pp181-186, DOI: 10.1080/00253359.1987.10656137) p181.

⁷⁵⁸ Lambert, *Seapower States* p283.

It was to be an expansion of the same policy. The Treaty of Amiens⁷⁵⁹ restored to France and Batavia most of the territories they had lost in the French Revolutionary War.⁷⁶⁰ Most were rapidly recaptured as can be seen in the Table below. Indeed most recaptured in 1803 did not involve any military opposition.

Table 15 Dates of Recapture of Territories

Territory	Date of Recapture
Demerara	Recaptured 1803
Berbice	Recaptured 1803
Essequibo	Recaptured 1803
Tobago	Recaptured 1803
St Lucie	Recaptured 1803
Pierre and Miquelon (near Canada),	Recaptured 1803
Goree	Recaptured 1803, lost January 1804, recaptured March 1804
Suriname	Recaptured 1804
Cape of Good Hope	Recaptured 1805
Curacao	Recaptured 1807
Deseada and the Saints	Recaptured 1808
Martinique	Recaptured 1809 & 1815
St Eustatius	Recaptured 1810
St Martin's	Recaptured 1810

The Patriotic Fund made generous awards for the three involving contested actions between 1804 and 1807 namely Goree, Good Hope and Curacao. The second Martinique recapture and Guadeloupe were too late, being 1815.

Saint Barthélemy remained Swedish. The French island of Aruba fell to the British in 1804. The French attempted to seize Dominica in 1805 and failed.

⁷⁵⁹ *Correspondence between Great Britain and France* paper dated 23 May 1803.

⁷⁶⁰ Britain kept Bahamas (including Turks-and-Caicos Islands), Trinidad, Jamaica (including Cayman Islands), Montserrat, Antigua-and-Barbuda, St Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, Barbados, British Virgin Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Vincent-and-the-Grenadines, Bermuda and Dominica.

Furthermore, the French possession of Saint-Domingue, after the French defeat at the Battle of Vertieres on 18 November 1803, was in the hands of a republic of former slaves. The French managed to keep an enclave in the east but this was always under threat and was besieged by the Spanish in November 1808 and captured in July 1809.

The Dutch island of Bonaire was captured following Curacao in 1807 and General Bowyer seized the Danish Island of St Thomas on 25 December 1807 when he heard about Copenhagen as it enabled their West Indian possession to be taken control of. As with Cayenne and French Guiana, St Thomas was captured by an Anglo Portuguese force in January 1809 and handed to Britain's Allies Portugal to govern.

The previous paragraph shows the British moved quickly when small states changed sides, willingly or not, taking the Dutch and Danish islands. The period of 1807 and 1808 brought two allies in the West Indies from neutral to the British side. When the French invaded Portugal at the end of 1807, the Portuguese government moved their King and Government to the colony of Brazil. This secured it as a trading partner for the British. Indeed the British involvement in enabling the Braganza Royal family to escape from Lisbon to Brazil, meant that

“regulations very favourable to British interests were adopted in our commercial relations with the Brazilians. Indeed, these were looked upon as giving so much advantage to England and the commercial and shipping interests of the United Kingdom, that the committee of merchants trading to the Brazils forwarded, officially, to Sir Sydney Smith, their most grateful thanks, for... ..the ‘Treaty of Commerce and Navigation’ which he negotiated and signed.”⁷⁶¹

⁷⁶¹ Howard, *The Memoirs of Sir Sidney Smith Volumes I and II* p265.

The invasion of Portugal by Napoleon had also been intended to bring the Portuguese fleet into his control.⁷⁶² However, the escape of the Portuguese Royal Family created the complete opposite situation, the fleet became allied to the British.

When the Spanish revolted against Napoleon's replacing their King with his brother in 1808, their West Indies followed; in 1808 Cuba, Puerto Rico, Honduras and the eastern half of Hispaniola became allied territories; as did the Viceroyalty of New Spain, which included Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Venezuela⁷⁶³ and Honduras. Martin Robson describes how plans in South America were completely changed by the Spanish uprising in summer 1808. "Plans for [military] intervention in South America, which were still being mooted as late as June 1808, were dropped." It both gave an opportunity to do something in the Iberian Peninsular, since Sir Arthur Wellesley's force was originally destined for South American, and removed the remote possibility that France might secure the Spanish overseas territories. "Napoleon could make no credible claim to rule that country's colonies, so removing the need for British action against them."⁷⁶⁴ As Roger Buckley commented:

*"At a single stroke, an array of strategically important enemy possessions, particularly West Indies colonies such as Puerto Rico, Cuba and Santo Domingo (as the Dominican Republic was then called), had been rendered friendly to London, thus eliminating them as havens for commerce raiding and as potential staging areas for invasions of British Islands"*⁷⁶⁵

Earlier British attempt to seize the territories, with the unauthorised Battle of Montevideo in 1807 and two battles at Buenos Aires, are sometimes seen as

⁷⁶² Robson, *South America* p134.

⁷⁶³ Venezuela Tried to declare independence 1810.

⁷⁶⁴ Robson, *South America* p212.

⁷⁶⁵ R N Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies: Society and the Military in the Revolutionary Age*. Florida: University Press of Florida, 1998) p264.

part of the birth of Argentine nationalism and independence, but by 1809 South America was opening up for British trade. Britain was not interested in territorial expansion, rather in opening markets for trade, to replace those lost in Europe to Napoleon's Continental System. They learnt from the Rio Plata expeditions that the population did not want to exchange Spanish rule for British, but were happy to trade, and acquire access to British capital. This built on the advantages already achieved with Brazil. More than 100 British merchants had settled in Rio by the end of 1808 and Brazil provided access to shipbuilding timber and hemp to replace stocks normally drawn from the Baltic.⁷⁶⁶

Since the French had sold Louisiana during the Peace of Amiens, the area was largely available to be traded with. By the end of 1808, there were only minor pockets of French power remaining in the Caribbean and those were all taken by 1810.⁷⁶⁷ Equally Denmark's joining with France in 1807, "had raised fears that its colonies could become privateer bases"⁷⁶⁸ and Lord Barham earlier in his career noted how effective the islands were for this.⁷⁶⁹ Haiti, as an independent country with its own revolutionary ideas, would remain a threat but their hatred of the French meant it was not somewhere the French could operate from. While the papers emphasised the importance of convoys and the *Weekly Political Review* said in June 1807 that the "war we have long been and still engaged in, have every appearance of being durable",⁷⁷⁰ it was starting to look different to the merchants and insurers of Lloyd's.

The story in the rest of the world was similar. Britain had retained Ceylon in the East Indies at Amiens and not left Malta as it was supposed to. It also occupied Madeira to support Portugal. India, though disputed throughout the French Revolutionary Wars, was secure by the Peace of Amiens and was never seriously threatened by the French. In India, Seringapatam where Tipu

⁷⁶⁶ Robson, *South America* p235 and p205.

⁷⁶⁷ Guadeloupe captured 4 February 1810, St Martin and Saba on 21 February.

⁷⁶⁸ Davey, *In Nelson's Wake* p134.

⁷⁶⁹ *Letters of Lord Barham Volume 2* p59.

⁷⁷⁰ *Yorke's Review*, No 4, Saturday 24 January 1807 p62.

was defeated in 1799 could be considered the significant turning point. There were several internal wars following the Peace of Amiens, indeed 1803-4 saw a successful campaign against the Maratha Confederacy, which further opened up internal India to British dominance. Once the Cape of Good Hope was captured, this gave a secure supply of saltpeter for gunpowder, which largely came from Bengal.⁷⁷¹

As William Nester phrases it “during 1809 and 1810 British expeditions mopped up French colonies in Africa and the Indian Ocean.”⁷⁷² The other French West African territory on the mainland of Senegal, then called St Louis, was captured with “a rag-tag force of 166 armed sailors and marines”⁷⁷³ in July 1809. Attention then moved to the Indian Ocean, where the French had been causing problems from their bases particularly for EIC vessels, and in “1809, Hamelin’s squadron cruising in the Bay of Bengal became increasingly daring.”⁷⁷⁴ They even attacked the EIC settlement of Tappanooly. However, Mauritius, Ile de Bourbon and Ile de France were all taken in the period 1809-1810 along with Dutch Java and Sumatra.

By the end of 1808, the number of distant places around the world where the French could operate from to harass British trade was declining significantly. Furthermore, British dominance over global trade was assured. For example, between 1793 and 1813 Amsterdam’s 80 sugar refineries had fallen to just three and the linen industries of France, Germany and the Low Countries were reduced by two thirds.⁷⁷⁵

The Navy was effective in discouraging hostile privateers close to home. The Admiralty wrote twice to Lloyd’s in 1808-9, saying firstly that they could reassure merchant ship owners and insurers, in part because 27 privateers

⁷⁷¹ Knight&Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet* p159.

⁷⁷² W R Nester, *Titan: The Art of British Power in the Age of Revolution and Napoleon* (Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 2016) p252.

⁷⁷³ *ibid.*

⁷⁷⁴ Davey, *In Nelson’s Wake* p221.

⁷⁷⁵ G F Liardet. *It’s the Economy Stupid – the Long Lee of Trafalgar* (The Naval Review August 2005 pp222–8) and N A M Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean* (London, Penguin, 2004) p558.

had been captured in the English Channel and North sea areas within the previous six months and secondly that of the 72 ships captured by the enemy in the approaches to England between 1 September 1808 and March 1809, 24 had been recaptured.⁷⁷⁶

There had also been another significant improvement to Britain's trade position, which had been opened by the Navy but without a battle. In 1809, Captain Francis Austen was awarded £1,000 plate by EIC in 1809 for settling a dispute to open trade with the Chinese when in command of HMS *St Albans*.⁷⁷⁷

While the enemy bases had not all been removed, that would not happen until after the Fund stopped awarding in 1809, and indeed privateers and vessels could always slip out and create challenges, the trend was clear: risks for global trade were reducing and thus the merchants and insurers who were on the Committee must have been pleased with how the war was progressing. What was also clear was that the Royal Navy was using its capabilities in a way that protected or indeed expanded trade and which reduced the risks for maritime insurance.

The changes in trade around Europe

The freedom of the seas ensured by the British naval victories of 1805 to 1806 led Napoleon to seek another way of hitting British power. In April 1806 he forced "neutral Prussia to close her coastline to British commerce"⁷⁷⁸. This led to an Order in Council on 16 May declaring a naval blockade of the French coast. In escalation, Napoleon issued the Berlin Decree on 21 November 1806. This endeavoured to prevent British trade with Europe. This was further escalated with further Orders In Council in 1807 on the British side and the Milan Decree by Napoleon in 1807. It could be expected that these actions

⁷⁷⁶ Hill, *The Prizes of War* p194 and p200 from ADM 1/3993.

⁷⁷⁷ T Benady & P Hore, *Louis's Squadron – The Men who Missed Trafalgar* (Trafalgar Chronicle, No 25, 2015 pp93-102) p98.

⁷⁷⁸ Robson, *South America* p24.

would have caused concern for the merchants and insurers of London. However, it was always modified and compromised and by 1809 was clearly not a serious commercial threat to Britain. Indeed in 1809 when the grain harvest failed, Britain “imported grain from the Continent, with the encouragement of Napoleon in his mercantilist mode.”⁷⁷⁹

The blockade could be effective where enforced. N. A. M. Rodger provides the illustration of a convoy that should have taken two days to make the journey taking 13 months.⁷⁸⁰ However, the blockade tended to be beaten by two methods - special licences and smuggling.

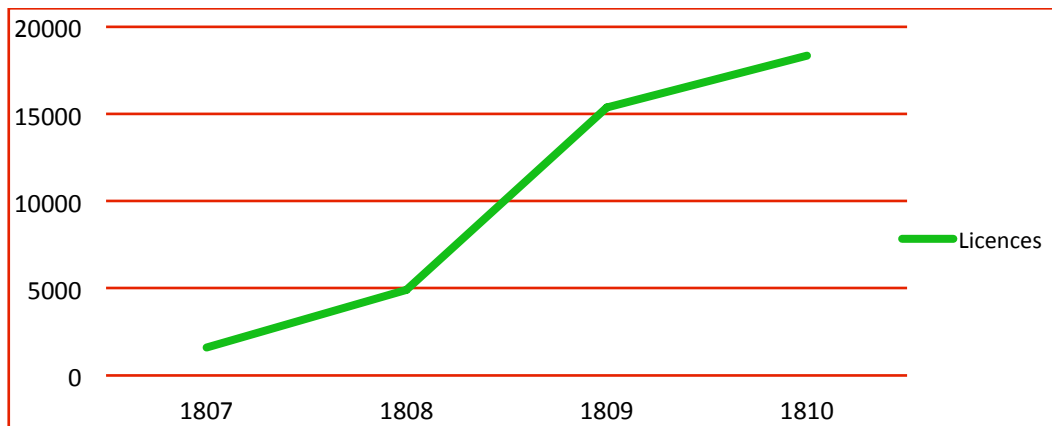
With special licences both sides were complicit and allies also participated. Denmark, with its strategic interest of preserving Norway, had to gain British licences to enable grain to be shipped to Norway across the Skagerrak from Jutland where it was grown. To achieve this it had to allow Norwegian timber to be traded to Britain. Su Jin Kim and James Oldham, looking at insurance in this period, comment that after the Continental system was imposed by Napoleon, the merchants established the practice of acceptance of using both a special licence in case stopped by the Royal Navy and then simulated papers inferring they were a neutral if stopped by the enemy. “Indeed the underwriters sometimes refused to insure unless false papers were used.”⁷⁸¹ To show how common special licences became, they provide the statistic that prior to 1800 licences were rare, but grew to 1,600 in 1807 and more than 18,000 in 1810.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁹ Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean* p558.

⁷⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁷⁸¹ Su Jin Kim & J Oldham, *Insuring Maritime Trade with the Enemy in the Napoleonic Era* (Paper Georgetown University Law Centre, 2012) p3.

⁷⁸² *ibid.* p6.



Graph Showing the Growth in issue of Special Licences from 1807-1810

Smuggling was assisted by the capture of a number of sites including several where the British established commercial depots. Building on the strength of British possession of both Malta and Gibraltar, they added to these by capture. Heligoland was captured without any struggle on 5 September 1807. Admiral Russell, who led the force, noted:

*“with a small expense this island may be made a little Gibraltar, and a safe haven for small craft even in the winter; it is a key to the rivers Ems, Weser, Ellbe, and Eyder, the only asylum at present for our cruisers in those seas.”*⁷⁸³

On 7 November that year, the new governor, Corbet D’Auvergne, issued licences for trade with German ports as long as that trade stopped in Heligoland. Within months 200 merchants and their agents had located there and in 1808 the British government invested half-a-million pounds there constructing warehouses and improving the safety of the harbour.⁷⁸⁴ While the trade was short lived it accounted for 328 British shipments in 1808. The French assumption of direct control of the German coast in 1809 caused this to decline but neutral shipping using it increased to compensate⁷⁸⁵ and it is estimated that eight million pounds worth of trade went through each year of

⁷⁸³ *Naval Chronicle* Vol XVIII (July-December 1807) p224.

⁷⁸⁴ G Drower, *Heligoland* (Stroud, The History Press, 2011) p29-30.

⁷⁸⁵ D J Raymond, *The Royal Navy in the Baltic from 1807-1812* (Florida State University Dissertation 2010) p90.

the continental system, a major boon to the just over 2,000 population⁷⁸⁶ but equally to the British commerce.

In the Adriatic, there were a series of islands controlled by the Russians and even a separate nation, the Septinsular Republic, which included several of what are now Greek islands, supported by the Ottoman and Russian governments. When the Russians were forced to leave the area and break any support for Britain by the Treaty of Tilsit and the Turks allied themselves to France, these islands were largely occupied by France. The Navy though undertook several attacks to capture various islands. Lissa, now known as Vis, was captured in 1807 and used by Captain Hoste as a base in the Adriatic. It was landed on in 1810 for a few hours by the French and was the scene of a major battle in 1811. The use of Lissa eased smuggling of the critical maritime item of hemp to Malta, reducing pressure on the other main source - the Baltic. Access to the Baltic enabled access to the arterial of the Elbe that carried British trade into the heart of Europe. It was protecting this trade that led to the capture of Anholt in 1809. Martin Robson argues that when “considering the possibility of using the island as an entrepôt to help counter the continental system on the lines of Heligoland, the case for capturing Anholt became compelling.”⁷⁸⁷

There were other examples. On 2 October 1810, the Royal Navy defeated a French squadron off Zakynthos, and then captured Kefalonia, Kytira and Zakynthos. Brigadier Oswald who had been at Maida, in 1809 commanded an expedition to the coast of Italy, which ended in the capture of the islands of Ischia and Procida.

The year 1807 saw several changes of allies. Turkey moved firmly onto the French side, (which meant that despite the impetus the Turks had given to presentation swords with their awards to Nelson, Sydney Smith and others, they would present no more). More important for the continental system,

⁷⁸⁶ Drower, *Heligoland* p33-36.

⁷⁸⁷ M Robson, “The Royal Marines Capture, Fortification and Defence of Anholt Island” (*The Mariner’s Mirror* Vol 105 No 4, November 2019 pp407-424) p411.

though, were Spain and Portugal. The rebellion in Spain and the commencement of the Peninsular Campaign provided further smuggling routes with opportunities to land directly on the European mainland. Additionally, as James Davey states “to knowing observers, it was immediately evident that Napoleon had bitten off more than he could chew.”⁷⁸⁸ The US campaign in 1803 to 1805 against Barbary pirates would have helped divert another threat, although it probably did not alter the balance much.

The other challenge was Russia and the Baltic trade. Here it was not so much smuggling as being able to see what inevitably must happen. Early in the 18th century, Tsar Peter the Great improved quality standards to enable “Russian iron, flax and sailcloth to dominate European markets for much of the 18th century.”⁷⁸⁹ However, the steady trade that Angerstein knew well had gone. Tsar Paul ended the 1793 British trade treaty in 1800, “and British dominance of the Russian market passed. This reflected Russia’s growing economic weight, and the strategic pressures created by reliance on Baltic grain, timber and naval stores between 1807 and 1812.”⁷⁹⁰ However, there was a problem for Russia with this decision, because “British trade remained critical to the socio-economic structure of Russia: the abrupt closure of that trade in 1801 led to the death of Tsar Paul. A decade later the devastating consequences of joining Napoleon’s ‘Continental System’ persuaded his son to risk war with France.”⁷⁹¹ Angerstein, having grown up in St. Petersburg, and his fellow Russian Company merchants must have been only too aware that Alexander I would inevitably have to break with Napoleon.

With their links to trade and to the continent, the Committee would be aware of how Napoleon’s policy was leading to dissent in Europe from the lack of access to many products. They would be aware of the difference between operating an army over a territory and a navy from the sea. N. A. M. Rodger draws attention to the fact that Napoleon’s armies depended “on looting and

⁷⁸⁸ Davey, *In Nelson’s Wake* p188.

⁷⁸⁹ Lambert, *Seapower States* p255.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p258.

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid.*

extortion to live” and this, combined with Napoleon’s prevention of trade policy, provided “reasons for the people of Europe to unite against him” and contrasts this against the British Naval approach where “A victory like Trafalgar did not have to arouse hatred and resentment.”⁷⁹²

Of course, smuggling worked both ways, and attempts to reduce the impact continued in this period, although often working against the local populace. There was criticism of anyone buying French goods, because drinking French wine contributed “to fill the military chest of Bonaparte” and it was recognised that ladies were “smugglers in their hearts” being partial to French lace, gloves and articles of dress.”⁷⁹³

As with the capture of territories around the world, by the time the Fund stopped awarding honorary awards not all the European smuggling havens had been captured but the trend was clear, as was the willingness of the Navy and the Government to undertake such operations. Davey even argues this ability to enable smuggling was key to bringing about the collapse of the Continental System.⁷⁹⁴ Indeed, the inability of Napoleon to enforce it started to lead to a dismantling of the system on both sides with a further Order in Council in April 1809, which helped provoke America in due course.

Growing confidence in the British Royal Family

Towards the end of these intervening years, a couple of events showed the position of the Royal Family was much more secure and that therefore the causes of the alternative fear to that of invasion, which was revolution, was also declining. In 1809, the British celebrated the Golden Jubilee for George III. This was the first Royal Jubilee to be celebrated by the nation and was popular. Events included “a grand fete and firework display at Frogmore. In

⁷⁹² Ed. D Cannadine, N A M Rodger, *The Significance of Trafalgar: Sea Power and Land Power in the Anglo-French Wars in Trafalgar in History* (Britain, Palgrave MacMillan, 2006, pp78-92) p87.

⁷⁹³ *Yorke’s Review* No 5 Saturday 31 January 1807 p80.

⁷⁹⁴ Davey, *In Nelson’s Wake* p242.

London, the Lord Mayor and Corporation processed to St Paul's Cathedral for a service of thanksgiving before holding a dinner at the Mansion House.⁷⁹⁵ The service included several links to the Navy, with a visible demonstration of sailors' loyalty post the mutinies of Spithead and Nore,⁷⁹⁶ and with several of the Committee being part of the London civic body, some of them must have been present. This jubilee was deliberately timed so that it was held on the 500th anniversary of the battle of Agincourt⁷⁹⁷ and was therefore celebrated at the beginning of the King's 50th year of reign rather than at 50 years from reigning, as it would be now. Many tangible things were opened for the Jubilee to make that link, confirming the idea of Britain being the "Protestant Israel"⁷⁹⁸

However, just a couple of years prior, 1807 saw the death of Henry Benedict, Cardinal Duke of York the brother of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the last claimant of rightful succession from the Stuart family. Since Bonnie Prince Charlie has also died childless, this was a significant blow for any Jacobite attempt to place their monarch on the throne and reduced the tension regarding a return of a Catholic monarch. Colley, in her work on the formation of the sense of Britishness, draws attention to the risk of civil war if a Catholic monarch attained the throne. She argues that one of the reasons the British thought themselves "free" was because the Protestant religion meant we could relate directly to God and did not have to go via a priest.⁷⁹⁹ She comments that this desire was so strong that 50 eligible people were passed over to twist the hereditary monarchy to ensure it was a Protestant George 1 who followed Anne as monarch.

⁷⁹⁵ Description by Royal Household at <https://www.royal.uk/history-jubilees> accessed 13 February 2020.

⁷⁹⁶ Colley, *Britons* p220.

⁷⁹⁷ *ibid.* p220.

⁷⁹⁸ *ibid.* p228.

⁷⁹⁹ Colley, *Britons* p4.

Changes in British domestic policy

This period saw several other aspects of domestic policy alter for the better in terms of what appeared to be the concerns of the Committee: some reforms of both prize money and the dockyards; an improvement to the pensions of veterans and increasing stability in the British Government, which will be very briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

During these years, the British Government went through an upheaval with the death of Pitt in 1806 and there was a two-year Government of national unity known as the Government of All The Talents. This failed in 1807 over Catholic emancipation. The Tories then returned to power and the Government was stable enough that it could continue despite the Duke of Portland having to resign in 1809 due to poor health and a ministry scandal. The government remained in place with the cabinet minister Perceval taking over as Prime Minister. The issue of the mental health of the King, with his son becoming Prince Regent in 1811, did not rock this unduly. Indeed the Golden Jubilee of King George III on 26 October 1809 had provided a big show of national celebrations.⁸⁰⁰

There were a couple of reforms to the Prize Act during this period. The Parliamentary Enquiry into Dockyards' fourth report focused on Prize Agents.⁸⁰¹ This led to the 1805 Prize Act, which changed the rules on agency commission and stipulated distribution times and was fractionally less in favour of command, but little else. Martyn Downer's study of Nelson's prize agent Davison, argues that the 1805 Act had minor positive changes.⁸⁰² However, Richard Hill adds into the reform of prize money two further acts from 1806 that particularly helped injured sailors. Under one of them, 1.5% of net proceeds of any prize had to go to Greenwich Hospital and, under the other, 3.5% had to go to the Chatham Chest "to extend or increase

⁸⁰⁰ *Picture of London* p62.

⁸⁰¹ *Irregularities, Frauds, or Abuses, which are or have been practiced by persons employed in the several Naval Departments* (Parliamentary Papers 1802-3) Fourth Report.

⁸⁰² Downer, *Nelson's Purse* p226.

allowances to, Persons maimed or hurt, or otherwise disabled in the Service of their Country”.⁸⁰³ There also appears to have been efforts by the Admiralty to ensure prizes were not the first priority of naval officers. Indeed in January 1805, they censured Admiral John Orde for paying too much attention to prizes rather than concentrating on the blockade of Cadiz.⁸⁰⁴ This was reinforced by the significant change to the pattern of distribution of prize money came in June 1808 “which “introduced a significant shift in the rewards away from Captains and Admirals in favour of the Petty Officers.”⁸⁰⁵

While Earl St. Vincent’s reforms of the dockyards highlighted their weaknesses and led to problems, some of the reforms enacted were effective especially when modified later, in particular increasing the entry age limit for artificers which was raised in 1803 and again in both 1804 and 1805. The loss of perquisites was mitigated by the introduction of weekly subsistence money from 1805. Piecework rates were enhanced and the apprenticeship system reformed so that rather than be apprenticed to individuals they were placed in departments. Dockyard shipwright numbers grew every year from 1806 to 1809.⁸⁰⁶

Especially pertinent, considering the Patriotic Fund provided pensions and shared information with them (as seen in Chapter 7), in June 1806, Greenwich Hospital sought to increase its pensions and got an act through Parliament increasing its share of prize money. This meant it could start to provide pensions for officers.⁸⁰⁷ This was extended in early 1809, when the Compassionate Fund was created. This was sparked by Admiral Sir C Pole, who had just been appointed a Commissioner of the Admiralty in Viscount Howick’s government, who, speaking in Parliament when voting on the Naval Estimates, lamented that he did not see any provision made for the protection

⁸⁰³ Hill, *The Prizes of War* p146.

⁸⁰⁴ Davey, *In Nelson’s Wake* p79.

⁸⁰⁵ G Aldous, *The Law Relating to the Distribution of Prize Money in the Royal Navy and its Relationship to the Use of Naval Power in War, 1793-1815* (PhD Thesis submitted to KCL 2020) p107.

⁸⁰⁶ Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* pp168-70.

⁸⁰⁷ Newell, *Greenwich Hospital, A Royal Foundation 1692-1983* p113.

and support of the orphans of marine officers, and hoped that before the end of the session, some establishment, corresponding to the Compassionate Fund for the Army, could be made.

Therefore, at this stage of the war it was quite reasonable for the Committee to believe that the war could be won by Britain and no longer was there an existential threat to the nations continuation. Equally domestic policy was moving in the same direction that they advocated, with consideration of the state further supporting those injured or bereaved in war.

Chapter 9

Discussion - Prisoners of War and Education

Between 1803 and 1809 the Committee of the Patriotic Fund took on two new objects, supporting British POWs in France and supporting the education of naval orphans. Neither featured in their discussions until two years into their operation. They later justified these activities as implicit in their original purpose but then excluded an explicit objective. Clearly they had decided to change their purpose. This chapter explores the obvious question of why did they bring these into their remit.

At this point, it is worth drawing attention to the relevant aspects of the timeline, and how the two objectives fit together:

20 July 1803	Patriotic Fund Created:
25 June 1805	First funds provided to prisoners of war
19 November 1805	Second funds provided to POWs
1 April 1806	Call for Special General Meeting (SGM) to discuss education of orphans
22 April 1806	SGM and set up sub committee on education
10 June 1806	Third funds provided to POWs
17 June 1806	Reject appeal of 220 merchant Captains POWs but give to appeal for education of children of POWs
24 June 1806	Education committee reports and SGM called
1 July 1806	SGM held and approves support of the Naval Asylum
22 July 1806	Donation made to Naval Asylum and rules agreed
12 August 1806	Consider first children for places at the Naval Asylum
7 October 1806	Fourth funds provided to POWs
11 November 1806	Verdun request uplift in allowance for prisoners over 55 ⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰⁸ To increase by 3 sous, (3/20th of 1793 franc decimalised the livre-sou-denier system. Using sous similar to Britain using shilling as 5p coin post decimalisation 1971).

- 13 January 1807 Fifth funds provided to POWs and grant to establish infirmaries at five of the prisoner depots⁸⁰⁹ and second grant for education of children of POWs
- 6 November 1807 Committee informed Naval Asylum now at Greenwich
- 12 January 1808 POWs treated as an annual grant and Naval Asylum given a further grant

The POW donations mentioned earlier in this thesis were:

Year	Verdun	Infirmaries	Education	Total
1805	1,000			1,000
1806	1,200		300	1,500
1807	3,000	1,200	500	4,700
1808		5,000		5,000

And the key donations for the Naval Asylum were:

British Government	£20,000
Patriotic Fund initial	£40,000
Patriotic Fund second grant	£5,000

It is noticeable that the decision regarding education was felt to be a significant enough change that they needed to call Special General Meetings both to explore what they should do and then to make the donation. These are the only Special General Meetings other than Trafalgar until the financial decision in 1809. However, when it came to the POWs the Committee felt this was within their purview, including the education of children of POWs. It is also worth noting the speed of the decision on the Naval Asylum with just four months from starting to consider to the donation being made compared with

⁸⁰⁹ Givet, Sare, Libre, Valenciennes and Arras. Verdun covered by main grant.

those regarding POWs where the scope widened and the grants moved from one off to being an object took three and a half years.

Supporting Verdun and the prisoners of war

With respect to the POWs it is easy to understand how this became an objective steadily, rather than being an original object of the charity. Traditionally, POWs had been exchanged and were often paroled until then and so becoming a prisoner had not led to long-term incarceration in enemy lands. That changed with the French Revolutionary War. The war was much longer and Napoleon saw no need to continue do prisoner exchange and the cartels broke down. Indeed, the disparity in numbers meant that this was not even a feasible option during the Napoleonic War. In 1813 the Admiralty believed it held 72,000 prisoners of war in Britain,⁸¹⁰ before Americans arrived in any numbers, compared with Antony Brett-James estimate of 16,000 on the books of the Committee at Verdun⁸¹¹ while Kelsey Power in her research estimates the British numbers slightly higher at around 20,000.⁸¹² Nearly all officers were held at Verdun and thus this was naturally the obvious place for a committee to look after the prisoners to be established.

Particularly for any officer below Post Captain in the Royal Navy, becoming a prisoner for a lengthy war was catastrophic in career terms, as they would miss opportunities for promotion. This would be even more intense pressure for those who were not commissioned, because if they did not make the jump to Lieutenant then they could not draw half pay when ashore and in effect would have no pension from their service. This is why Power, in her research,⁸¹³ discovered so many attempts by junior officers, particularly

⁸¹⁰ The number comes from TNA: PRO WO1/916. Letters to Agents 26 November 1813 but as discussed by P Chamberlain in *The Release of Prisoners of War from Britain in 1813 and 1814* (La Revue Napoleonica, 2014/3, No 21, pp118-129) the nationalities are not known and so numbers changed as nations swapped sides and also does not include those held in overseas territories.

⁸¹¹ Captain M Hewson, *Escape from the French* (Great Britain, Webb & Bower, 1981 Ed by A Brett-James, Original written in 1809) p10.

⁸¹² K Power, Lecture *Treason and Collaboration* at KCL 21 November 2019.

⁸¹³ *ibid.*

Midshipman, to escape. Not only were they young but they could see their lives wasting away and their future disappearing. Indeed, with the need for a commission to be to a specific ship, whatever interest you possessed was not going to help you if you were a prisoner of war. An example of this is Midshipman Maurice Hewson, who had passed for Lieutenant before being captured in 1803, but could not progress until he was successful on his fourth escape attempt in late 1808 and immediately returned to sea, gaining his Lieutenant's commission very shortly after his escape. His older brother who made Lieutenant prior to the Peace of Amiens was able to use this early part of the war to make Commander and then Post shortly after the war ended before he retired from active service. Maurice and George both died in 1870, Maurice who continued to serve rather than retire, helping introduce steam to the Navy⁸¹⁴ only made Commander in the retirement scheme of 1848, whereas George died a Vice Admiral.⁸¹⁵

The other novel aspect in terms of enemy imprisonment in the Napoleonic War was that France introduced internment for the first time for any British citizens found in France at the time of the recommencement of the war. Napoleon declared that this was due to their eligibility for the Militia but despite this it included some women.⁸¹⁶ Since the Peace of Amiens led to many individuals taking the opportunity to travel to the continent, considerable numbers were at risk. Some such as William Wordsworth managed to make their escape in time, but John Alger, writing in the late 19th century, estimated that 700 were interred, with 400 of them being "small tradesmen"⁸¹⁷. Brett-James estimates this as around 500.⁸¹⁸ This included some trying to get home. Alger notes particular problems for those in Switzerland. Lord Elgin was returning from his role as ambassador to Constantinople when he was

⁸¹⁴ Hewson, *Escape from the French* p24.

⁸¹⁵ Syrett & Dinardo, *The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy* p217.

⁸¹⁶ K Power, Lecture *Treason and Collaboration* at KCL 21 November 2019.

⁸¹⁷ J G Alger, *Englishmen in the French Revolution* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1889) p258.

⁸¹⁸ Hewson, *Escape from the French* p12.

interned in France and held for three years.⁸¹⁹ A stagecoach typically travelled at eight miles an hour⁸²⁰ so Turin to Le Havre for a boat to England took five days at least,⁸²¹ but most journeys were slower. For example, it took 10 days for Captain Brenton's wife to travel from Rotterdam to Verdun, just 360 miles.⁸²²

There is no indication anywhere in the Patriotic Fund minutes that the care of POWs was ever anything other than altruistic and a need that they had not considered when they started the Fund. The gradual creep of this mission and it being a response to requests, along with the rejection of the Merchant Service request as out of scope support this perspective. This is especially as clearly the Committee thought they were deserving of support and raised funds separately for these Merchant Service prisoners. Whether some individual cases were brought to the Committee that added to their understanding of the plight can only be conjecture.⁸²³

The support of POWs also fitted the approach taken by the country historically with respect to those taken as slaves by the Barbary corsairs. Like POWs, they could not expect exchange and so the traditional method of support was to raise ransoms to purchase their freedom. This was often done through a 'Charity Brief', a royal warrant authorising a collection for a specific purpose. This would be read by the parsons and ministers often with a special sermon to raise funds. This was the format of the National Service of Thanksgiving used for the Patriotic Fund after Trafalgar and for the Waterloo Fund. They were in effect almost a voluntary tax being "used to raise funds for all kinds of emergency: flood victims, for instance, or survivors of an outbreak of plague, or a town devastated by fire. But collections on behalf of North African

⁸¹⁹ W Wroth, Dictionary of National Biography 1885-90 (Smith, Elder & Co, 1900, Volume 07) p131 entry for Thomas Bruce.

⁸²⁰ R J Unstead, *Queen Anne to Queen Victoria* (London, Adam and Charles Black, 1974) p9.

⁸²¹ A French city at time following annexation Piedmont September 1802, 570 miles from Le Havre. 16 hours a day 8 mph means four and a half days.

⁸²² *Memoir of the Life and Services of Vice Admiral Sir Jaheel Brenton* (London, Hatchard & Son, 1846, Ed Rev Henry Raikes) p209 (hereafter *Jaheel Brenton*).

⁸²³ K Power at British Commission for Maritime History Conference Bristol 2018, presented on the experiences of Midshipman Temple and the first officer presented a sword was Lieutenant (later Admiral) Francis Temple so could be related.

captives seem to have elicited higher levels of generosity and more varied donors.⁸²⁴ Historically there had been a national willingness to raise money for those prisoners held abroad through the churches. Colley argues that the enslavement of Britons “struck men and women across the social spectrum as particularly terrible”.⁸²⁵ This would of course later play into the sentiments on abolition and thus seems to be something that would strike a chord with the Committee – which included a number of abolitionists including the Thorntons who funded Wilberforce’s campaign.

The prisoners’ need for support was quite clear. They had to buy their own provisions and meet their other needs, and the French inflated prices, especially in Verdun. So money was critical. There were other donations to the committee that established itself at Verdun but no regular income. Hewson, recording his experiences, states that the French tried to encourage the British to bankrupt themselves and that this was so they would “be induced to enlist in French Service”.⁸²⁶ Captain Brenton wrote that he tried to prevent people enlisting in French forces and recorded those who enlisted did not get money from Patriotic Fund.⁸²⁷ Therefore by supporting the prisoners, the Fund was working directly to counter French war aims, and upholding British patriotism.

The importance of this work must have been very clear when the report from the committee at Verdun was delivered in person by Captain Brenton and Dr Alexander Grey at the meeting of 6 January 1807. On being asked what more the Committee could do, they replied about the need to support an infirmary at each of the depots rather than just Verdun and agreed to prepare a report on that subject for the Committee. They delivered this just a week later and the Committee not only agreed to this but gave the fifth set of funds which including £1,000 for the Verdun committee beyond what had been requested. Captain Brenton was one of the Blue Lights promoting evangelism within the

⁸²⁴ Colley *Captives* p77.

⁸²⁵ *ibid.* p78.

⁸²⁶ Hewson, *Escape from the French* p77.

⁸²⁷ *Jaheel Brenton* p217 and p248.

Navy.⁸²⁸ This interest in social work and comfort in preaching may have helped him inspire the Committee.



Captain Jahleel Brenton

There is the interesting coincidence that the two people who run the Verdun committee on behalf of the Patriotic Fund and who led the appeal to the Fund both receive awards from Patriotic Fund and one of them is the brother of one of the most active members of the Committee. However, despite being a regular attender, Germain Lavie was not present for the 25 June meeting when the first grant was made to Verdun, but was at the three meetings when the later grants were made.⁸²⁹

However, Captain Brenton was leading the committee at Verdun at the time of the initial gifts, having been captured when his ship stuck on a shoal off Cherbourg on 3 July 1803.⁸³⁰ He appears to have worked hard to improve the lot for all prisoners. Fortunately for Brenton he was exchanged in December 1806, returning to Britain on 29 December.⁸³¹ He returned to sea in 1807 in command of HMS *Spartan*. He was recognised by the Fund for an engagement in the Bay of Naples with a French squadron on 3 May 1810.

⁸²⁸ C Mather, *Vice Admiral Jahleel Brenton*, (Ancient Mariners, Naval Christian Fellowship, April 2014) p12.

⁸²⁹ Minutes 19 November 1805, 10 June 1806 and 13 January 1807.

⁸³⁰ *Jaheel Brenton* p144-8.

⁸³¹ *ibid.* p271 and p277

This sword was put through the Funds account with Teed, although officially after they had ceased awarding them. One of his Lieutenants Benjamin Baynton also received a sword for the same action and again met the same criteria of having being injured. As these were both awarded as money for injuries it is not likely that his previous work for the Fund altered the award, although it may have smoothed the procurement of his sword through Teed and explain why it went through the Fund's accounts rather than having to be paid directly by Brenton from the money received, as Baynton's was. It is also probable that Brenton's decision to get a sword was influenced by the support that the Fund had shown him in France. He was not a wealthy man; his father, a Loyalist and officer in the Royal Navy, had lost all his property in America following the War of Independence. Indeed, Brenton himself comments on his poor financial position, as he was saved in France by the unexpected arrival of £468 of prize money and £400 from the Admiralty to recompense for looking after other prisoners saved him from ruin, especially having to maintain a home in both France and Britain as his wife joined him out there.⁸³² Brenton would be left lame from his injuries for the rest of his life.⁸³³ Brenton was officially given a cash award so the award remained within scope.

There must have been a short gap between individuals running the Verdun committee or one of the other members of that committee stepped into the gap until Sir Thomas Lavie arrived after he was taken prisoner when his ship HMS *Blanche* was wrecked off Ushant on 4 March 1807 and the majority of the crew and all officers were taken prisoner.

⁸³² *ibid.* p215.

⁸³³ Mather, *Vice Admiral Jahleel Brenton* p12.



*Loss of HMS Blanche off Ushant 4 March 1807*⁸³⁴

Thomas Lavie's £100 Patriotic Fund vase though was presented earlier. He was awarded a sword and opted for the vase. It can only be pondered as to whether he made the choice of a vase because by that time he realised that as a POW his chances of returning to sea and wearing a sword were slim. The award was agreed at the Committee meeting of 5 August 1806 for his capture of the French frigate *La Guerrière* off Ferroe Islands on 19 July. While Germain Lavie was at this committee meeting, the action involved was against a same-sized and same-rated French frigate and while involving heavy French casualties, only four British with just one being serious. Thomas Lavie was given his baronetcy for this action, the First Lieutenant was promoted Commander and the action was subject to a Naval General Service medal clasp. This is before the drop off of awards and seems to be completely in keeping with other awards of the period. As it was a pure broadside action with no cutting out or boarding it is not surprising it was only the Captain rewarded, although the wounded crew received hurt awards. Germain Lavie commissioned an elaborate silver vase for Thomas for this action, which has ended up in the American Presidential collection and was kept by JF Kennedy in the oval office.

⁸³⁴ NMM PAD6062.



*Capture of La Guerrière by Captain Lavie's HMS Blanche*⁸³⁵

Therefore, despite the links between the leads of the Verdun committee and the Committee of the Patriotic Fund and their awards, it would appear they did not receive awards because of their work in France. If anything it is the other way round. It is possible that the Committee's willingness to purchase Brenton's sword directly was in recognition of his services at Verdun. For Sir Thomas Lavie, who had already been rewarded, it was potentially the fact that Germain Lavie was on the Committee providing the remittances that meant he felt he had to take over the recently vacated lead role of the committee in Verdun on his arrival.

Rather what appears to drive the Committee's decisions was a series of requests that grew as it was realised the prisoners were there for an extended period and thus their lives had to be made sustainable. The Committee's response to Brenton's and Dr Grey personal appearance seems to have cemented this as something they had to continue to support, and at a greater scale as possibly did the prudence with which the Verdun Committee operated; writing in mid 1806 to assure the Fund that they were adequately provided and did not need further funds at that time.⁸³⁶

⁸³⁵ NMM PAD5763.

⁸³⁶ Handwritten minutes 16 June 1808.

Supporting the Naval Asylum

The Patriotic Fund's support for a school is early in the establishment of education for poor children. Education at that time usually involved the parents paying a fee to the schools, which were open to the public who could afford them, hence fee-paying schools being referred to as public schools, or by a private tutor or governess. Schools for the poor were rare and were only provided through some form of charitable organisation. The work of philanthropists such as John Pounds of Portsmouth,⁸³⁷ who inspired the Ragged Schools organisation, was still over a decade away.⁸³⁸

There were educational establishments particularly for those intending to pursue a particular career, such as the Naval Academy at Portsmouth established by the Admiralty in 1733 to train officers for the Royal Navy, or Churcher's College established in Petersfield in 1729 to train local boys in mathematics and navigation so they could be apprenticed to Masters of EIC ships⁸³⁹ but these were limited in whom they took and places were difficult to obtain and had fees.

This interest in education reflects other movements at the same time and in the early 19th century schools charging relatively low fees were being established across the country. These were driven by the various denominations. The Sunday School movement, where churches provided basic education on a Sunday, started in 1780 in Gloucester⁸⁴⁰ and moved to London around 1785.

Schools often adopted the ideas of specific educationalists, in particular for those endeavouring to educate large numbers of people with limited resources, such as those of Dr. Bell or Joseph Lancaster. Dr. Bell was a

⁸³⁷ Hawkes, *Recollections of John Pounds*.

⁸³⁸ *Ibid.* p188, Pound started teaching 1818, when Lord Shaftesbury established Ragged Schools in 1844 there were 20 by 1848, following A Plea for Ragged Schools by Reverend Guthrie it was 60.

⁸³⁹ Plaque on original college building Petersfield.

⁸⁴⁰ Display Gloucester City Museum stating by Robert Raikes.

Scottish minister who established the Madras or mutual instruction education system, based on what he had seen in India. It involves the teacher teaching the brightest children who in turn teach the remainder, enabling a large number of children to be taught cheaply. Lancaster's system was similar but used reward to encourage rather than a strict regime. Lancaster's effort in improving education was recognised by George III in 1805 and there was a Lancastrian Society to promote the ideas. He published a book in 1807 as he tried to export the ideas to America.⁸⁴¹ The National School system followed Bell's method. Education was highly desired and Elizabeth Fry worked hard at Newgate Prison at the end of the Napoleonic War to get basic primary education provided for prisoners' children.⁸⁴² Similarly the Church of England aimed, through the National Schools, to get one established per parish.

Linda Colley identifies that education was important to the development of the British identity. Public schools stressed patriotic duty and gave uniformity to the upper classes of all areas of the country and while it might appear strange to us now, there was a genuine belief that the love of classics led to a love of one's own country.⁸⁴³ The Committee show that love of classics in their design of the sword they present and if, of such benefit and patriotism, it is understandable that they would wish to flow that benefit down to those who they felt deserved support.

To show how schools could vary in an area, in Portsmouth, the Grammar School for the education of fee-paying boys was established in 1732,⁸⁴⁴ then the Portsea Institution started in 1812 inspired by the educational ideas of Dr. Bell. That same year the St Nicholas Street National School was established by the Church of England and two Lancastrian schools started in the Portsmouth area in 1812, one in old Portsmouth and one in Portsea.⁸⁴⁵ John

⁸⁴¹ J Lancaster, *Improvements in Education as it affects the Industrious Classes* (New York, Collins and Perkins, 1807).

⁸⁴² White. *London In the Nineteenth Century* Chapter 14.

⁸⁴³ Colley, *Britons* p170.

⁸⁴⁴ All other schools in the city date much later in nineteenth century.

⁸⁴⁵ *The Scots Magazine* (Sands, Brymer, Murray and Cochran 1813, Volume 75) p 680.

Pound's education was for those whose parents could not even afford those low fees.

The Royal Naval Asylum was initially founded under the name The British National Endeavour in 1798, by a Mr Andrew Thompson, for the orphans of military and naval personnel killed in the war.⁸⁴⁶ The school started at Paddington. Thompson directly appealed to the Navy and others to become subscribers, with a subscription allowing you to nominate a pupil. We know that Admiral St. Vincent gathered his officers together to raise money for the school and personally contributed £1,000.⁸⁴⁷

In around 1800, Mr Thompson was involved in a fraud scandal, including claiming that the Duke of Clarence was the patron, and although eventually legally cleared⁸⁴⁸ he had managed to divert funds into his own pocket.⁸⁴⁹ After Thompson's departure the school came under the leadership of a committee headed by two of the King's sons, the Duke of Sussex and the Duke of Cumberland, slightly ironically considering the misuse of their older brother's name. They appear to have made Reverend William Morgan, an ex Naval Chaplain,⁸⁵⁰ the director of the school in effect, although described as Chaplain to the Naval Asylum.⁸⁵¹

In the meantime George's second son, the Duke of York, had the idea of creating a Military Asylum, for the orphans of military personnel. This was created by Royal Warrant in 1801 and established in 1803 in Chelsea. This became the Royal Military Asylum until 1892 when it adopted its current name

⁸⁴⁶ Newell, *Greenwich Hospital, A Royal Foundation 1692-1983* p107.

⁸⁴⁷ Anson, *The Life of John Jervis, Earl St Vincent* p280.

⁸⁴⁸ Newell, *Greenwich Hospital, A Royal Foundation 1692-1983* p109.

⁸⁴⁹ G L Green, *The Royal Navy & Anglo Jewry 1740-1820* (Worcester, Naval and Maritime Bookshop, 1989) p78.

⁸⁵⁰ *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* (Volume 3 Ed J Limbird, 1824) p14. Described by Captain Parry as Admiral Cornwallis' chaplain brought onboard to educate the young officers on HMS *Ville De Paris* in 1803.

⁸⁵¹ It is Rev Morgan, who informs the Fund when new site opens. There is a letter from the Duke of Cumberland to Morgan 1 January 1808 regarding him appointing a matron. Letter for sale by Richard Ford Antiquarian Bookshop Item SKU 18231 2 February 2020.

the Duke of York Royal Military School and moved to Kent in 1909.⁸⁵² So in turn the other two sons decide to rename The British National Endeavour to the Naval Asylum. It seems to be the Duke of Cumberland who subsequently took the lead; it was he who chaired the commissioners when they are appointed by the King in 1806, it is he whom the Committee inform of their decision to donate⁸⁵³ and it is Cumberland whom is credited with determining the rules for entry.⁸⁵⁴

The school under its new leadership had fundraising challenges and there seems to have been an approach to the City for support in 1801. This was picked up the Goldsmid brothers, one of whom was two years later to become a Committee member of the Patriotic Fund. Both brothers became members of the Asylum's committee. Not only did they have their own nominations but Nelson also assigned his nomination to Benjamin Goldsmid,⁸⁵⁵ his neighbour at Merton.

This school clearly had royal favour as, following Trafalgar, King George III gave it the use of the Queen's House at Greenwich so that it could significantly expand from its numbers of 70.⁸⁵⁶



Queen's House Greenwich gifted for the use of The Naval Asylum in 1805

⁸⁵² Duke of York Royal Military School website.

⁸⁵³ Published minutes 29 July 1806.

⁸⁵⁴ Newell, *Greenwich Hospital, A Royal Foundation 1692-1983* p110.

⁸⁵⁵ Green, *The Royal Navy & Anglo Jewry 1740-1820* p79.

⁸⁵⁶ Newell, *Greenwich Hospital, A Royal Foundation 1692-1983* p109.

There was already a school for the people of Greenwich, Mr Weston's Academy, which had opened in 1779. This had premises in part of the hospital and in 1784 opened new premises on King Street, which released a ward for a further 100 pensioners within the hospital. This made the school more separate, just meals continuing to be taken in the hospital. Numbers in the new school were limited to 150.⁸⁵⁷ The Naval Asylum and the Charity school merged in 1821. In effect the new Upper School was the Charity School and the lower school was the old Naval Asylum⁸⁵⁸ and this merged school became what is now known as the Royal Hospital School, based at Holbrook.

Regarding the Naval Asylum, three key sets of people were involved with establishing it; the sub-committee set up consisting of David Pike Watts, Joseph Marryat, Thomson Bonar, Germain Lavie, R H Marten, Benjamin Shaw and Thomas Bernard, on the 22 April 1806, to make a recommendation and then those present at the two key meetings, the Special General Meeting on 1 July that determined the change in rules and the meeting of 22 July, both in 1806, that determined the amount that would be given. There is considerable overlap of those involved in these three but none of the sub-committee who recommended the decision were placed onto the governing body of the Naval Asylum once the gift and thus the reciprocal right to nominate was made.

Of the sub-committee there is one unusual inclusion and that is Thomas Bernard who was the only member of the sub-committee not present at the meeting who selected it and who never normally attended meetings. Thomas Bernard inherited the baronetcy from his brother in 1810. He had been a barrister but married a wealthy wife and thus acquired a considerable fortune, and then devoted most of his time to social work for the benefit of the poor. His particular work had been with the Foundling Hospital and in 1806 he was a vice president and just finishing ten years as their treasurer. He was

⁸⁵⁷ *ibid.* p102.

⁸⁵⁸ *ibid.* p136.

involved in several other charities which included helping establish a school for the Indigent Blind⁸⁵⁹ but this was to teach trade to blind men rather than children.

Of the others, David Pike Watts had considerable involvement with education and charities looking after children, being heavily involved with the Marine Society, which prepared boys for entry into the Navy, and was also an active member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge⁸⁶⁰, arguing that their involvement in setting up schools using Dr. Bell's ideas,⁸⁶¹ discussed above, was key.

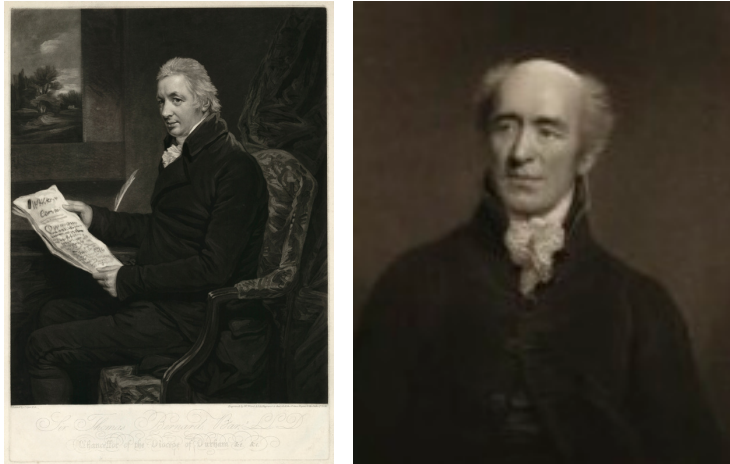
Thomson Bonar was the only member of the Patriotic Fund treasury committee on this sub-committee. Joseph Marryat, RH Marten and Germain Laive were the others. Thomson Bonar was the only one of the sub-committee who had been involved with setting up a Free School in Borough Road just two years earlier, which had involved several members of the Committee. This could be because the others had only donated.⁸⁶² It was also surprising that Thomas Raikes was not included because his brother had started the Sunday School movement and Thomas himself was involved in that movement. It should be noted there is no sign that the Goldsmids were involved at this juncture. Benjamin was not even present at the Committee meeting nor the Special General Meeting to agree the conclusions.

⁸⁵⁹ Based on entry 1911 Encyclopedia Britannica, Volume 3.

⁸⁶⁰ Wrote a tract for them in 1799.

⁸⁶¹ M Russell, *Some Account of the Late David Pike Watts Esq* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1841) Mrs Russell was his daughter.

⁸⁶² J Lancaster, *Improvements in Education as it respects the Industrious Classes of the Community* (New York: Collins and Perkins, 1807) subscription lists include Robert Thornton, Henry Hoare, Thomson Bonar from Committee. Also include Henry and Samuel Thornton, William Wilberforce and John Brickwood.



*Sir Thomas Bernard and David Pike Watts*⁸⁶³

Among the commissioners of the Naval Asylum appointed by his Majesty were many senior naval officers and other dignitaries who were appointed by title rather than name, such as the Admiral of the Fleet, the Senior Colonel of the Royal Marines, Governor of Greenwich and the Master of Trinity House. As discussed in Chapter 2, similar titled individuals had been added to the Patriotic Fund although these additional individuals almost never attend anything, Earl Spencer who was Master of Trinity House in 1806 being one such example who features in both lists. However, there were also 11 named individuals -Captain Pierrepont RN, Sir William Scott, Rt Hon George Rose, Rt Hon Sir Evan Nepean, Captain Sir J B Warren, RN Sir Francis Baring, Captain Sir Sydney Smith RN, Gen Campbell, Angerstein, Hunter and Samuel Thornton. Four of these were members of the Patriotic Fund⁸⁶⁴ and were presumably included because of the donation.

The move to Greenwich was already planned and the new site opened on 5 November 1807,⁸⁶⁵ the intention was that the complement of the school would be 1,000 pupils with 300 girls, aged between four and 12. Girls over 12 were allowed to attend but were expected to do domestic work for the school in return for one lesson a day.⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶³ National Portrait Gallery 31717 and D37899.

⁸⁶⁴ Names are in handwritten minutes 1 July 1806.

⁸⁶⁵ Minutes 6 November 1807.

⁸⁶⁶ Newell, *Greenwich Hospital, A Royal Foundation 1692-1983* p110.

This was not the only option open to the Committee. One obvious alternative would have been to fund places at Christ's Hospital School. This was established in 1552 for the children of the poor of London, but by the end of the 17th century had three elements. The majority of children were educated in the Writing School for a position in commerce or trade and left aged 15. The few who then stayed on could move to one of two elements, either they could study in the Grammar School to prepare them for University or, from its foundation in 1673, they could study in the Royal Mathematical School for service at sea. The Royal Mathematical School received its Royal Charter from Charles II, and had early involvement with the Navy as Samuel Pepys was influential in its creation. In 1806 it had a boarding school in Hertford as well as the main school in London, having established the Hertford site following the Great Fire of London and the loss of the original school in 1666. In 1806 it was undergoing major development and the new Grammar School buildings had completed in 1793.⁸⁶⁷

As discussed in Chapter 5, this was when Samuel Travers' gift, which created the Naval Knights of Windsor, was being established. His gift also enabled a school for the education of sons of lieutenants in the Royal Navy to be established. The Navy List for 1807 states that "37 Sons of Naval Officers, from seven to 12 years of age, are admitted into the Mathematical School of Christ's Hospital, London. Sons of Commissioned Officers are preferred to those of Warrant Officers."⁸⁶⁸ During the Napoleonic War, this element was kept as a separate part of the Royal Mathematical School and these children did not have to be from London.

Another series of schools were established on the same lines as Christ's Hospital around this time. These were known as Bluecoat schools, because the pupils wore distinctive blue coats. There were around 60 across Britain and they were independent of each other but all adopted the same ideas as

⁸⁶⁷ Christ Hospital School's website.

⁸⁶⁸ P Clissold, "Samuel Travers and the Naval Knights of Windsor" (*The Mariner's Mirror*, 1974 Vol 60:1, pp41-61,) DOI: [10.1080/00253359.1974.10657943](https://doi.org/10.1080/00253359.1974.10657943)

Christ's Hospital. We know Angerstein was a governor of a Bluecoat school in London.⁸⁶⁹ There were also other previous attempts to set up schools for naval orphans. We know Angerstein was involved, with his fellow Russia merchant, Jonas Hanway with trying to establish a Maritime School at Chelsea for the education of Naval officers' children around 1781⁸⁷⁰ and that Jonas Hanway, building on his experience with the Marine Society and educating boys for service at sea, gave a very detailed proposal to his governors that every county should have such a school in 1783 (but this was not taken forward).⁸⁷¹

We know Angerstein remained heavily involved in the Marine Society with Jonas Hanway.⁸⁷² David Pike Watts on the sub committee looking at the Naval Asylum was also heavily involved. This Society prepared boys for life at sea. N. A. M. Rodger describes it as the "most original and useful contribution to the manning problem".⁸⁷³ The Marine Society provided education to the boys as well as equipping them to go to sea in either the merchant or naval service depending on which needed them at the time.

It is clear that not only were the Fund keen on supporting the Naval Asylum as opposed to other schools that could have been supported but also as opposed to other means of providing support to the orphans. They rejected a request from Lieutenant William Pringle Green for him to receive the money to cover the education because as his guardian Green had taken the boy Dennis Malony to sea with him onboard HMS *Formidable*, but did instead give the £40 grant to Dennis due to being left an orphan.⁸⁷⁴

As noted in chapter 7, they were considering orphans' places at the Naval Asylum when the mothers were just asking for assistance for themselves not

⁸⁶⁹ Twist, *Angerstein* p258.

⁸⁷⁰ *ibid.* p79.

⁸⁷¹ J Hanway, *Proposal for County Naval Schools* (Presented to the Governors of Marine Society in 1783) Manuscript Portsmouth City Library Naval Collection.

⁸⁷² Twist, *Angerstein* p17.

⁸⁷³ Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean* p313.

⁸⁷⁴ Minutes 2 December 1806.

for their children to be sent away. Hence the subsequent requests for many of the early places to be overturned and the mothers ask instead for the money to educate them locally. They were also aware that choosing the Naval Asylum meant limited children could be sent until the new site was ready, so by making this choice they were delaying those they were helping from getting help. The Naval Asylum even had to write to the Committee on the 9 December 1806 to remind them there were only eight spare spaces.

The split between those who made the recommendation and those who became commissioners of the Naval Asylum indicates that the decision to support the school was altruistic for the individuals involved in the Committee, but there are several things that are odd about the decision. The facts that: the question about it came out of nowhere; the sub committee changed its remit when they presented their report compared with the remit they had been given at the start; the claim that the money had come from the National Day of Thanksgiving when it was greater than the funds they received from that day; their push for this despite it being clear that the parents of the children did not want it and that they provide the bulk of the funds that enable this school to move and change from a small site in Paddington to Greenwich all create a challenge. Furthermore, there is the fact that they endorse education to boys who are prisoners in France, from both Merchant and Naval Services, a week earlier, seems to presume the outcome of the education sub-committee as if the provision of education was a forgone conclusion.

Although no firm evidence exists it is plausible they were approached behind the scenes to provide funding by the Duke of Cumberland to make his plans for the school happen and that with their interest in education and care for orphans they saw this as a means of currying favour with the establishment or Royal Family? The Goldsmids could have acted as a conduit or could have been the ones seeking to make this happen. There is also an indication that the pressure to donate may have come from another source. Lord Howick, the Foreign Secretary criticised the Patriotic Fund in late 1806 for vested interests and as part of a rebuff in the newspapers by an anonymous author who signed themselves 'Civis' (Latin for citizen), the length and point-by-point

rebuttal drew attention to the fact that the Fund had donated £40,000 to the Naval Asylum and that Lord Howick was on the accepting committee for that body.⁸⁷⁵ It is not clear if Howick had helped apply pressure for the donation, but the detailed letter was evidently written by someone heavily involved with the Fund.

However, it is equally possible that with the split in interests between members of the Committee over various educational establishments and how associated those usually were with either the Church of England or the non conformist worship, that this neutral project that had public support and matched their desire to improve education.

⁸⁷⁵ Civis's letter 24 December 1806 published 3 January 1807 *Yorke's Review*) pp6-10.

Chapter 10

Discussion

The Committee was motivated by two factors; the desire to alter the Navy's behaviour (encouraging zeal in the defence of Britain) and philanthropy. As the war progressed the drive for the former reduced and the second became stronger. Their claim - that they stopped the honorary awards because they needed to save money - does not hold water, despite the fact that the two main chroniclers of the Fund, Messenger and Gawler, accept this without examination, as do the current trustees, who state:

“However, after 1809, the awards stopped. Heavy casualties following Wellington's victories in Spain and Portugal forced the Fund to devote all its resources to relieving hardship.”⁸⁷⁶

Leslie Southwick⁸⁷⁷ and Margarett Lincoln⁸⁷⁸ both make the same assertion. Worsley and Griffiths are slightly more accurate when they state:

“The custom of presenting swords was discontinued in 1809, as it was felt that the Fund should be devoted only to the main purpose of assisting those ‘broken in the wars’”⁸⁷⁹

However, just because the Fund did not have the reserves needed and gave that excuse does not make it true. Financially, the only way to make a difference was to reduce the amount paid out on pensions. In this, they were helped in 1809 by the Admiralty establishing the Compassionate Fund (later Compassionate List) to pay pensions to orphans or other dependents of officers killed in action.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁶ Lloyd's Nelson Collection Factsheet 3

⁸⁷⁷ L Southwick, *Patriotic Fund Swords Part 1* (Journal of the Arms and Armour Society Volume XII, 1986-1988) pp223-290.

⁸⁷⁸ Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy: British Sea Power, 1750-1815*.

⁸⁷⁹ Worsley & Griffiths, *The romance of Lloyd's: from coffee-house to palace* p167.

⁸⁸⁰ National Archives ADM 6/325 are the applications.

The cost of the honorary awards was minor or “trifling”⁸⁸¹ as the Fund described it. Indeed, the handwritten minutes allowed for the continuation of the honorary awards. Instead, they were to be linked to the award for injury with the money coming from the grant made on that basis. The description of later swords as ‘unofficial’ in every published list of the awards misses the fundamental point, noted in the handwritten minutes but not the published minutes, that they only discontinue awards for merit alone but not for merit *and* distress. This was an extension of what they were already doing. For 1808, only two awards would not have remained valid post the 1809 decision. Both were for Captains who received a Gold Medal for the same action, which brought the same public mark of appropriation. In effect they knew that their aspiration that “doubt not but that the liberality of their countrymen, will continue the good work which they have so nobly begun”⁸⁸² was already in place.

They had changed in practice from ‘you could have sword or instead a vase or cash’, ‘to you can have cash and chose to spend it on a sword or vase’. The factor that changed was you had to have been injured in the war not just heroic.

As shown in Chapter 2, there are numerous links across the Committee - social, marital, business and philanthropic. As such they formed a social network. Dr Haggerty defines this as “a group or groups of people that the associates with the explicit or implicit expectation of mutual long-term economic benefit”⁸⁸³. However, it is clear that all members of the Committee were members of many social groups, they did not do all things together, they just overlap in their interests and thus this is a group with weak ties and each would be able to add to the information of the group as a whole by their extra networks. Between them, the Committee had links into several specific trade groups such as the West Indies, East Indies and Russia. It included Aldermen

⁸⁸¹ Handwritten minutes 24 August 1809.

⁸⁸² Handwritten minutes 24 August 1809.

⁸⁸³ 22nd British Commission for Maritime History New Researchers Conference 2019 Keynote Lecture Dr Sheryllyne Haggerty, self-referencing *Merely for money* p164.

and MPs, and they sat on school and hospital governing bodies and art societies. Indeed, those trade links spanned ethnic groups and religions, providing intra-ethnic links. Whether bankers, underwriters or merchants then up-to-date and accurate information was critical to their success in all aspects of their lives and thus we should expect nothing different from their work for the Fund.

What other evidence is there it was not financial

The Fund was in such a positive financial position after the war that, despite expected claims from the land campaigns, they continued to accept claims for some time. In 1823, they announced that all claims should be presented by 20 July 1824. They then extended this to 28 February 1825. They even allowed a claim in 1831 from Captain Sir W H Mulcaster, previously awarded a sword, giving him £300 for injuries received from the campaign on Lake Ontario.⁸⁸⁴ They decided some subsequent wars were included within scope. Algiers in 1816 was in scope but Navarino in 1827 was out of scope, possibly because the French were on our side. Over the next few years, the Fund determined the Egyptian Revolt (1840), Opium War (1839-42), First Maori War (1843-9), Madagascar (1845) and River Plate (1845) were all within scope; but rejected a claim from the widow of a Marine Colour Sergeant, Adam Gordon Sutherland of HMS *Columbine* killed in action off Borneo in June 1847 because fighting pirates was not within scope.⁸⁸⁵ In 1897, they even picked up the care of a lady who should have been supported by the separate Waterloo fund. The lady had been just a baby with her mother, following her father's death at the battle.⁸⁸⁶

It is noticeable that after August 1809 the Committee still gave generous awards and arguably not in scope especially with the tighter restrictions they were now following. Two particular cases were when they contributed towards loans raised by families to help their sons pay for their commissions. Captain

⁸⁸⁴ Minutes 9 December 1831.

⁸⁸⁵ Minutes 7 April 1848.

⁸⁸⁶ Rougement, p34.

Benjamin Williamson lost both sons in short succession in the Peninsular Campaign and was given £300 towards the loan.⁸⁸⁷ Similarly Mr Hugh Crawford was successful in his appeal for support following the death of his brother Lieutenant Colonel Crawford, 9th Foot, in the assault on Fort Sebastian on 31 August 1813. Hugh had advanced money towards the commission and now found himself, for other reasons, in financial difficulties. Colonel Crawford had no dependents so Hugh was given £400 by the Fund.⁸⁸⁸ They were not the only organisation at this time to use funds not for their original purpose. The Bank of England had charitable funds set aside to support the Naval Pillar in memory of Trafalgar and yet in 1809 decided to draw down on it by £500 per year to support the Marine Society's pensions to naval widows⁸⁸⁹ discussed in Chapter 6. The Bank of England Directors included at this time seven who were either relatives of or on the Committee.⁸⁹⁰ The Marine Society also received subscriptions from several Committee members.⁸⁹¹

Evidence it was specifically the Navy's behaviour they were trying to alter?

The significant drop in awards post 1807 and how the awards vary across the Services evidences this. There are just two Army officers below the rank of Major rewarded for acts of daring during combat.⁸⁹² One went to Captain Maurice Charles O'Connell for defending Dominica on 22 February 1805. The Fund also awarded a sword to his Major, Abraham Augustus Nunn. They were both 1st West Indian Regiment who with two six-pounder cannon repelled the first French landing force. Only when the second force got ashore

⁸⁸⁷ Minutes 23 February 1813. The original loan was £2,500. Sons were Captain James Williamson, 94th Foot, killed at Ciudad Rodrigo 19 January 1812 and Captain Donald Williamson 42nd Foot, killed at the assault on Burgos on 23 September 1812.

⁸⁸⁸ Minutes 19 June 1816.

⁸⁸⁹ *The Times* 17 June 1809.

⁸⁹⁰ *The Times* 7 April 1809, these were Alexander Baring, Manning, Buller, Beston Long, Mellish, Raikes and Samuel Thornton

⁸⁹¹ *The Times*, 27 April 1809, Contributors include Reid, Raikes, Baillie, Sheddon, the Thorntons, Bonar, Mangles.

⁸⁹² Further awards to Surgeon Heddle for wounds in the defence of Gorée and Jersey militia officer Lieutenant Lys who saved St. Helier from a magazine fire.

in a separate landing were they forced to retreat. Nunn was severely wounded in the first attack and O'Connell then took command.⁸⁹³ Grodzinski in his research on Sir George Prevost states that Nunn was fatally wounded in this action, this is not correct as he lived to collect his sword. However, clearly in the recommendation it was believed the major glory was O'Connell's as in addition to the £50 sword he also received £100 worth of plate.

The second award was to Lieutenant Matthias Everard of the 2nd or Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot. He stormed Montevideo on 3 February 1807, taking command of the "forlorn hope" which suffered 22 out of the 32 men killed or wounded. He not only received an award from the Fund but also the Freedom of Dublin. This campaign did not have government support and thus he was not awarded government honours, although he was promoted.

There were 19 other Army awards to senior officers and three more to non-officers for humanitarian work. These two junior army officers contrast with nearly 100 junior naval officers of Lieutenant and below and seven Merchant Service captains of small vessels.

It appears that some Army officers thought they were outside the awards as Major Adye makes a plea in 1810 for the establishment of a system of rewards for the Army to motivate them in the same way the Navy had been. He plays to the classics and drew attention to the Romans giving gifts of honour both "donations in money" *congiaria* and the *dona imperatorial* such as the *hasta pura* (a fine spear of wood).⁸⁹⁴

Why might they think they no longer had to influence the Navy's behaviour?

The change in the military and naval situation was discussed in Chapter 8. This showed how the threat to trade had significantly reduced. In addition

⁸⁹³ J R Grodzinski, *Defender of Canada, Sir George Prevost and the War of 1812* (Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma, 2013) p22. (Hereafter Grodzinski)

⁸⁹⁴ Adye. p276.

there is a further factor, as seen in the graphs in Chapter 6, from 1807 onwards there is a marked shift in who received the awards. Compared with earlier where it is Fleet actions for senior officers and awards and cutting out expeditions for junior officers, post 1807 the actions recognised are far more ship-to-ship actions and thus the number of junior naval officers and those in command receiving awards become almost equal. Those in command of course received significant financial reward through prize or head money for the action.

A detailed look at each award for 1808 shows they fit into three criteria. The majority are for individuals injured in the action or, in the case of Captain Hardinge, a vase to his widow. They get the honorary award but no other financial award from the Fund for their injuries. This is exactly the same situation that follows post 1809. This is the case for Captain Daly, Commander Dillon, Commander Searle and Captain Nicolls RM.

The second group were the three awarded following a direct request being made. Lieutenant Meech had been awarded £20 for his injuries but wrote requesting a "mark of approbation" and was in return given the £30 sword (and loses the £20). The two others are Lieutenant Richard Head, which was directly requested in a letter by his Captain, Dundas and Midshipman William Pitt Bowler, for a much earlier event, requested by Vice Admiral Dacres.

The third group where it comes from a reading of the London Gazette as it would have done in previous years are those to Lieutenant Dawson who takes over on HMS *San Fiorenzo* after Hardinge is killed, Captain Seymour of HMS *Amethyst*, and Captain John Stewart of HMS *Seahorse*. Those last two both received a Gold Medal, a state award. Thus state and Fund were aligned except in the cases of men injured or awards asked for. Bowler, Stewart, Seymour and Head are all determined at the 22 November 1808 meeting, the four together must have concentrated minds.

It appears the Navy accepted that the behaviour that the City wanted was part of their role. Captain Hoffman, in his memoirs for 1810, records a discussion

with a fellow Captain that the reason they are undertaking the blockade duty in the Channel is:

“because this being the narrowest part of the Channel, there is more risk of our vessels being captured, and you know all the old women, with the Mayor and Aldermen, would petition the Admiralty to have the fleet back again to watch that frightful bugbear the half rotten flotilla, which sometimes prevents them from taking their night’s rest. And it is very probable that, was this station neglected, our vessels would be cut out from the downs.”⁸⁹⁵

How do we know they were interested in philanthropic work?

The philanthropic reasoning that became dominant in their thought process is evidenced by several aspects of their behaviour including the picking up of support to the prisoners of war when it became clear that was a problem and their ensuring the pensions were put onto a sustainable footing. It is further evidenced by their behaviour outside their work with the Fund. The majority of the Committee were involved in many other philanthropic works.⁸⁹⁶

What we would now consider to be the work of the state through the Departments of Education, Social Services, Health and even prisons were in the early 19th century seen to be the role of society. So a large number of charitable organisations start in the same period as the Fund. To give examples, in education the London Hibernian Society started in 1806 for setting up schools in Ireland and, at the other end of the academic level, The London Institution was established 1805 and The Russell Institution in 1808; for social services the Refuge for the Destitute started in 1805 and The Widow’s Friend and Benevolent Society started in 1808; in the area of health the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb was opened in 1807, the London Fever

⁸⁹⁵ Hoffman, p189.

⁸⁹⁶ Angerstein literally as he was on Philanthropic Society committee. D M Whitten, *Protection, Prevention, Reformation: a history of the Philanthropic Society, 1788-1848*. (PhD thesis University of London 2001) p33.

Hospital in 1802 and Moorfields Eye Hospital in 1805; and with respect to prisons the London Female Penitentiary was created as a charity in 1807.⁸⁹⁷ This small sample of charities demonstrates how prolific this approach was and how much the sector took on. While the benefactors maintained control over who was admitted to hospitals or schools, as can be seen with the Patriotic Fund committee, this appears to be used to ensure that support went to the most deserving rather than pure personal interest.

As one works through the prosopography of the Committee, it is noticeable how many were involved in multiple philanthropic activities. Some of the links to education were discussed in Chapter 8 but taking an area not relevant to the work of the Patriotic Fund - hospitals, the following links at least are apparent:

Table 16: Committee involvement in Medical Philanthropy⁸⁹⁸

Committee Members	Medical Philanthropy
James Shaw	President of St Bartholomew's Hospital
Thomas Everett	Vice President of Foundling Hospital
J J Angerstein, J J Appach, Thomson Bonar, Horatio Clagett, Thomas Rowcroft, James Shaw, John Smith, Robert Wigram, Brickwood, Robert Shedden	Vice President/Committee of The Royal London Ophthalmic Hospital established in 1804
Benjamin Goldsmid	Patron Hospital for the Ashkenazi community
Angerstein	Governor of Christ Hospital
David Pike Watts	Patron of Christ's Hospital
Thomas Rowcroft	Chairman of the London Hospital
Thomson Bonar, Beeston Long, Thomas Boddington	Vice Presidents of the London Dispensary

The other evidence that altruism was their main driver comes from their reaction when they determined that worthy causes were outside the jurisdiction of the Fund but then separately raised funds to assist. This includes Angerstein's key role in the establishment of the Waterloo Fund,

⁸⁹⁷ *Picture of London* pp250-298 and White. *London In the Nineteenth Century* Chapter 14.

⁸⁹⁸ Annual Report 1808 of London Infirmary for curing diseases of the eye and Annex B.

ensuring the casualties from there did not fall on the Patriotic Fund; as well as subscriptions for the widows and injured of *St George, Hero, Defence* and later *Saldanha* and *Fancy*, which all sank but not in action in 1811/12, and the support to merchant prisoners of war discussed in Chapter 9. It is not just Angerstein taking the lead.

When it became clear there was a desperate plight in Portugal after the local population had been devastated by the French Armies, a group with many of the same members of the Committee raised a subscription to help in 1811. It will not be a surprise that Warre's whose port business was linked to that country were involved, but so too were many others including Angerstein, Anderson, Buller, Benjamin Shaw, Wigram, Bonar, Kensington and Bosanquet.⁸⁹⁹ There was a Spanish Patriot Subscription, led in London by a merchant, heavily involved in the Spanish trade, called Frederick Grellet. His fund set up in 1810 mimicked many ideas of the Patriotic Fund, including using simply the Spanish translation of the name.⁹⁰⁰ Heavily involved with this was the Committee member Thomas Rowcroft a neighbour of Grellet in St. Laurence Pountney.⁹⁰¹ Earlier, there was a Committee formed for relieving distress in Germany in 1806. Again organised through Lloyd's Coffee House the treasurer was Henry Thornton and the committee included Wilberforce, Robert Thornton, Henry Hoare and Benjamin Shaw and the two largest donations came from Bank of England and East India Company.⁹⁰² Lastly Thornton and Warre organised through Lloyd's a subscription to help people in Sweden in early 1809.⁹⁰³

Were there other motivations?

⁸⁹⁹ *Subscription for the Relief of the Unfortunate Sufferers in Portugal, who have been plundered and treated, by the French armies, with the most unexampld savage barbarity* (London, Philanthropic Society, 1811) p4.

⁹⁰⁰ G I Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon: Volunteering under the Spanish Flag in the Peninsular War* (London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2013) p129.

⁹⁰¹ H Bristow, *A History of the Parish of St. Laurence Pountney, London* (London, C, J, G & F Rivington, 1831) p120.

⁹⁰² *Correspondence between the Governments of Great Britain and France prior to the signature of the definitive Treaty of Peace* (London, John Stockdale, 1803).

⁹⁰³ *The Times*, 4 January 1809.

While Committee members were involved in a large number of philanthropic works this could have been motivated by other factors that influenced their decisions. This includes seeking reward in return from society, with perhaps being raised to the peerage. Cobbett⁹⁰⁴ at the time criticises the Fund for their motives claiming it is self-serving in its motivation but that is not borne out. It is important to remember the committee was the first 50 subscribers of greater than £100,⁹⁰⁵ to which can be added 21 co-opted members, who were all nominated for their position in the City of London at the time. This donation of a £100 is not a small sum and several gave considerably more as discussed in Chapter 2. Patrick Colquhoun in his tables states that to be an eminent merchant you had to have an income of £2,600 and there were about 5,500 at this level in the Britain territories.⁹⁰⁶ That means nearly all 50 came from this level.

Supporting subscriptions was an inherent part of the British way of life. Naturally being seen as a good member of society would be a motivating factor even if unconscious. However, it is notable the Fund does not seem to have been designed to try to ensure those involved were given honours themselves. Despite all Angerstein did in terms of the loyalty loans and reforming Lloyd's, his immense wealth and philanthropic work of which the Patriotic Fund was just a minor element, he never received an award from the Government. The majority of men raised to the peerage in the early 19th century are just as now, politicians. Angerstein and several other members of the committee if they had been seeking peerages would have been better investing in acquiring a seat in Parliament, especially as this was the era when seats could be purchased. With just a couple of exceptions they do not enter Parliament, preferring to be Alderman of the City of London, which did not attract the same likelihood of preferment. This approach of securing a baronetcy through a Parliamentary seat was the approach taken by Sir Francis Baring, the initial Chairman of the Fund.

⁹⁰⁴ Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register* Volume 4 1803 p472-9

⁹⁰⁵ Minutes 20 July 1803.

⁹⁰⁶ P Colquhoun, *Treatise on the Wealth, Power and Resources of the British Empire, In Every Quarter of the World including the East Indies* (London, Joseph Mawman, 1814) p124.

Supporting the belief this was not done for reward are three other factors. Firstly, some of the minor actions done to help society were not likely to lead to reward, for example Angerstein allowed budding artists to come and study his art collection at his London home in Pall Mall. This collection was so good, that after his death it formed the basis of the National Gallery. The second as pointed out by Civis in his letter defending the Committee after Lord Howick's criticism is that the Committee were happy to reward events government ministers said should not be rewarded, in particular Buenos Aires and Cape of Good Hope.⁹⁰⁷ Martyn Downer equally comments that while the City was delighted with Buenos Aires, the Admiralty was appalled.⁹⁰⁸

The third is the limited publicity put out by the Fund. If they were seeking reward you would have expected them to draw regular attention to what they were doing. Yet the mentions of the Fund in *The Times* in this period shows a quite different story. There are just five times that the Fund announces the awards it is making. With the Trafalgar announcement it is clear that this is intended to raise funds,⁹⁰⁹ the others are Dance's action, Duckworth's capture of St Domingo, General Stuart for the Battle of Maida⁹¹⁰ and for some reason Captain Maitland's award of a sword.⁹¹¹ Otherwise the reports once the details of its formation are given are very much thanking subscribers and listing them or various bits of news, which include a mention of the Fund.⁹¹²

There are also minor things that many of them subscribe to where although they fall within their interest area it is hard to see how benefit accrues. For example Anderson, Angerstein, Mrs Baille, three Barings (but not Francis), Thomas Everett MP, Manning, Marryat, Robert Shaw, Lord Spencer, Lord Carrington, James Innes, Thornton, Theullson, Turner, Wigram, and also

⁹⁰⁷ Civis's letter dated 24 December 1806 published 3 January 1807 *Yorke's Review* pp6–10

⁹⁰⁸ Downer, *Nelson's Purse* p321.

⁹⁰⁹ *The Times* 15/16/18 November 1805.

⁹¹⁰ *The Times* 15 August 1804, 27 March 1806 and 24 September 1806 respectively.

⁹¹¹ *The Times* 24 December 1805.

⁹¹² For example *The Times* 24 November 1803 a theatre advert mentions it is raising money for the Patriotic Fund and 19 July 1804 a report on the East India Volunteers parade where included was the reading of a hurt award by the Fund to one of their members.

Wilberforce were involved in supporting the publication of a book by an ex prisoner of war, O'Neil about the escape of the Portuguese Royal Family to Brazil⁹¹³ having previously written about his experiences as a prisoner. Similarly, Angerstein started the subscription for a statue to Nelson in November 1805.⁹¹⁴ This was eventually passed to the Memorial Committee that erected Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square. However, until that was erected in 1838, after Angerstein died, the money remained ring-fenced for the purpose.

One element that could have influenced several members of the committee was a desire to be seen as 'British'. Angerstein had originally come from Russia and Carol Duncan's view was that Angerstein was:

*"a Russian-born Jew who lacked formal education – and reputedly illegitimate to boot – he was never allowed to shake the appellation 'vulgar' and could never fully enter the highest ranks of society"*⁹¹⁵

This is largely untrue.⁹¹⁶ Although Angerstein was probably illegitimate and definitely Russian born, Antony Twist in his detailed academic biography of Angerstein debunks the remainder. However, Angerstein's first attempt to create a fund led to him being insulted for being foreign.⁹¹⁷ This was when he was involved along with Brook Watson and Francis Baring in setting up a subscription in the American War of Independence for a similar purpose to the Patriotic Fund. So it is possible that either consciously or sub consciously Angerstein was always trying to prove his credentials as a true British patriot. The same could be said for other members of the Committee, Sir Francis

⁹¹³ All included in list of subscribers to Lieutenant Count T O'Neil, *A concise and accurate account of the proceedings of the squadron under the command of Rear Admiral Sir Sydney Smith KSTC in effecting the escape of the Royal Family of Portugal to the Brazils on November 29, 1807* (London, Barfield 1810) O'Neil was with Admiral Smith for the voyage.

⁹¹⁴ *The Times* 10 December 1805. Patriotic Fund administered this; by 1838 original subscription of £1,330 grew to £5,546.

⁹¹⁵ C Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (Abingdon, Psychology Press, 1995) p41.

⁹¹⁶ Although it is often repeated including Wikipedia, which describes Angerstein as illegitimate son of the Russian empress.

⁹¹⁷ Twist, *Angerstein* p80.

Baring and John Jacob Appach were both of German origin. Indeed, Appach was naturalised the same week as Angerstein. Secretan was Swiss, Benjamin Goldsmid was Dutch; and George Hecknell and R H Marten were probably German. It is surprising the Committee does not involve any Scots despite the hold they had on trade especially with India.⁹¹⁸ It is also noteworthy they use the word Patriotic as if endeavouring to demonstrate their commitment to the country.

Many of the Committee were clearly pious. The connection between two of them and the London synagogue was discussed in Chapter 2. The Fund also included several members of the Clapham sect such as the Thorntons, who were involved in sponsoring Wilberforce and John Newton.⁹¹⁹ These links to evangelism were noted by Evan Wilson to be an indicator of likelihood of promotion for naval officers.⁹²⁰

Although dating much earlier, from 1788, following a proclamation by King George on the importance of “Encouragement of Piety and Virtue, and for preventing and punishing of Vice, Profaneness, and Immorality” is a tract entitled *Characteristics of Public Spirit and National Virtue* published to extort these characteristics. Among the sponsors after the Bishops and nobles were several heavily involved in the Patriotic Fund including Brook Watson, Samuel and Robert Thornton, Thomas Raikes, William Manning, Thomas Boddington, Samuel Bosanquet and a few other key city people such as Thomas Coutts and Edward Forster, Governor of the Russia Company, and as he was then Captain Gambier. This is 15 years earlier so over the intervening period fortunes would have been made and lost and individuals would have retired to the country as Sir Francis Baring was starting to do in 1803 and Sir John Anderson would do three years later. It echoes so much of the writing of the Patriotic Fund.

The opening lines state:

⁹¹⁸ Colley, *Britons* p129.

⁹¹⁹ Hymn writer for Amazing Grace.

⁹²⁰ Wilson, *British Naval Officers* p117.

*"The conscious satisfaction of retired goodness...the glowing Worth, the persevering Activity of Public Spirit, conciliates and commands the Esteem of every Heart, that is not callous to the noblest sensibilities of human Nature. Very possibly indeed our Ideas may vary, when we speak of Patriotism, public spirit, general good, and the like."*⁹²¹

This tract singles out the word zeal, to the extent of giving the etymology:

The supposed Etymology of the Word, *Zeal*, is somewhat curious ; and, when considered as throwing but a glimmering Ray of Light upon the Subject, becomes really interesting. It is thought to have originated from the Sound of the last Letter in the English Alphabet, or from the Greek *Z*, or from *Zεω*, or *Zηλος* ; which denotes in general, not only a *Fervour*, or *Warmth*, but a *vehement Affection*, or *burning Heat* *.

* *Zηλος*, from *Zεω*, to be hot ; compounded perhaps with *λα*, or *λαον*, very much. It is translated in 2 Cor. vii. 7, *fervent Mind*.

*Emphasis on Zeal*⁹²²

It outlines the importance of both personal and good for society and the need of "promoting the general prosperity"⁹²³ and provided, in effect, a summary of the Fund's aim:

*"So that the political Good, or the Preservations of the Laws and Constitution, the Safety of the People, and the Honour of the Sovereign, must in the very Nature of Things, become every Man's private Concern; and, to aim at the Idea of separating them, is Ignorance and Absurdity."*⁹²⁴

⁹²¹ *Characteristics of Public Spirit and National Virtue* (London, R Faulder, 1788) pp1-2.

⁹²² *ibid.* p3.

⁹²³ *ibid.* p8.

⁹²⁴ *ibid.* p8.

It refutes Martin Luther's ideas but still proposed you are saved through justification by Faith.⁹²⁵ The book finished with ten hints for "exertion of national virtue" including:

VI. Let the Nobility and Gentry attend the Churches, [as well as the Dinners] when Sermons are preached, for the Benefit of the many charitable Institutions, which are the Honour of this Country; and let them discourage the obscene Songs, which are frequently introduced on these public Occasions.

VIII. Let not any Person be discouraged in attempting to promote the *general Good*, by calling it an Herculean Effort towards cleansing an Augean Stable--- for we have seen what Wonders have been done, in the rapid Progress of Sunday-Schools almost throughout the Kingdom; an Idea, which, it is said, originated with so private an Individual as Mr. Raikes, of Gloucester: whatever Mite we can throw into the Treasury of public Reformation, is only acting upon the Principles of that Religion, which says, "Be not weary in Well-doing, for " in due Season we shall reap, if we faint not."

*Hints VI and VIII*⁹²⁶

This last hint completely matched the Fund's use of classical imagery on the swords including Hercules.

Subconsciously, their pious nature might have encouraged them to stop awarding swords. Jenny Uglow notes that 1809 saw a change in fashion, being led by the Clapham set which included several Committee members. Their religious beliefs succeeded in creating abolition of slavery and that led to more sombre clothing being adopted.⁹²⁷ Thus some Committee members might have thought that flashy military uniforms should no longer be so desired

However, all of the above cannot hide the fact that the members of the Committee were likely to gain financial advantage from the work of the Fund, because a safer maritime environment reduced the risk to their merchant

⁹²⁵ *ibid.* p24.

⁹²⁶ *ibid.* End Pages.

⁹²⁷ Uglow *In these Times* p508.

trade. Although, as underwriters, so long as they correctly assessed the risk, whatever it was, they were able to make a profit. But it must be remembered that the Committee were not just merchants and underwriters, but included several other professions.

Were they motivated by the desire to improve their own status?

Linda Colley in her work looking at the formation of British identity comments that the Napoleonic period saw the landed class more open to new recruits from trade.⁹²⁸ The committee could be seeking to be part of that. It must be remembered that both the number of peers and wealthy non peers were incredibly small. Colley draws attention to Burke's, of *Burke's Peerage*, estimate that there were just 400 "uninvested with heritable honours"⁹²⁹ who owned really substantial estates. Therefore, while not all those involved in the Committee were in this position, they would have made up a good proportion of that 400.

The government had long recognised that

*"your fleet and your trade have so near a relation and such a mutual influence upon each other they cannot be well separated....both together are the wealth, strength, security and glory of Britain."*⁹³⁰

This same is recognised in the sentiment directed to be used in the MOD post the 2010 Strategic Defence and Security Review which was that "security depended on a strong economy."⁹³¹

There has always been tension between new money and established aristocracy. Colley identifies that government very much came from the

⁹²⁸ Colley, *Britons* p156.

⁹²⁹ *ibid.* p157.

⁹³⁰ *ibid.* p66. Stated by Lord Haversham in House of Lords 1707 when he was in opposition to the government.

⁹³¹ Personal experience I was a desk officer answering letters on behalf of the Minister.

established gentry, with just 60 of the 558 MPs per election up until 1770 being from trade; indeed Pitt the Elder said he would rather be an Alderman than a peer and was ridiculed for it.⁹³² Despite this twelve served as MPs at some point (Anderson, Watson, Baring, Everett, Mangles, Marryat, Benjamin Shaw, James Shaw, John Smith, Robert Thornton, Wigram, Wood) and four were involved in the running of the City of London as Aldermen, of which three became Lord Mayor (Anderson, James Shaw, Watson). Interestingly, the committee never included Charles Flower who was Lord Mayor of London from 1808-1810 and was a major victualing contractor to Navy.

So it seems reasonable to argue that some of the motivation for their philanthropy was that the individuals were trying to establish their right to be looked up to in society because they are fulfilling their responsibilities as a wealthy member of society.

Colley draws attention to how the perceived need to address the risk of uprising and French-style revolution, as discussed in Chapter 3, led to the establishment of militias and volunteers. This was because there was no police force and the local authorities wanted be able to control crowds as well as have the splendour for processions.⁹³³ Therefore, if individuals were securing their place in society, you expected to see them involved in the Volunteers and that is precisely what we see with the members of the Committee. This also shows they are fulfilling their responsibilities as a wealthy member of society.

Did swords appeal more to Naval officers than Army officers?

It seems likely that presentation swords appealed more to Naval officers than Army officers. Sir Sydney Smith wrote in response to receiving his sword from the City of London:

⁹³² Colley, *Britons* p61.

⁹³³ *ibid.* p230.

*“I accept this sword as the most honourable reward which could have been conferred on me. In peace it will be my proudest ornament, and in war I trust I shall be ever ready to draw it in defence of my country, and for the protection of the City of London.”*⁹³⁴

That was precisely what the Fund was trying to elicit. But at the heart of the decision to stop awarding them was this was a naval officer’s response not an army perspective. The Committee felt the war was going to move to a land campaign rather than a maritime, therefore they would need to adjust the support given. Awarding swords was not going to be as helpful.

One factor was the social difference between Army and Naval officers. N. A. M. Rodger comments that ‘the sea officer still needed the status of a gentleman, not only because society expected it, but because his condition required it. The code of honour was an essential psychological support on the day of battle.’⁹³⁵ However Wilson points out the difference: “Generally, Army officers could be assumed to be gentlemen because of the second major difference between the armed professions, the Army’s purchase system.”⁹³⁶ It was an expensive system. “An ensign’s commission in an unfashionable regiment of foot cost at least £400 in 1800, and prices increased dramatically with rank.”⁹³⁷ As seen earlier in this chapter, one father had to borrow £2,500 to purchase junior Army commissions. Officers not only bought their commissions but also sold them as they moved on and thus the sale effectively provided a lump sum pension.

While the purchase system did not apply to the Royal Artillery or Royal Engineers, who qualified through the Royal Military Academy, but their role in battle was unlikely to be that of leading an inspirational attack of the kind that the Fund were looking to reward in 1803 and 1804 for Naval officers.

⁹³⁴ Howard, *The Memoirs of Sir Sidney Smith Volumes I and II* p147-8.

⁹³⁵ N A M Rodger, ‘Honour and Duty at Sea, 1660-1815’, (*Historical Research* 75:190 November 2002, pp425-447) p430.

⁹³⁶ Wilson, *British Naval Officers* p161.

⁹³⁷ *ibid.* p161.

Therefore, Army officers, in contrast to Naval officers, did not have the same requirement to demonstrate their status. Thus an elegant sword to hang from the waist was less important or, if important, could be personally procured. While, as explained in Chapter 2, these are not presentation swords, there are several examples of grand personal weapons: the Honourable Artillery Company holds Colonel Havilland Le Mesurier's sword from the Napoleonic wars and the Berkshire Yeomanry Museum has a Napoleonic era sword that again is presentation quality for the handle but with a fighting blade.⁹³⁸



Elaborate handle on Berkshire Yeomanry Sword

Naval officers came from lower social strata than their Army counterparts, as demonstrated by Wilson, who found that 71% of Naval parents had an annual income below £700 per year and 50% below £200 per year.⁹³⁹ Thus purchasing a private presentation-quality sword was out of the question.

Therefore, a reward of a costly sword and the chance of promotion through gaining the bubble reputation⁹⁴⁰ was more significant to a Naval officer. No such promotion would necessarily follow for an Army officer, although field promotions occurred. Hence, Commander Moore wrote: "*I see no hopes of promotion but by a desperate fight, and I certainly would rather owe it to that than to Bum-kissing.*"⁹⁴¹

⁹³⁸ Item BYAAC0032. Not known who owned it.

⁹³⁹ Wilson, *British Naval Officers* p89.

⁹⁴⁰ Phrase from Cruickshank's adventures of Mr B.

⁹⁴¹ Wareham, *Frigate Commander* p 74.

Change in committee members

Between 1803 and 1809 several Committee members were no longer able to contribute actively. Sir Francis Baring was winding down his interests in the City from 1803 and in 1809 his son replaces him on the Committee. Benjamin Goldsmid was replaced by his brother, Abraham, in 1809 after Benjamin committed suicide. In 1806, Secretan and Sir Brook Watson in effect retired from the City and in 1809 Anderson also retired. Although Secretan passed his business interests to his son, the son did not take a place on the Committee. George Wood surrendered his Parliamentary seat in 1806, unable to get to London often enough for his patron, the Earl of Lonsdale. Everett died in 1810; Baille went bankrupt in 1808; Appach was winding his business and closed it in 1810. Inevitably, others must have had major life changes that in effect removed them from the Committee.

Why not stop in 1807?

As explored in Chapter 8, the honorary awards significantly reduce in 1807. There are three reasons why the Fund did not stop giving the awards at that point.

The first is that although the war at sea had gone well, that was not the case on land. While the British Navy had performed its role admirably, the European armies had taken a battering at the hands of Napoleon. The Austrian army was defeated at Austerlitz on 2 December 1805, the Prussian Army at the Battles of Jena and Auerstedt both on 14 October 1806 and the Battle of Lubeck on 6 and 7 November. The Russians were defeated at the Battle of Friedland on 14 June 1807, leading to the Treaty of Tilsit. Ironically, some of the agreements in the two Treaties of Tilsit actually helped open up further opportunities to the Royal Navy by taking several small islands off continental Europe out of the hands of allies into French or their allies hands, albeit if often nominally, meaning Heligoland and Ionian islands were then open to capture.

The second was fear of war with America and its likely impact on trade, particularly with the West Indies. Antony Bruce in his examination of the incident between USN *Chesapeake* and HMS *Leopard* Affair comments on just how close America got to war with Britain in 1807 because of anger over the attack.⁹⁴² It certainly marked a significant turn for the worse in relations. Kathryn Milburn, looking at the eventual start of the war in 1812, comments it was surprising the war had not started in 1806 or 1807 as tensions were higher then. Indeed she states that: “By 1809, it seemed as though the time of crisis incited by Britain was over.”⁹⁴³

The third reason was it was not until near the end of that year that the fate of the Danish fleet became clear. This was largely rebuilt after 1801. During 1807 Napoleon and Alexander I of Russia were trying to form a maritime league based around the Baltic. This included Denmark and led to the second battle of Copenhagen between 16 August and 5 September 1807.

Were they alone in their thoughts?

There are indications that the Patriotic Fund was not alone in believing that the war was entering a new phase, moving from a campaign to ensure mastery at sea to one that was how best to employ that mastery to overcome the French. This is a much wider issue than simply it being that the fear of invasion had subsided. Lord Barham makes it clear the fear of actual invasion reduced much earlier, writing in June 1805:

*“however, necessary it **may** have been for his Majesty’s Government at the commencement of the war to guard against any attempts to invade this country.”*⁹⁴⁴

⁹⁴² A Bruce, “The Chesapeake-Leopard Affair, 1807” (*Trafalgar Chronicle*, New Series Vol 1, Autumn 2016 pp36-45)

⁹⁴³ K Milburn, “Impressment: Politics and People” (*Trafalgar Chronicle*, New Series Vol 1, Autumn 2016 pp46-58) p57.

⁹⁴⁴ *Letters of Lord Barham Volume 3* p254 from letter to Cornwallis dated June 1805.

Following the victory at Trafalgar the barrier of old East Indiamen across the Thames was removed.⁹⁴⁵

However, further indications that the Government thought the war has reached a new phase are supported by the abolition of slavery, the changes to the Volunteers and Militias and other activities undertaken by the City.

The Committee had people on both sides of the campaign for the abolition of the slave trade. Angerstein's situation shows how complex the situation could be. He was a trustee for one plantation but resolved to sell his wife's plantation as soon as possible as he did not wish to be involved and was also on the earlier Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor that helped establish Sierra Leone,⁹⁴⁶ although some of its practices would now be considered inappropriate. Equally, the Committee included one of the Thorntons, who were the main funders of the Abolitionist Movement and heavily involved in the Clapham Sect, which was led by Wilberforce with whom the movement is now synonymous.⁹⁴⁷ This was genuine altruism but in a way that told the poor and unfortunate what they should do. Abolition required Naval vessels to be diverted from the war - that they felt they could get it through Parliament indicates that those involved felt the vessels could be spared.

Large structural changes were made to the Volunteer and Militia movements in 1807, also indicating a change in the perception of the way the war was going. William Windham, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in the Ministry of All the Talents, made several significant alterations. In effect, he tried to remove the Volunteer elements and convert where possible into the Militias, who were able to be used more widely. As Austin Gee pointed out in his thesis on the Volunteer movement:

Amateurs were most enthusiastic about the forms and practices of military life, and least about its duties. Volunteers encapsulated the

⁹⁴⁵ From correspondence with Secretary to the Corporation of Trinity House.

⁹⁴⁶ Twist, *Angerstein* pp66-8.

⁹⁴⁷ White. *London In the Nineteenth Century* Chapter 14.

*ideal of the propertied 'citizen soldier' that they believed had been lost by the militia and distorted by the French revolutionary armies. Volunteers' relationships with their corps had many of the features of membership of a club which provided opportunities for conviviality and social mixing on common ground. Yet although corps' convivial aspects mitigated the tedium of military duties, they were not alone the reason for the existence of the movement. Volunteering remained fundamentally a military activity, though with an important social role.*⁹⁴⁸

By 1807, it is clear the government was no longer concerned about achieving the maximum possible numbers, which had reached 340,000 in 1804.⁹⁴⁹

Numbers of Volunteer and Yeomanry units drop off from 1805, although it is unclear whether this is a result of growing confidence that we were safe from invasion or simply that enthusiasm waned.⁹⁵⁰ Dr. Cookson in his book *The British Armed Nation* argues that the volunteers were a wave, which was then taken control of by the state and replaced with militias around 1807/1808. This would appear to be the case. Windham not only abolished the ballot for the Militia to ensure that the Militia only consisted of volunteers, although he used them as recruiting pools for the regulars but undertook several reforms to the Army, increasing wages if men re-enlisted after serving their 14 years and introducing pensions.

This process was taken further with the Local Militia Act of 30 June 1808. This restricted militia membership to men aged between 18 and 30, while conscripted men were no longer permitted to delegate their service to substitutes or enlist in regular line regiments. Command was vested in the Lord Lieutenants of counties who, in turn, were responsible to the Home Office; details of officer's commissions were even to be announced in the London Gazette.

⁹⁴⁸ A Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1793-1807* (Oriel College DPhil Thesis submitted 1989) pxvii.

⁹⁴⁹ Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* p66.

⁹⁵⁰ For example Lancashire Records Office: Sources for the history of the militia and volunteer regiments in Lancashire shows several local units starting 1803 and ending 1804-06.

It took time for some Volunteers to be formally wound up. For example, the Loyal Nottingham Volunteers run from 1803 to 1808. The Southwell Loyal Volunteer Infantry even marked their ending on 24 September 1808 with a silver cup presented to their Sergeant Major, having given a sword to their Major Commandant Major Wylde the year before.⁹⁵¹ The Boston Loyal Volunteers do not end until 1809.⁹⁵² Equally the Sea Fencibles, which were a full-time version of the Volunteers but only able to serve locally, were disbanded in 1810 due to the end of the threat of invasion.⁹⁵³ Militias were established however that had specific extra duties. For example the Royal East Montgomeryshire Local Militia was formed in 1808 to assist in looking after French Prisoners of War.⁹⁵⁴

The timing for this, probably, had two factors. Firstly, conviction that the danger of invasion had passed and secondly the death of Pitt, who was an advocate for mass volunteering and got directly involved. The Government stated they were confident “that were a danger of invasion again to occur, the volunteers would again flock to their standards”. Importantly, the changes saved £200,000 a year⁹⁵⁵ and produced men who could be drafted into the army for overseas operations.

Another indicator that the City believed the nature of the war was changing is the new activities that start within the City. It is noticeable after 1803 there was a pause in new ventures unless in support of the industrial military complex. By 1807, however, they are starting again. For example, Auction Mart to enable the selling of estates, annuities, shares etc, was paid for by public subscription between 1808 and 1810.⁹⁵⁶ In Chapter 3, the start dates of

⁹⁵¹ R Shilton, *The history of Southwell, in the county of Nottingham, its hamlets and vicinage, including a description of the Collegiate church* (Newark, S & J Ridge, 1818) p300-1.

⁹⁵² P Hickman, *The Boston Loyal Volunteers 1803-1809* (Lincolnshire Family History Society Magazine Vol 7:3 1996 pp140-1).

⁹⁵³ J Penny, *The Severn District Sea Fencibles 1803 to 1810* (Regional Historian, Issue 6, Autumn/Winter 2002).

⁹⁵⁴ Explanatory notice Welshpool Museum.

⁹⁵⁵ *Yorke's Review* No 6 Saturday 7 February 1807) p97.

⁹⁵⁶ *Picture of London*. p129

various insurance companies was given. There were no new insurance companies started between 1803 and 1805, but the three years 1806 to 1808 see four start: Albion, Eagle The County and The Rock.⁹⁵⁷

Wordsworth became more positive around 1808-9. Contrast the lines from his 1803 poems: “These times strike monied worldings with dismay”; “I tremble at the sorrow of the time”; “Of terror bear us to the ground” with these lines from 1809: “Hark how thy country triumphs” and “What hope, what joy can sunshine bring to thee” and “Joy returns to brighten fortitude.”⁹⁵⁸ The same positivity is seen in Sir Walter Scott’s poem written in 1808, Patriotism 2⁹⁵⁹ which praises both Nelson and Pitt with lines such as “*And served his Albion for herself;*” Equally, it is noticeable that the prints from 1806 to 1810 in Davey and Jones’ book on caricatures show increasing confidence Napoleon would not come.⁹⁶⁰

Another sign that this was the case comes from the Board of Ordnance Expenditure figures. These show the government being behind in their assessments. Excluding costs of maintaining the establishments, expenditure fell back during the Peace of Amiens but rose to £4,000,000 in 1804 and stayed around there for four years. It peaked at £8,500,000 in 1808. It is clear they had overstocked, as then expenditure dramatically reduces to below £1,000,000 in 1810 and 1811 before returning to just above £2,000,000 for the remainder of the war.⁹⁶¹ This is actual expenditure not the authorised, which do not show the same drop, indicating it was over ordering.

Lincoln commented that in 1809 merchants were becoming anxious at the length of the war.⁹⁶² While that might be true, it does not appear that those involved in the Fund were worried as to what the final outcome would be.

⁹⁵⁷ *ibid.* pp377-8.

⁹⁵⁸ Wordsworth *Poetical Works* p252-5.

⁹⁵⁹ Patriotism 1 is about his love of Scotland.

⁹⁶⁰ Davey & Jones *Broadsides Caricature and the Navy 1756-1815*, p54.

⁹⁶¹ M Moss: *From Cannon to Steam Propulsion: The origins of Clyde Marine Engineering* (Mariner’s Mirror Vol 98:4 2012 p472). From Board of Ordnance Ledgers in the National Archives WO 48/139 to 180-1794-1820.

⁹⁶² Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy: British Sea Power, 1750-1815* p94.

When the decision was made regarding ceasing to encourage zeal in the forces by stopping awards it was not the obvious moment to do so. As already shown the argument it was purely for financial reasons does not hold water. They had to do something financially but stopping awards would make minimal difference. Rather it made formal what had already become their practice from 1807/1808. Schroeder states that the “year 1807 must therefore rank with 1940 (perhaps even surpass it) as Britain’s finest hour”.⁹⁶³ I would argue it was more like early 1943, when the key battles of Stalingrad and El Alamein had both occurred and territory was being removed from Germany, cutting off their access to the necessary provisions and finance, and key allies to enable our supplies had entered the war. Thus the Spanish revolt and Portuguese exile provide in this simile the equivalence of America.

Early 1809 saw positivity in the national press, with *The Times* running the headline “Defeat of French” on 8 June. There were also overtures as to a potential peace treaty early in 1809. Lieutenant Wybourne of the Royal Marines noted in his letter home on 11 February 1809 that the “news just arrived is of Peace nigh at hand”.⁹⁶⁴

By August it was not the same picture. This was not a positive time in the Peninsular campaign; May to August 1809 saw a string of French victories at Alcantara against the Portuguese, Maria, Belchite, Arzobispo and Almonacid against the Spanish, and Talavera where although the British were left in command of the battlefield. French Marshall Soult was able to march threaten to cut the British army off and forced them to retreat. Politically things were not much better. The Duke of Portland was in poor health having had his heart attack, and a new government was yet to form;⁹⁶⁵ the final political scandal the Castlereagh-Canning duel being yet to occur.

⁹⁶³ P W Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994) p326.

⁹⁶⁴ A Petrides & J Downs, *Sea Soldier, The Letters and Journals of Major T. Marmaduke Wybourn RM, 1797-1813* (Parapress Limited, Tunbridge Wells, 2000) p133.

⁹⁶⁵ M R Howard, *Walcheren 1809* (Barnsley, Pen and Sword Publishing, 2012) p190.

There are challenges regarding the prevailing view on whether war with America was likely in 1809. Grodzinski in his work on the 1812 war argues that American preparations for war were forwarded to Britain in early 1809 but by the end of January Britain believed they were diffused.⁹⁶⁶ This is evidenced by the plan to make use of the forces in Canada to invade Martinique, one of the last two French territories in the West Indies, to then release forces for Europe.

Was there a motive to support commercial gain?

I found no evidence to indicate the Committee was trying to support any form of industry. It is noticeable the Committee is formed of underwriters, bankers and merchants not industrialists.

There is no indication there were any commercial links to Teed or that they were trying to promote British sword manufacturers. Indeed it was opposite; by electing to have swords made by Teed through Rundell and Bridge and selecting a design that was not ideal for fighting they in effect advocated away from British military sword manufacturers. This was not long after one of the major Birmingham sword makers, Thomas Gill, endeavoured to convince the government of the superiority of his blades over imported Solingen blades.⁹⁶⁷ He was successful in his campaign but it was not this sort of blade the Fund selected.

On the wider commercial front, there is no evidence they were doing it for the contracts they might win. Roger Knight and Martin Wilcox in *Sustaining the Fleet*⁹⁶⁸ and Morriss explore many of the links between the industrial complex and the Royal Navy. The Fund's committee members are noticeably absent. Of the 71 committee members, only two feature at all. Sir Francis Baring had

⁹⁶⁶ Grodzinski p37 and p39.

⁹⁶⁷ T Gill, *The Superiority of Swords of English Manufacture to those of Germany or in any other Nation asserted and maintained*. 1789.

⁹⁶⁸ Knight&Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet* Chapters 1 and 2 reference merchants and victuallers supplying the Navy.

been involved in contracts a decade before the French Revolutionary War as he managed the Army's victualing business for the last year of the US War of Independence.⁹⁶⁹ Brook Watson had a long-standing role as head of Commissariat (army supply) from 1780s until 1806⁹⁷⁰ but again this had been held for a long time and was closer to being surrendered. Indeed, Morriss notes that once the war began "the need for shipping was disseminated publicly" being done either by posters put up at Lloyd's and West India Coffee House or by newspaper advertisements.⁹⁷¹

Similarly, while members owned wharfs and the access for trade, the Committee does not feature any of the London shipbuilders.⁹⁷² The same disconnect appears to apply to the smaller donors and the beneficiaries, as Gawler noted the Army was much more active than the Navy in sending contributions.⁹⁷³ Indeed, the Navy seems to have been particularly poor yet for the first six years of the Funds operation the vast majority of both honorary awards and pensions are to the Navy.

Were the awards having any negative effects?

In Parliament in late 1806 Lord Howick,⁹⁷⁴ then First Lord of the Admiralty, stated that the Patriotic Fund was "teaching the army and navy to look up for honours and rewards to any other sources than the government." This was given as a criticism and received a rebuttal by the previously mentioned author Civis.⁹⁷⁵ Civis draws attention to the fact that "many other societies and corporate bodies have, from time immemorial, had the hardihood to vote honorary rewards for public services; and the city of London, in particular, did so".

⁹⁶⁹ Morriss *British Maritime Ascendancy* p335.

⁹⁷⁰ Ibid. p381.

⁹⁷¹ Ibid. p346.

⁹⁷² Crosschecked with Naval Dockyards Society *London Dockyards* (Transactions Vol 11 2019).

⁹⁷³ Gawler, p9.

⁹⁷⁴ This is 2nd Earl Grey, he became Lord Howick on his father's elevation to an Earldom.

⁹⁷⁵ Civis's letter 24 December 1806 published 3 January 1807 in *Yorke's Review* pp6–10.

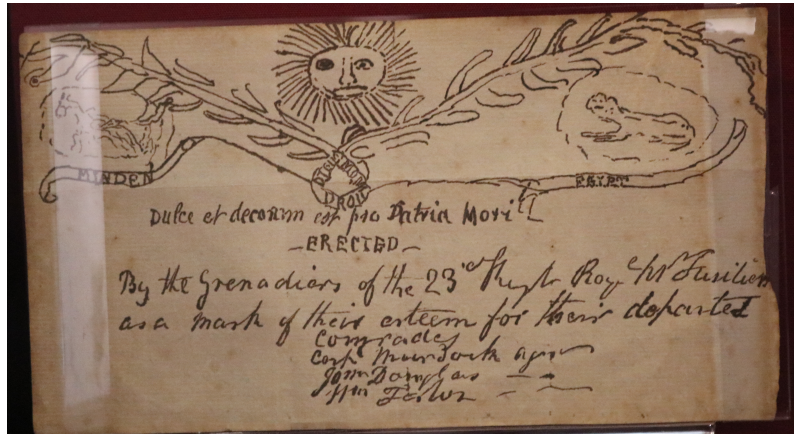
Civis's defence highlights other key considerations. First that the ministers had just introduced a bill for increasing pensions to officers' widows and to those disabled in the Service. Therefore, the Government had introduced the same idea and so the Fund was just supporting what the government did. He then draws the point out that the only extra work done by the Fund were the honorary awards and that is less than one tenth of its donations; that the Secretary is the only person receiving remuneration for the work⁹⁷⁶ and that nine out of ten awards are given to those of subordinate rank.

Civis also suggests that Lord Howick might have confused the Committee of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's with the Committee at Lloyd's, which represented the underwriters and who had hassled Earl Grey who was still Foreign Secretary in the Government of all the Talents.

Indicating it was encouraging further good behaviour rather than poor is that it seems to have motivated at least one group of soldiers to donate further money. There is a sketch in the Welch Fusiliers Museum made by Lieutenant J C Harrison of the 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers. This is of a memorial erected by his Grenadier Company at the Dutch Church in Nova Scotia in memory of their comrades who fell at the capture of Martinique, 1809. The Grenadier Company suffered so many injuries they received £250 between them from the Patriotic Fund. They decided to spend some of that on erecting a memorial at their next location to those who died. There were two fundraising balls arranged for them on their return to Halifax.⁹⁷⁷ They are not the only ones to donate the money they received from the Fund. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Captain Codrington donated his award from Trafalgar back to the Fund.

⁹⁷⁶ The Secretary, Mr Welsford, was given an assistant post Trafalgar due to work volume.

⁹⁷⁷ Grodzinski p46.



Sketch of memorial erected by 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers⁹⁷⁸

Does the Funds subsequent behaviour provide further insights?

Two events in the history of the Patriotic Fund after 1809 provide further insight into this change of objectives. The first is their approach when a different fund was willing to take on part of their objects and free them from that responsibility. In 1812, the allowance to British prisoners, which by then totalled £27,000 from the Fund, was discontinued in consequence of a subscription of £74,000 being raised for that purpose in England and Scotland. In the same year, the Fund equally resolved to extend its benefit of to sufferers by the war with America, although outside their scope. This supports the perspective that they felt that they no longer needed to encourage zeal as the objective had been achieved rather than it being the likelihood of further growth to demand causing the change in heart.⁹⁷⁹

The second is with respect to education. This remained important to the Committee, and is not just about the Naval Asylum. Over subsequent decades they give grants to other education establishments. In 1845, they gave a grant to the Royal Naval School at Eltham and in 1866, £5,750 was given to the Royal School for the Daughters of Officers of the Army and Marines at Bath. Then in 1868 they award £14,000 to the Royal British Female Orphan Asylum Devonport and in 1880 £3000 to the Royal School for

⁹⁷⁸ Royal Welch Fusiliers Museum.

⁹⁷⁹ Rougement 1914.

Naval and Marine Officers Daughters, Twickenham, and smaller sums to Soldiers Daughters Home Hampstead, and the Royal Seaman and Marines Female Orphan Home, Portsmouth. Between them, these gave the ability to award 99 places per year, referred to as nominations or presentations depending on the establishment.⁹⁸⁰

It was not just to the 1812 American war they extended the benefits. They included those injured or killed at Battle of Algiers and then included the 1840 campaign in Syria.⁹⁸¹ They also included those impacted by the turn-of-the-century campaigns in South Africa, including being asked to manage the distribution of £112,000 raised by the Mayor of London.⁹⁸² Noting this update was published in 1914 they clearly believe that the work will need to continue for other conflicts, as the book contains the plea:

*“While the trustees are still assisting sufferers by the War in South Africa there breaks out, with little warning, a European War in which this Country is involved, with the largest Army it has ever put into the Field. And although this contest is not likely to continue so long as did that raging when the Fund was established, it may from its nature by sea and land, cause at least as much suffering, to meet which large funds will be needed. It is hoped however that Patriotism and Generosity have not declined since 1803 and the Trustees would gladly receive any contributions.”*⁹⁸³

Why did the Patriotic Fund succeed when other attempts failed?

As discussed in Chapter 5, there had been earlier attempts to create a similar charity to support the families. This was the United Society for the Relief of Widows and Children of Seamen, Soldiers and Marines and Militiamen, which was a very short-lived charity that started in 1793 on the commencement of

⁹⁸⁰ *ibid.* p41-2.

⁹⁸¹ Rougement, p35-6.

⁹⁸² Rougement, p46-7.

⁹⁸³ *ibid.* p63-4.

the French Revolutionary War and which only raised £10,118 before failing within the year.⁹⁸⁴ The key difference between the Patriotic Fund and this earlier attempt seems to be that the establishment led the earlier one with the committee dominated by nobility, MPs and senior military and naval officers. These individuals were almost completely absent from the Committee of the Patriotic Fund. Instead, the subscribers led it. Thus they were determining far more how to spend their own money not other people's. Only three members appear on both lists. Robert Thornton is one and the others are one who was invited to join the Committee because of his position, Earl Spencer, who never seems to have engaged with the Patriotic Fund, and one added later to the Committee and that is Thomas Bernard. The Patriotic Fund had at its heart the leaders of the City of London and its trade and financial operation, not the establishment.

⁹⁸⁴ *A List of the Subscribers to the United Society for the Relief of Widows and Children of Seamen, Soldiers and Marines and Militiamen Together with the resolutions and rules of the Society, the sums subscribed, etc* (London, 1794).

Chapter 11

Conclusion

Stephen Wood, former chief curator for the Scottish Museum of War, summarised the use of presentation swords as:

“For men of that period, the sword was a weapon whose significance today is often forgotten or misunderstood: it could be a tool, that took or saved life; it could be a status symbol, indicating reward, position or power; it could be an item of costume jewellery, demonstrating the wealth of its owner. It might be all three.”⁹⁸⁵

Patriotic Fund swords undoubtedly fall into this last descriptor of being all three; even if the wealth of the owner was something the recipients were endeavouring to portray rather than always necessarily real. In particular they were at the heart of the desire for a naval officer who wanted to be seen as a gentleman, and who by the nature of life at sea was unlikely to have a home to display any other trophy until later in their career. A sword could always of course be displayed to reflect what they had achieved. It was in the Georgian period that the visiting culture started.⁹⁸⁶ The fact that the Fund gave them in a box that makes them easy to display supports this. This is exactly as Captain Digby did. His sword is still displayed in a presentation box⁹⁸⁷ in the entrance hall to his family home, the first thing you see on entering.

As demonstrated in Chapter 6, previously swords were not something traditionally awarded to anyone other than very senior officers. The industrialisation of parts of the processes including blueing and components meant they could be made relatively cheaply and quickly for any recipient. The presence of Patriotic Fund sword components on other weapons, indicate

⁹⁸⁵ Bonham's Waterloo Sale 1 April 2015 p4.

⁹⁸⁶ A Vickery in *A Woman's Touch*, Episode 2, At Home with the Georgians, 10 November 2015, BBC Four.

⁹⁸⁷ They replaced original box with a larger one so his Trafalgar Gold Medal and knighthood could be displayed alongside.

that Teed was not above trading off their image. Furthermore, as has been shown the giving of presentation swords was a new phenomenon, indeed they might not have been as popular as they became if the Patriotic Fund had not awarded them, as the numbers presented by the Fund completely dominate the numbers given for those first three years. This production line approach to the creation of the honorary awards can be seen as an industrialisation of that process as is being seen in other areas of naval business at that time.

It is clear that after 1809 the Committee thought that presenting swords no longer served a purpose for the Fund. This is despite several of the Committee remaining involved in awarding City of London swords, allowing money awarded for injuries to be converted to swords and Lloyd's members continuing to award swords for other purposes. For example there is an award by Lloyd's to Midshipman Jacobs of HMS *Severn* for saving the crew of the brig *Ocean* when wrecked off Beachy Head in 1819.⁹⁸⁸ They equally introduced the Lloyd's medal for saving life at sea in 1836, by which time swords really had stopped being worn in public by gentlemen.

Rather the Committee had concluded that the nature of the war was changing from a maritime to a land campaign therefore they should concentrate on different support appropriate for that move. They understood that:

“As commercial seapower states, seapowers had stronger financial resources than agrarian land powers, enabling them to outlast the enemy, as long as they were secure from an unlimited counter stroke on islands or behind impregnable walls.”⁹⁸⁹

And this is where Britain found itself by 1807.

⁹⁸⁸ Comfort, *Naval Swords and Dirks* Vol II p320.

⁹⁸⁹ Lambert, *Seapower States* p14.

Professor Lambert comments that one factor that made the 12th century BCE Tyrians a successful sea state was their information network.⁹⁹⁰ As Messenger noted using the example of the capture of French privateer off Lowestoft in 1794⁹⁹¹ the members of Lloyd's had access to intelligence ahead of and more accurate than the Navy. With so many of the Committee involved in Lloyd's they had this knowledge. This was combined with their specialist trade knowledge, especially the West Indies and Russia trades. Their intelligence continued to improve, as in 1812 Lloyd's Register started appointing overseas surveyors.

Indeed all indications from the work the Committee did are they made the changes for altruistic reasons; with the possible exception of the change in education, where it may be they were encouraged either through the Goldsmids or through the Crown to contribute.

As shown in Chapter 10, this was a period where private groups undertook roles now undertaken by the state including health, education and prison reform. This meant charities tended towards the interests of the benefactors and thus gaps are evident. However, the starting of more national projects with industrialisation is occurring at the same time. Therefore, we should not be surprised that those at the front of international trade and money were among the first to try to create national longer-term charitable movements. Lloyd's work on establishing a lifeboat network is another example.

As seen in Chapters 5 and 6 the giving of silver plate and pensions was not unusual, but the Fund moved the giving of swords to be more egalitarian and tapped into the desire particular of Naval Officers, especially junior ones, to be seen as gentlemen. This desire is mirrored in both the French and American systems of sword presentation. However, whereas in Britain in keeping with being a mercantile state, it was a group of private merchants who undertook the presentations, the republican nature of America and France meant they

⁹⁹⁰ *ibid.* p28.

⁹⁹¹ Messenger, p9.

saw this role of encouraging military zeal by giving awards, as belonging to the State.

Parallels for most of the Fund's work can be seen in prior attempts. But what made this a first was the scale and systematic approach taken and that it was led by those with the money not the titles and thus was placed on a long-term basis, rather than the one-off intervention normal at the time. Only the Government through organisations such as the Chatham Chest was able to compete with this charity.

It is also important to note that the Fund was financially secure enough that it has continued to exist to this day. Although they took a further measure in June 1821 to ensure the funds would last. This related to the annuities, where originally it granted annuities to widows of those killed in action that would then be payable to the children of those widows for their natural life. The Committee resolved to reduce this such that it was only until the children reached 21 years of age.

What is also unique is that it was the first time the people, as opposed to the Government or military, acted in anticipation of military events. The City was making a promise that if the Navy and the Military behaved in a certain way, then they would systematically reward the people who behaved with the zeal the City was seeking, with either an award or care for their families. They made it clear that this would be distributed wider than the traditional government rewards and not be for just the most senior officers. While rewarding similar events after they happened had occurred many times, this covenant between the City and Armed Forces was led and championed by the City and not by the Government or the Armed Forces as has occurred in recent times, with the creation of a more formal Armed Forces covenant. This was a profound step forward.

However, I believe the decision by the Committee in 1809 to cease the honorary awards for zeal was made because it was no longer necessary to try to encourage single acts of daring by junior officers who wished to cement

their position as gentlemen. Rather it was more important to the Committee to support a land campaign where the casualties would be in higher numbers, fall across a far wider group of ordinary soldiers and where the officers were already confident that they were perceived as gentlemen. Therefore, swords would not inspire them in the same way. This has implications for those involved in military and naval charities today, as they equally need to adapt their charitable work to the military operational environment, and adjust their offer as that changes.

This thesis supplements rather than supplants recent naval historical studies and means I support Lambert's view, that Britain was a seapower state and that being so:

“obliged sea states to develop more inclusive forms of government, forms that gave merchants, traders and shipowners, a share of political power, in exchange for services or financial contributions”⁹⁹²

Expanding that definition to include those who enable merchants, traders and shipowners to operate, namely the bankers who provide the loans and means of exchange, and underwriters and brokers, who enable those three groups to spread risk, then between then you have completely described the careers of the majority of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's Committee.

However, Lambert argues “henceforth the City of London would expect naval protection, whoever sat on the throne. The Navy served the City, and the City provided the necessary funds.”⁹⁹³ That depended on them equally believing that the Navy was capable of providing that protection. The honorary awards and in particular the swords were a nudge to ensure Naval officers would play their part in that compact and the giving of pensions, education and support to prisoners was part of the wider covenant with the whole Armed Forces.

⁹⁹² Lambert, *Seapower States* p17.

⁹⁹³ *ibid.* p273.

As Henry Dundas reminded Pitt, all wars “are a contention of purse.”⁹⁹⁴ So for them “Patriotism and Prudence went hand in hand”⁹⁹⁵ and it was “upon the Navy, under the good providence of God, that the Wealth, Prosperity and peace of these Islands and of the Empire do mainly depend”⁹⁹⁶ and both had delivered.

This was not just a wartime response, they did not lose interest when the war finished. Rather it was the start of a covenant between the financial heart of the City of London and the Armed Forces. Members of Lloyd’s continue to be involved as they were in later patriotic funds including one for the Crimean War and one for World War 1. While the State has taken over some functions provided by the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd’s the Fund and the wider financial community continue to support the Armed Forces and have continued to adjust how that is represented through the projects they donate to.

⁹⁹⁴ Knight&Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet* p214.

⁹⁹⁵ Referred to earlier. Twist. *Angerstein* p148.

⁹⁹⁶ Preamble to Articles of War in reign of Charles II engraved on front of Britannia Royal Naval College.

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⁹⁹⁷ Alert maintained on on-line auction site the-saleroom.com and for many years on eBay until they blocked selling of swords within the UK.

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⁹⁹⁸ Reuben Percy was Thomas Byerley and Sholto was Joseph Clinton Robertson.

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Annex A

Awards Made by the Patriotic Fund

(Item taken if different in brackets)

1803

27 June 1803

HMS *Loire* cutting out French gun brig *Venteux Isle de Bas*

Lieutenant James Bowen, HMS *Loire*, Sword £50

Lieutenant Francis Temple, HMS *Loire*, Sword £50

Midshipman Priest, HMS *Loire*, Sword £30

14 July 1803

HMS *Phoebe* action with French privateer

Lieutenant James Wallace Gabriel, HMS *Phoebe*, Sword £50

31 July 1803

**Gallant conduct in defence of HM Packet *King George* during passage
from Lisbon**

Captain Yescombe, HM Packet *King George*, Vase £50

12 and 17 August 1803

Actions with HMS *Niger*

Midshipman William Hillyar, HMS *Niger*, Sword £30

17 August 1803

Cutting out French lugger *Messenger*, Ushant

Lieutenant Watt, HMS *Ville de Paris*, Sword £50

18 August 1803

Cutting out 5 schooners and a sloop, *Machinelle*

Lieutenant George Canning, HMS *Desiree*, Sword £50

9 September 1803

Capture of two French *chasse-marées*

Lieutenant Henry Rowed, HM Armed Cutter *Sheerness*, Sword £50

Boatswain John Marks, HM Hired Cutter *Sheerness*, Call

20 Sep 1803

Action of *Princess Augusta*

Master Joseph Thomas, Hired Armed Cutter *Princess Augusta*, £200 cash

9 October 1803

Action in Quiberon Bay

Lieutenant George Hawkins, HMS *Atalante*, Sword £50

Master Richard Burstall, HMS *Atalante*, Cash £50

14 October 1803

Capture of French vessels off Cuba

Commander Austin Bissell, HMS *Racoon*, Sword £100

26 October 1803

Capture of French Privateer *La Resource*

Lieutenant Robert Henderson, HM Sloop *Osprey*, Sword £50

31 October 1803

A French gun brig, and an armed sloop, driven ashore

Lieutenant Alexander Shippard, HM Armed Cutter *Admiral Mitchell*, Sword £50

5 November 1803

Cutting out cutter, Machineel Bay

Lieutenant Hon Warwick Lake, HMS *Blanche* 36, Sword £50

Lieutenant Edward Nicolls RM, HMS *Blanche* 36, Sword £30

Master Mate John Smith, HMS *Blanche* 36, Cash £30

17 November 1803

Taking of Fort Dunkirk, Martinique and French Privateer *L'Harmonie*

Commander William Ferris, HM Sloop *Drake*, Sword £100

Lieutenant George Beatty⁹⁹⁹ RM, HMS *Blenheim*, Sword £50

Lieutenant Walter S Boyd RM, HMS *Blenheim*, Sword £50 (Cash)

Lieutenant Thomas Cole, HMS *Blenheim*, Sword £50

Lieutenant Thomas Furber, HMS *Blenheim*, Sword £50

26 November 1803

Landing on Martinique and destruction of guns

Lieutenant James Ayscough, HMS *Centaur*, Sword £50

Captain Acheson Crozier RM, HMS *Centaur*, Sword £50

Lieutenant James Wilkes Maurice, HMS *Centaur*, Sword £50

Lieutenant William Walker RM, HMS *Centaur*, Sword £30

1804

January 1804

Severe wounds received in the defence of Gorée

Surgeon John Heddle, African Corps, Vase £50

4 February 1804

Capture of French Corvette *Curieux* Martinique

Lieutenant Robert Carthew Reynolds, HMS *Centaur*, Sword £50

Lieutenant George Bettesworth, HMS *Centaur*, Sword £50

Mr John Smith Tracey, HMS *Centaur*, Vase £30

⁹⁹⁹ The name is spelt differently in various documents.

5 February 1804

Engagement with French *Grande Decidée* off Tortola
Lieutenant William Carr, HM Schooner *L'Éclair*, Sword £50

At meeting of 7 Feb 1804

Gallant defence against a French privateer
Master William Nesbitt, Berwick Smack *Charlotte*, Tankard

9 February 1804

Destruction of batteries on Martinique
Lieutenant William Domett, HMS *Centaur*, Sword £50 (Cash)

15 February 1804

**Action between a division of the East India Company's fleet and a
French squadron, China Sea**

Captain Nathaniel Dance, East Indiaman *Earl Camden*, Vase £100 & Sword
£100

Captain John Fann Timins, East Indiaman *Royal George*, Vase £100 & Sword
£50

Captain Robert Hunter Brown, East Indiaman *Dorsetshire*, Sword £50

Captain William Stanley Clarke, East Indiaman *Wexford*, Sword £50

Captain James Farquharson, East Indiaman *Alfred*, Sword £50

Captain William Ward Farrer, East Indiaman *Cumberland*, Sword £50

Captain Archibald Hamilton, East Indiaman *Bombay Castle*, Sword £50

Captain John Kirkpatrick, East Indiaman *Henry Addington*, Sword £50

Captain Thomas Larkins, East Indiaman *Warren Hastings*, Sword £50

Captain John Christopher Lockner, East Indiaman *Ocean*, Sword £50

Captain Henry Meriton, East Indiaman *Exeter*, Sword £50

Captain William Moffatt, East Indiaman *Ganges*, Sword £50

Captain James Prendergrass, East Indiaman *Hope*, Sword £50

Captain Robert Torin, East Indiaman *Coutts*, Sword £50

Captain Henry Wilson, East Indiaman *Warley*, Sword £50

Captain John Wordsworth, East Indiaman *Earl of Abergavenny*, Sword £50

Lieutenant Robert Fowler RN. Passenger East Indiaman *Earl Camden*, Sword
£50

19 and 24 February 1804

**Cutting out American schooner from Trinité harbour and subsequent
storming of the fort at, Martinique**

Lieutenant William King, HM Sloop *Drake*, Sword £50

Lieutenant William Compston, HM Sloop *Drake*, Sword £50

7-9 March 1804

Recapture of Goree

Lieutenant Charles Pickford, HMS *Inconstant*, Vase £148

Midshipman Alexander Runciman, HMS *Inconstant*, Sword £30 (Cash)

Midshipman James Hewitt, HMS *Inconstant*, Sword £30

13 March 1804

Cutting out privateer schooner *Mosambique* by HM Armed Sloop *Fort Diamond*, Martinique

Lieutenant Thomas Forrest, HMS *Emerald*, Sword £50

15 March 1804

Cutting out French privateer – *Rose*, Guadeloupe

Mr Salmon, HM Schooner *L'éclair*, Vase £50

23 March 1804

Capture of Dutch *Schrik*

Lieutenant James Boxer, HMS *Antelope*, Sword £50

Lieutenant John Martin Hanchett, HMS *Antelope*, Sword £50

Midshipman George Hawkins, HMS *Magicienne*, Sword £30

Lieutenant Daniel Barber, HMS *Magicienne*, Sword £50 (Cash)

23 and 27 March 1804

Capture of French Frigate *L'Egyptienne*, Barbados

Commander Conway Shipley, HMS *Hippomenes*, Sword £100

Commander George Younghusband, HM Sloop *Osprey*, Sword £100

31 March 1804

Capture of Dutch *Atalante*

Commander George Nicholas Hardinge, HM Sloop *Scorpion* – Sword £100

Commander Charles Pelly, HM Sloop *Beaver*, Sword £100

Lieutenant Buckland Stirling Bluett, HM Sloop *Scorpion*, Sword £50

Lieutenant William Shields, HM Sloop *Scorpion*, Sword £50

Lieutenant Edward White, HMS *Beaver*, Sword £50

Master Robert Fair, HMS *Beaver*, Plate £50 (Cash)

Master's Mate James Puckinghorne, Plate £30 (Cash)

26 April 1804

Beat off the attack of a French Privateer

Master Richard Robinson, Collier *Scipio*, Tankard

1 May 1804

Capture of privateer *Veloce* in the Mediterranean

Lieutenant Robert Corner, HMS *Thisbe*, Sword £50

15-16 May 1804

Burning shell thrown overboard

Boy William Langfield, HM Sloop *Rattler*, Medal

4 June 1804

Saving the town of St Helier from a magazine explosion

Lieutenant Philip Lys, Signals Officer, £500

Edward Touzel, Carpenter St Helier, £300

William Penteny, 31st Regiment, £20 annuity

10 July 1804

Boats attacked enemy vessels, Hieres Bay

Lieutenant John Richard Lumley, HMS *Seahorse*, Sword £50
Lieutenant Ogle Moore, HMS *Maidstone*, Sword £50
Lieutenant Hyde Parker, HMS *Narcissus*, Sword £50
Lieutenant John Thomson, HMS *Narcissus*, Sword £50

31 July 1804

Capture of French privateer *Hirondelle*, St Domingo

Lieutenant Nicholas Lockyer, HMS *Tartar*, Sword £50
Lieutenant Henry Muller, HMS *Tartar*, Sword £50

6 September 1804

Attack on Signal Post at Benthaueme Castle

Mr Francis Rennells, HM Hired Schooner *Colpoys*, Plate £30 (Cash)

18 September 1804

Action with three French vessels whilst on convoy duty in Vizagapatam Road

Captain James Lind, HMS *Centurion*, Sword £100
Lieutenant James Robert Philips, HMS *Centurion*, Sword £50 (Cash)

1805

4 February 1805

Action with two French frigates whilst protecting a convoy in the Mediterranean

Commander Richard Budd Vincent, HM Sloop *Arrow*, Sword £100 & Vase £100
Commander Arthur Farquhar, HM Bomb *Acheron*, Sword £100

14 February 1805

Capture of French frigate *La Psyché* and recapture of *Thetis* prize to *La Psyché* off Vizagapatam

Commander Henry Lambert, HMS *St Fiorenzo*, Sword £100

17 February 1805

Action against French frigate *La Ville de Milan*

Captain Sir Robert Laurie, HMS *Cleopatra*, Sword £100

22 February 1805

Defence of Dominica, against attempted landing by French forces

Brigadier General George Prevost, Sword £100 & £200 plate
Major Abraham Augustus Nunn, 1st West Indian Regiment, Sword £50
Captain Maurice Charles O'Connell, 1st West Indian Regiment, Sword £50 & £100 plate

5 April 1805

Capture of fort at Mariel, Cuba

Lieutenant James Oliver, HMS *Bacchante*, Sword £50

(Letter read 28 May 1805)
Action HM Schooner Felix against a privateer
Lieutenant Richard Bourne, HMS *Felix*, Plate £100

21 May 1805
Action between HM Armed Transport Doris and Spanish Privateer
Captain George Lamb, HM Armed Transport *Doris*, Plate £50

2 and 4 June 1805
**Capture of privateer *Esperanza*, Bay of Camarinas (2 June) and
Storming of fort/Gallant Conduct at Muros (4 June)**
Captain Frederick Lewis Maitland, HMS *Loire*, Sword £100
Lieutenant James Lucas Yeo, HMS *Loire*, Sword £50 & Vase £50
Lieutenant Samuel Mallock RM, HMS *Loire*, Sword £50

13 June 1805
Capture of Spanish privateer schooner *Maria*
Lieutenant Hon George Alfred Crofton, HMS *Cambrian*, Sword £50
Lieutenant George Pigot, HMS *Cambrian*, Sword £50

7 July 1805
**Using the captured French Privateer *Matilda* captured three more
vessels**
Lieutenant George Pigot, HMS *Cambrian*, Vase £100
Lieutenant William Thomas Masterman RM, HMS *Cambrian*, Sword £50

18 July 1805
Action off Boulogne
Master's Mate Mr Edward W Mansel, HMS *Arab*, £50 cash
Seaman Francis Colerento, HMS *Arab*, £20 cash
Seaman William Grover, HMS *Arab*, £20 cash
Seaman David Pantlin, HMS *Arab*, £20 cash

10 August 1805
Capture of French Frigate *La Didon*
Captain Thomas Baker, HMS *Phoenix*, Sword £100

13 August 1805
Capture of Spanish schooner *La Caridad Perfecta* at Truxillo
Midshipman William Pitt Bowler, HM Sloop *Swift*, Sword £30

21 October 1805
Trafalgar
Lord Nelson, HMS *Victory*, 2 Vases at £500
Vice Admiral Lord Cuthbert Collingwood, HMS Royal Sovereign, Vase £500
Rt Hon Rear Admiral the Earl of Northesk, HMS *Britannia*, Vase £300
Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy, HMS *Victory*, Vase £100
Captain Charles Bullen, HMS *Britannia*, Sword £100
Captain Henry William Bayntun, HMS *Leviathan*, Sword £100

Captain Sir Edward Berry, HMS *Agamemnon*, Sword £100 (Vase)
 Captain the Hon Sir Henry Blackwood, HMS *Euryalus*, Sword £100
 Captain the Hon Thomas Bladen Capel, HMS *Phoebe*, Sword £100 (Vase)
 Captain Edward Rotherham, HMS *Royal Sovereign*, Sword £100
 Captain John Conn, HMS *Dreadnought*, Sword £100
 Captain John Cooke, HMS *Bellerophon*, Vase £200
 Lieutenant William Pryce Cumby, HMS *Bellerophon*, Sword £100
 Captain Edward Codrington, HMS *Orion*, Sword £100 (Donated)
 Captain Henry Digby, HMS *Africa*, Sword £100
 Captain George Duff, HMS *Mars*, Vase £100
 Lieutenant William Hennah, HMS *Mars*, Sword £100 (Vase)
 Captain Thomas Dundas, HMS *Naiad*, Sword £100
 Captain Philip Charles Durham, HMS *Defiance*, Sword £100
 Captain Thomas Francis Fremantle, HMS *Neptune*, Sword £100 (Vase)
 Captain Richard Grindall, HMS *Prince*, Sword £100
 Captain William Hargood, HMS *Bellisle*, Sword £100 (Vase)
 Captain George Johnstone Hope, HMS *Defence*, Sword £100
 Captain Richard King, HMS *Achilles*, Sword £100
 Captain Sir Francis Laforey, HMS *Spartiate* – Sword £100
 Captain Charles John Moore Mansfield, HMS *Minotaur*, Sword £100
 Captain Robert Moorsom, HMS *Revenge*, Sword £100
 Captain James Nicoll Morris, HMS *Collosus*, Sword £100 (Vase)
 Captain Israel Pellew, HMS *Conqueror*, Sword £100
 Captain William Prowse, HMS *Sirius*, Sword £100
 Captain Robert Redmill, HMS *Polyphemus*, Sword £100
 Captain William Gordon Rutherford, HMS *Swiftsure*, Sword £100
 Captain Charles Tyler, HMS *Tonnant*, Sword £100
 Lieutenant John Pilfold, HMS *Ajax*, Sword £100
 Lieutenant John Stockham, HMS *Thunderer*, Sword £100
 Lieutenant Robert Benjamin Young, HM Cutter *Entreprenante*, Sword £100
 Lieutenant John Richards Lapenotière, HM Schooner *Pickle*, Sword £100
 Lieutenant Thomas Simons, HMS *Defiance*, Vase £100

4 Nov 1805

Action off Ferrol (also known as the Battle of Cape Ortegal)

Rear Admiral Sir Richard John Strachan, HMS *Caesar*, Vase £300
 Captain Thomas Baker, HMS *Phoenix*, Sword £100 (Vase)
 Captain the Hon Alan Gardner, HMS *Hero*, Sword £100
 Captain Lawrence William, HMS *Namur*, Sword £100 (Vase)
 Captain Richard Lee, HMS *Courageux*, Sword £100
 Captain Wilson Rathborne, HMS *Santa Margarita*, Sword £100

Technically Captain Hotham HMS *Revolutionnaire* and Captain Lord William Fitzroy HMS *Aeolus* were within original declaration but were not included.

14 November 1805

Action between HM Armed Tender *Lord Eldon* and Spanish gunboats in the Gut of Gibraltar

Mrs Elizabeth Brown, £10 Cash

1806

6/7 January 1806

Cutting out Spanish Brig *Raposa*, Bay of Campeachy

Lieutenant Peter John Douglas, HMS *Franchise*, Sword £50

Lieutenant John Fleming, HMS *Franchise*, Sword £50

Lieutenant Mends RM, HMS *Franchise*, Sword £50

Midshipman Lamb, HMS *Franchise*, Sword £30

10 January 1806

Capitulation of the town and garrison of the Cape of Good Hope

Major Gen Sir David Baird, Vase £300

Commodore Sir Home Popham, Vase £200

Lieutenant Colonel Colquhoun Grant, 72nd Regiment, £200 Cash

Lieutenant Colonel D Pack, 71st Regiment, £100 Cash

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Honeyman, 93rd Regiment, £100 Cash (Vase)

Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, 71st Regiment £100 Cash

Brigade-Major Weir, 59th Regiment, £100 Cash (Vase)

6 February 1806

Action off St Domingo

Vice Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, HMS *Superb*, Vase £400

Rear Admiral the Hon Sir Alexander Cochrane, HMS *Northumberland*, Vase
£300

Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Louis, HMS *Canopus*, Vase £300

Captain Francis William Austen, HMS *Canopus*, Sword £100 (Vase)

Captain Sir Edward Berry, HMS *Agamemnon*, Sword £100 (Vase)

Commander Thomas John Cochrane, HMS *Kingfisher*, Sword £100 (Vase)

Captain Richard Dalling Dunn, HMS *Acasta*, Sword £100 (Vase)

Captain Richard Goodwin Keats, HMS *Superb*, Sword £100 (Vase)

Captain Adam Mackenzie, HMS *Magicienne*, Sword £100 (Vase)

Captain Pultney "Patrick" Malcolm, HMS *Donegal*, Sword £100 (Vase)

Captain Samuel Pym, HMS *Atlas*, Sword £100 (Vase)

Captain the Hon Robert Stopford, HMS *Spencer*, Sword £100 (Vase)

Captain John Morrison, HMS *Northumberland*, Sword £100 (Vase)

Lieutenant James Higginson, HMS *Epervier*, Sword £100 (Cash)

For bringing intelligence of the French Movements by an open boat

Captain Rutherford, Merchant Ship *Helen*, Vase £100 (Cash)

21 March 1806

Capture of 3 Spanish luggers – Avillas

Lieutenant Thomas Ussher, HM Armed Brig *Colpoys*, Sword £50

6 April 1806

Capture of French Corvette *La Tapageuse*, River of Bordeaux

Captain Lord Cochran, HMS *Pallas*, Sword £100

Lieutenant Haswell, HMS *Pallas*, Sword £50

Mr (Master) Sutherland, HMS *Pallas*, Vase £50 (Sword)

Masters Mate John Cample Crawford, HMS *Pallas*, Sword £30
Masters Mate Edward Parkins, HMS *Pallas*, Sword £30
Midshipman William Augustus Thompson, HMS *Pallas*, Sword £30

Subsequent events
Destruction of signal posts

Gunner Robert Hillier, HMS *Pallas*, Vase £30

17 April 1806

Action off Tiber

Captain William Prowse, HMS *Sirius*, Sword £100 (Vase)

4 May 1806

Cutting out the Spanish Schooner *Giganta*, Vieja

Lieutenant Sir William Parker, HMS *Renommee*, Sword £50

Lieutenant Charles Adams, HMS *Renommee*, Sword £50

Lieutenant Henry John Murton RM, HMS *Renommee*, Sword £30

24 May 1806

Capture of French Schooner *L'Imperial*

Captain Birt Dynely, HM Packet *Duke of Montrose*, Vase £50

1 June 1806

Storming fort at Aguadilla, Porto Rico

Lieutenant Charles Kerr, HMS *Jason*, Sword £50

22 June 1806

Storming of Fort Finisterre and cutting out 5 Spanish vessels

Lieutenant William Howe Mulcaster, HMS *Minerva*, Sword £50

Lieutenant Charles Menzies RM, HMS *Minerva*, Sword £50

Lieutenant Ogle Moore, HMS *Minerva*, Sword £50 (Vase)

2 July 1806

Capitulation of Buenos Ayres

Major Gen William Carr Beresford, Vase £200

Commodore Sir Home Popham, Vase £200

4 July 1806

Battle of Maida

Major Gen Sir John Stuart, Vase £300

Lieutenant Colonel M'Leod, 78th Regiment, Sword £100 (Vase)

Lieutenant Colonel J Moore, 23 Dragoons, Sword £100

Major John Hammill, Royal Regiment of Malta, Sword £100 (Vase)

Major Paulett, 44th Regiment, Sword £200 (Cash)

Major D Stuart, 78th Regiment, Sword £100 (Cash)

16 July 1806

Attack on French brig *Le Caesar* and convoy River of Bordeaux

Lieutenant Edward Reynolds Sibley, HMS *Centaur*, Sword £50 & £200 cash

19 July 1806

Capture of French frigate *La Guerrière* off Ferroe Islands

Captain Thomas Lavie, HMS *Blanche*, Vase £100

26 July 1806

Destruction of Dutch Brig *Christian Elizabeth*, Manado

Captain Charles Elphinstone, HMS *Greyhound*, Sword £100

Commander Edward Thomas Troubridge, HM Sloop *Harrier*, Sword £100

28 July 1806

Rendering Assistance to an injured enemy sailor

Gunner's Mate Peter Ward, HMS *Minerva*, £20 cash

14 August 1806

Engagement with French privateer, off the Isle of Wight

Lieutenant William James Hughes, HM Fire Brig *Phosphorus*, Sword £100

23 August 1806

Attack on Moro Castle, Cuba or attack on the *Pomona*

Captain Charles Brisbane, HMS *Arethusa*, Sword £100

Captain Charles Lydiard, HMS *Anson*, Sword £100 (Not claimed)

25 September 1806

Action with squadron of enemy frigates

Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, HMS *Centaur*, Vase £300

12 October 1806

Capture of the *Salamander*

Commander John Thicknesse, HM Sloop *Sheldrake*, Sword £100 (Cash)

Lieutenant Richards, HMS *Constance*, Sword £50 (Cash)

Lieutenant John Nugent, HM Gun Brig *Strenuous*, Sword £30 (Cash)

18 October 1806

Action with Dutch ships, Batavia

Captain Peter Rainier, HMS *Caroline*, Sword £100

26 October 1806

Capture of French Privateer *La Superbe*, off cape Nicholas

Lieutenant Michael Fitton, HM Schooner *Pitt*, Sword £50

13 December 1806

Action against 3 enemy ships off Gibraltar

Commander Henry Whitmarsh Pearse, HM Sloop *Halycon*, Sword £100
(Cash)

1807

1 January 1807

Taking of Curacao

Captain Charles Brisbane, HMS *Arethusa*, Sword £200 (Vase)
Captain William Henry Bolton, HMS *Fisgard*, Sword £100
Captain Charles Lydiard, HMS *Anson*, Sword £100 (Vase)
Captain James Athol Wood, HMS *Latona*, Sword £100 (Tea kettle)¹⁰⁰⁰

2 January 1807

Cutting out 2 vessels near St Pierre, Martinique

Lieutenant William Coote, HMS *Cerebus*, Sword £50
Lieutenant Bligh, HMS *Cerebus*, Sword £50 (Cash)

21 January 1807

Capture of French corvette Le Lynx, coast of Caraccas

Lieutenant William Coombe, HMS *Galatea*, Sword £50
Lieutenant Robert Gibson, HMS *Galatea*, Sword £50
Lieutenant Henry Walker, HMS *Galatea*, Vase £50
Master's Mate John Green, HMS *Galatea*, Sword £30
Master's Mate Barry Sarsfield, HMS *Galatea*, Sword £30
Unknown Officer, HMS *Galatea*, Sword £50/£30 (Not claimed)

3 February 1807

Taking of Monte Video

Brigadier General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, Vase £200
Rear Admiral Charles Stirling, HMS *Diadem*, Vase £200
Major Campbell, 40th Regiment, £100 Vase (Cash)
Major Tucker, 72nd Regiment, £100 Vase (Cash)
Major Trotter, 83rd Regiment, £100 Vase (Never claimed)
Lieutenant Matthias Everard, 2nd (Queen's Royal) Regiment. Sword £50

14 and 16 February 1807

Capture of French schooner *Dauphin* off Cape Raphael and Destruction of Fort at Samana

Captain James Richard Dacres, HMS *Bacchante*, Sword £100
Captain William Furlong Wise, HMS *Mediator*, Sword £100¹⁰⁰¹

8 May 1807

Cutting out Spanish packet *St Pedro*, Grand Canaria

Lieutenant George Edward Watts, HMS *Comus*, Sword £50

7 August 1807

Attack on fort and capture of three vessels, Begu(r), Catalonia

Captain George Mundy, HMS *Hydra*, Sword £100
Lieutenant Robert Hayes RM, HMS *Hydra*, Sword £50

¹⁰⁰⁰ It is presumed Captain Wood requested this item as an alternative to a vase, it was made by Paul Storr and sold by John Nicholson's Lot 2261, 11 March 2021.

¹⁰⁰¹ This is just for the attack on the Fort.

Lieutenant Edward O'Brien Drury, HMS *Hydra*, Sword £50 (Cash)

1 October 1807

Action with La Genii a French privateer off Barbadoes

Mr William Rogers, HM Packet *Windsor Castle*, Vase £100 (Cash)

1808

8 March 1808

Capture of French frigate La Piedmontaise, Gulf of Manaar

Captain George Nicholas Hardinge, HMS *San Fiorenzo*, Vase £100

Lieutenant William Dawson, HMS *San Fiorenzo*, Sword £100

13 March 1808

**Attack on forts in Vivero Harbour and destruction of French corvette
*L'Apropos***

Lieutenant Giles Meech RM, HMS *Emerald*, Sword £30

14 March 1808

Action with a Danish ship of war, coast of Norway

Commander William Henry Dillon, HM Sloop *Childers*, Sword £100

23 Apr 1808

Action with gunboats off Faro, Portugal

Commander Thomas Searle, HM Sloop *Grasshopper*, Sword £100 (Vase)

11 June 1808

**Capture of Danish Gunboat and three smaller vessels near entrance of
Naskow**

Lieutenant Richard Head, HMS *Euryalus*, Sword £50

25 June 1808

Action with French frigate off St Andero

Captain Daly, HMS *Comet*, Vase £100

5 May 1807 and 26 June 1808

**Burning a frigate and destroying a large battery in the Dardanelles,
Capture of two gunboats off Corfu.**

Captain Edward Nicolls RM, HMS *Standard*, Sword £50

5/6 July 1808

Capture of Turkish Vessel, Island of Scopolo

Captain John Stewart, HMS *Seahorse*, Sword £100 (Vase)

10 November 1808

Capture of French Frigate *La Thetis*

Captain Michael Seymour, HMS *Amethyst*, Sword £100 (Vase)

1809

9 Mar 1809

Wounded in capture of the French National ship of war 'Joseph', at St Domingo

Lieutenant J R Coryton RM, HMS *Argo*, Sword £50 (Cash)

1 April 1809

Cutting out Venetian gun boat, Rovigno Harbour

Lieutenant Watkin Owen Pell, HMS *Mercury*, Sword £50

12 April 1809

Leading fire ship in attack on French Fleet, Basque Roads

Captain James Wooldridge, HMS *Mediator*, Sword £100

Lieutenant Nicholas Brent Clements, HMS *Mediator*, Sword £50

16 June 1809 Battle of Corunna

Ensign William Newman, 1st West India Regiment, £50 Cash

Mrs Jane Russell, Wife of a private in the 50th Regiment, £15 Cash

Made After Rule Change

(Amount is style of sword)

23 June 1804

Capture of Fort Leyden, Surinam

Lieutenant James Arnold, Royal Engineers, Sword £100

4 January 1805

Attack on French Privateer off St Vallery

Lieutenant William Cunningham Cavendish Dalryell, HM Sloop *Rattler*, Sword £50

21 September 1809

Attack on the Island of Bourbon

Lieutenant Thomas Robert Pye RM, HMS *Boadicea*, Sword £50

3 May 1810

Gallant action against a squadron of the enemy

Captain Jahleel Brenton, HMS *Spartan*, Sword £100

Lieutenant Benjamin Baynton, HMS *Cambrian*, Sword £50

9 July 1810

Action Toulon

Midshipman James Adair, HMS *Alceste*, Sword £30

23 August 1810

Isle de France

Lieutenant Thomas Sherlock Cox RM, HMS *Nereide*, Sword £50

8 April 1811

Taking of Batavia

Commander Edward Stopford, HMS *Otter*, Sword £100

10 May 1811

Repulsing a sortie of the enemy, Fort St Christoval Badajoz

Colonel Thomas Turner, 17th Regiment (Portuguese), Sword £100

16 May 1811

Battle of Albuera

Captain Edward Fleming, 31st Regiment, Sword £50

17 November 1811

Action with French Lugger , Dungeness

Captain Peter Busey Cow, Naval Transport *Chatham*, Sword £50

21 July 1812

Action, coast of France

Lieutenant Thomas Warrand, HM Schooner *Sealark*, Sword £50

12 August 1812

Action, Valemeria

Lieutenant Dwyer, HMS *Minstral*, Sword £50

Annex B
Prosopography of Key Committee Members

Covering:

The four main characters

Other Key Committee Members

Secretary to the Patriotic Fund in 1803

The four main characters

The leads in the formation of the committee would appear to be the Chairman of the first meeting Brook Watson, Sir Francis Baring, J J Angerstein and Robert Thornton.

Sir Brook Watson (1735 –1807). Chairman of Lloyd's at that time, being part way through his ten-year tenure (1796-1806) and it was arranged that Lloyd's would donate £20,000 Three per cent Consolidated Annuities. Having established the initial committee, Watson was recorded in the second meeting as considering his responsibilities to have ceased and that the Fund was thereafter not a responsibility of the subscribers to Lloyd's but a distinct and separate group. Lloyd's however continued to provide accommodation for the Fund's management and several of its leading members would remain heavily involved. But the two organisations were and remain separate. Watson had military links having served as Commissary General in Flanders during the 1793-5 campaign and in 1798 was made Commissary General of Great Britain.¹⁰⁰² He had been Lord Mayor of London in 1796 and had been a Director of the Bank of England. He also knew the dangers of life at sea having lost his leg in Havana harbour, apparently in a shark attack when he was 17.¹⁰⁰³ He was also getting old, he was 68 in 1803 and had no children,

¹⁰⁰² Morriss, *British Maritime Ascendancy* p381.

¹⁰⁰³ The painting by John Singleton Copley, *Watson and the Shark*, depicts his rescue. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

so had no one to significantly inherit as long as his wife was looked after. He actually achieved a Baronetcy at the end of 1803.



Brook Watson, Sir Francis Baring, John Julius Angerstein¹⁰⁰⁴

Sir Francis Baring (1740-1810). Created the merchant bank Barings, took over as Chairman of the Fund. In 1803, he was at the peak of his power, an MP, an advisor to the Cabinet on financial matters and a director of the EIC, as well as being one of the providers of the finance that enabled Britain to maintain war. Although he had disagreed on the endless continuation of war as he made clear on Pitt's death when he said "*on any great political question for above 20 years, our political opinions and principles being different*"¹⁰⁰⁵, 1803 was when he started to withdraw from public affairs and the Chairmanship was one of only two non-business roles he took on, the other being presidency of the educational establishment the London Institution which he took on from its inception in 1805 and where one of his four Vice Presidents was John Julius Angerstein. 1803 was his year out of rotation of the Board of the East India Company from April 1803.¹⁰⁰⁶ His son Thomas takes his place on the committee in 1809. Francis Baring was of German descent being second generation.¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰⁴ The three portraits here are held by the NPG (D10764, 1256, D356), portraits exist of Thornton's father and brother but none found of Robert.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *The Times*, 6 February 1806.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Twist, *Angerstein*, p282.

¹⁰⁰⁷ M Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority, German Merchants in London, Naturalisation and Global Trade 1660-1815* (London, Berghahn Books, 2015) p69.

John Julius Angerstein (1735-1823). The only member of the Committee to have a full biography.¹⁰⁰⁸ He was the most influential of those involved in the Fund. He had been Watson's predecessor as Chairman of the committee running the marine insurance business out of Lloyd's (1782-1795) and was highly influential on the development of the modern Lloyd's. Angerstein was the only member to feature in the medallions of people connected with Lloyd's in the Old Lloyd's room in the 1928 building; the rest were officers, explorers and colonists.¹⁰⁰⁹ Commander Worsley and Captain Griffith identify various gifts of silver plate by Lloyd's starting from 1782;¹⁰¹⁰ Angerstein is associated with all of them. He was born in Russia and moved to Britain at the age of 15, becoming naturalised in 1770. He was heavily involved in philanthropy, being on the Board of Commissioners of the Naval Asylum, Governor of Christ's Hospital, Vice President of the London Institution and a governor of the British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom. He arranged a donation from Lloyd's of £2,000 to help construct lifeboats. He was a significant collector of paintings; these were bought by the Government at his death and formed the nucleus of the National Gallery Collection. He was an active church goer, serving as churchwarden at St Alfege's, Greenwich. Angerstein's son John was very much part of the evangelical Blackheath set. As Henry Grey summarises in his history of Lloyd's "*where Mr. Angerstein was prepared to lead the best men in Lloyd's were willing to follow.*"¹⁰¹¹ While this was referring to his actions in insurance, (policies he backed being known as 'Julians'), there is no reason to think this would not also apply to his involvement in the Patriotic Fund. Frederick Martin also directly attributed the idea of the Fund to Baring and Angerstein.¹⁰¹² In the complexities of life at the time, he was both a slave owner through his estates in Grenada but was also on the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor, which had strong

¹⁰⁰⁸ Twist, *Angerstein*.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Cdr F Worsley & Captain G Griffith *The Romance of Lloyd's* (Hillman-Curl Inc., New York, 1938 p137.

¹⁰¹⁰ *ibid* p171.

¹⁰¹¹ Grey, *Lloyd's Yesterday and Today* p19.

¹⁰¹² Martin, *History of Lloyd's & Marine Insurance* p215.

abolitionist connections and his son John was very much part of the evangelical Blackheath set.

It is noticeable that the Angersteins were concerned about their parentage. When the son applies for a coat of arms in 1827 he bases his design on what are stated as their German armorial elements, which were not registered in Britain.¹⁰¹³

Robert Thornton (1759-1826). Along with his brothers Samuel and Henry was the son of a wealthy evangelist John Thornton, who made his money in the Russia Trade. All were wealthy merchants and involved in philanthropy and evangelism. Robert and Samuel were MPs. Robert remained involved with the Baltic and Russia trades and became a director of the EIC in 1802, aged 43. Henry was a partner of the bank Down, Thornton, Free and Cornwall,¹⁰¹⁴ which involved Peter Free, another committee member, and Chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, which was trying to establish a colony for freed slaves at Freetown. Samuel was a director of the Bank of England having just finished his time as its Governor.¹⁰¹⁵ Robert served as Lieutenant Colonel of the 1 Royal East India Volunteer Infantry, his brother Samuel as Lieutenant Colonel of the Clapham Volunteers. The evangelical links for this family were also very strong. The Thornton and Wilberforce families were interrelated, both being merchant families in the Baltic Trade in Hull, Robert and Samuel's great aunt Sarah Thornton had married William Wilberforce¹⁰¹⁶ (Grandfather of the abolitionist) and Samuel was the MP alongside Wilberforce for the borough of Kingston upon Hull.¹⁰¹⁷ Their father, John, bought John Newton his mission church and had shown previous interest in the Services, funding the establishment of a Bible Society¹⁰¹⁸ for the military in 1779. In 1804, this became the Naval and Military Bible

¹⁰¹³ College of Arms. Grants 36/243, 5 February 1827.

¹⁰¹⁴ This Cornwall was the son in law of Admiral Gardner.

¹⁰¹⁵ From 1799 to 1801.

¹⁰¹⁶ A Stott, *Wilberforce Family and Friends* (Oxford, OUP, 2012) pxiii.

¹⁰¹⁷ S Tomkins, *The Clapham Sect: How Wilberforce's Circle Transformed Britain* (Oxford, Lion Books, 2010).

¹⁰¹⁸ Lay Wesleyans George Cussons and John Davies, financially supported by John Thornton.

Society.¹⁰¹⁹ The family were also involved in funding the Marine Society. John shared his interest in art with Angerstein both being involved with the Society of the Arts.¹⁰²⁰ The Thorntons also had a link to both the Navy and Thelluson through one of their businesses. Henry Thornton's banking partner was John Cornwall, John married the daughter of Admiral Gardner and his other daughter married Thelluson.¹⁰²¹ Subsequently his career did not go well and by 1810 Thornton was in financial difficulties, his business (damaged by the continental blockade) winding up and his house for sale. he initially managed to get a sinecure as Marshall of the Court of the Admiralty but ended up fleeing the country under an assumed name in 1815 and setting up in France.¹⁰²²

Other Key Committee Members

This includes those who from the minutes were identified as being either members of one of the sub committees or who were regular attendees, they are in alphabetical order.

James Abel (1762-1817).¹⁰²³¹⁰²⁴ A subscriber to Lloyd's¹⁰²⁵ involved with various partners, but in particular his brother George, who was also marine insurance underwriter and George Maculay, who died in 1803, having initially worked for George.¹⁰²⁶ George died 15 Jan 1805.¹⁰²⁷ He was clearly financially successful, as he owned Belsize Park, Hampstead, including the neighbouring Hillfield estate, which he rented out.¹⁰²⁸ This means he was a

¹⁰¹⁹ It changed to current name of Naval, Military and Air Force Bible Society in 1961.

¹⁰²⁰ Now known as Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures Portrait Commerce (RSA).

¹⁰²¹ *Heart of Oak – Letters from Admiral Gardner (1742-1809)* (Azure Publications, Exeter, 2015, Edited by Francis Davey) p45 & p47.

¹⁰²² <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/thornton-robert-1759-1826>.

¹⁰²³ London Gazette No 17437 p1069.

¹⁰²⁴ St John at Hampstead Churchyard, Plot XE131.

¹⁰²⁵ He appears on the register as early as 1773.

¹⁰²⁶ From the History of the Worshipful Company of Bowyers

<http://www.bowyers.com/history/personalities/macaulay.php> accessed 14 April 2013.

¹⁰²⁷ The Gentleman's Magazine Volume 97 p92.

¹⁰²⁸ <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22638> accessed on 14 April 2013.

neighbour of Germain Lavie.¹⁰²⁹ His brother's house was nearby at Frognaal, Hampstead¹⁰³⁰ He married Mary Harvey, a widow in 1804, having been executor for her husband's estate.

John Jacob Appach (1743-1820).¹⁰³¹ A German who was naturalized in 1770,¹⁰³² the same week as Angerstein. He went bankrupt in 1781.¹⁰³³ Little else is known about him except that he was a partner in an insurance brokerage with Joseph Greaves, Appach & Greaves.¹⁰³⁴ This company was dissolved in 1811.¹⁰³⁵ Little else is known about him except that he was married,¹⁰³⁶ involved alongside Angerstein as a governor of the Royal London Ophthalmic Hospital¹⁰³⁷ and his son, John Francis (1790-1815) was in the EIC Army, joining in 1808.¹⁰³⁸

George Baillie¹⁰³⁹ (1746-1811), a merchant and slave-factor in St Vincent and St Kitts in the 1780s and 1790s, along with his cousins, Evan and James Baillie. Other branches of the family were involved in trade to the East Indies. Evan returned from the West Indies to establish the family firm in Bristol and was Colonel of the Bristol Volunteer Force in 1797 and an MP from 1802. James also returned to Britain and bought Ealing Grove in Middlesex from the Duke of Argyll and served as MP for Horsham. Both James and Evan had been active in the Assemblies in the West Indies. His uncle James was also a partner of the Thorntons with the company Baillie, Thornton and Campbell.

¹⁰²⁹ D Lysons *The environs of London: being an historical account of the towns, villages, and hamlets, within twelve miles of that capital: interspersed with biographical anecdotes* (London, Cadell & Davies Vol 1, Issue 2, 1811) p351.

¹⁰³⁰ *Oracle and Daily Advertiser* London, 19 December 1798.

¹⁰³¹ Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle*, July to December 1820 Vol XC (London, John Nichols, 1820) p492.

¹⁰³² House of Lords Journal Volume 32: March 1770 - 10 March.

¹⁰³³ *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review*, Volume 51 1781 p96

¹⁰³⁴ London Post Office Directory for 1814 p12.

¹⁰³⁵ *The London Gazette*, 1811 p1092.

¹⁰³⁶ He married a Miss Partridge in 1788.

¹⁰³⁷ Annual Report 1808 of London Infirmary for curing diseases of the eye.

¹⁰³⁸ V C G Hodson *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834, Part 1* (India, Constable, 1927) p42.

¹⁰³⁹ D Hamilton, Local Connections, Global Ambitions: Creating a Transoceanic Network in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic Empire *International Journal of Maritime History* 2011 23: pp283-300 Accessed at <http://ijh.sagepub.com/content/23/2/283.citation> on 31 March 2014.

The family had moved out to the West Indies after their family home was burnt in the 1745 rebellion. The Baillies also worked with James Fraser and Hugh Inglis to Captain several of their ships. George had planned to retire in 1793 on his return to Britain but James finances were precarious and led George to promise to assist while James was on his deathbed. George was instrumental in generating government loans following the slave revolt in 1795. At the Peace of Amiens George's business was then largely with islands that were transferred to the Netherlands so when the war broke out again in 1803 the remittances stopped. Exposed for over a £1,000,000 it took a bill in Parliament that extended the colonies loans to save his business. This later though led to his correspondence with Parliament on Bankruptcy and his firm failed in 1808.

Peter Begbie (1768-1815). A Scottish-born India merchant, he served as a ships purser for the East India Maritime Service before settling in London around the 1790s,¹⁰⁴⁰ becoming a partner in Begbie and Hunter, who were an East India Company House and were also involved in convict trading to Australia, based at 17 New Broad Street, London.¹⁰⁴¹ The Company was also a member of Lloyd's. After going bankrupt in 1812¹⁰⁴² he clearly had influence as he was appointed Examiner of Spoiled Stamps on Policies at Somerset House by his friend Mr Vansittart (afterwards Lord Bexley),¹⁰⁴³ at the time Chancellor of the Exchequer and was later granted a coat of arms and his children achieved success with several becoming established in India, one son became Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces and another a Major General, while one remaining in England became a vicar.

Thomson Bonar Snr (1743- 1813). A successful underwriter at the time he was a subscriber to Lloyd's from 1773 and at the peak of his career was one of the wealthiest underwriters. He was the third committee member appointed

¹⁰⁴⁰ He married Frances Jones in 1797 and the company starts getting listed around this time.

¹⁰⁴¹ Directory of London and Westminster, & Borough of Southwark. 1794.

¹⁰⁴² TNA, *In the matter of Peter Begbie late of Broad Street, London, insurance broker (dealer and chapman), bankrupt, May 19, 1812. B 3/305.*

¹⁰⁴³ Correspondence with descendants.

as a trustee and stood in for the Chairman at several meetings. He was murdered along with his wife in a brutal attack at his house Camden Place at Chislehurst (now Chislehurst Golf Club Clubhouse) by one of his footmen. It is the three trustees who are mentioned by Frederick Martin as those whose wealth led to others trying to set up a rival to Lloyd's.¹⁰⁴⁴ He was also a banker and his bank was taken over by Barings in 1823.¹⁰⁴⁵ He spoke to Parliament on the Naval enquiry on purchase of masts hemp and fir timber along with Angerstein. There is a memorial to him at St Nicholas Church, Chislehurst to the left just inside the lych gate. The National Portrait Gallery has a picture of him¹⁰⁴⁶ in which he is described as Russian merchant and bank director. He was also Vice President of London Dispensary. He was a regular in philanthropy with Angerstein. He was in partnership with Angerstein in various ventures and Angerstein's patron (and possible father) Andrew Thomson's sister was the mother of Thomson Bonar, so almost (and maybe actually) cousins. His son Thomson who was also on the committee was also working in the family business. (his other 2 children were Henry and Agnes). The younger Thomson Bonar was Colonel of Kent Local Militia and on duty with them the night his father was killed.

Robert Christie (1744-1834). He was a London merchant¹⁰⁴⁷ and Lloyd's underwriter. He was involved along with his relative John Christie with the London merchant firm John and Robert Christie and Co, Mark Lane. John Christie was also known for his philanthropy and they had a further relative James Christie who was an underwriter at Lloyd's.¹⁰⁴⁸ Together they owned the Pensilvania Packet, which was involved in the route to the West Indies in 1779.¹⁰⁴⁹ Robert was bankrupted by the Brecon Railway construction in 1827 but managed to buy his way out by 1830.¹⁰⁵⁰

¹⁰⁴⁴ F Martin, *The History of Lloyd's and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain* p229.

¹⁰⁴⁵ The documentation for this is held in Barings archive.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Although image is not on line.

¹⁰⁴⁷ It is just possible this was a different Robert Christie, a London lawyer who died in 1827 but it is far more likely the one involved with Lloyd's and philanthropy.

¹⁰⁴⁸ S Hughes, *The Archaeology of an Early Railway System: The Brecon Forest Tramroads* (RCAHMW, Apr 30, 1990) p10.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Letters dated 22 March and 1 June 1781 held by London Metropolitan Archive. City of London Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents (LMSLPS150920121)

Horatio Clagett (1755-1815). Part of the merchant firm of Clagett, Pratt and Clagett, which was dissolved 31 Dec 1814¹⁰⁵¹ to enable William Pratt to retire. He lived in Clapham¹⁰⁵² When Lloyd's reformed in 1811 and created a new 12 member committee structure, Horatio Clagett was one of the 12 as well as being a Life Governor of the Royal London Ophthalmic Hospital. His youngest son, William Pratt, drowned in a boating incident in 1825.¹⁰⁵³

Thomas Everett MP (1740-1810).¹⁰⁵⁴ Owed his prosperity to the Wiltshire cloth trade, being a Blackwell Hall factor at Lawrence Lane, London from about 1770. He had two brothers in Wiltshire who were clothiers, one was also a partner in a bank at Warminster by 1783. In 1785 he co-founded the bank Newnham, Everett, Drummond, Tibbets and Tanner, which through various changes losing several names and adding another relative, with major change in 1801 and in effect becoming Everett and Co by 1810.¹⁰⁵⁵ Everett purchased the Biddesden estate near Ludgershall, with its electoral interest and from 1796 to his death as MP for Ludgershall. He was a member of the Loyal Livery of London. He signed the merchants' declaration in support of Pitt's administration, supported the dividend on the loyalty loan, to which he had subscribed £10,000 and his firm £50,000. He also invested in East India Company Stock. He was listed as adverse to the abolition of the slave trade. He was vice-president of the Foundling Hospital and buried in its chapel, leaving an estate valued at £100,000.

accessed at <http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=LMSLPS15092PS150920232> on 19 April 2013.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Portrait held by National Gallery of Scotland, published 1824 Accession Number EP V 397.1

¹⁰⁵¹ *London Gazette*, 7 January 1815, p30

¹⁰⁵² His obituary gives his address as Clapham Rise and *The Gentleman's Magazine* (London, Vol 118 January 1816) p643 says South Lambeth Road they are the same road.

¹⁰⁵³ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Volume 95, Part 2; Volume 138, p188.

¹⁰⁵⁴ <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/everett-thomas-1740-1810> accessed 15 April 2013.

¹⁰⁵⁵ F G Hilton Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers* (reprinted: New Delhi, Isha Books 2013, original 1876) p58.

Peter Free. Partner in the bank Down, Thornton, Free and Cornwall, the residue of which is now owned by RBS. This bank was one of those that gave £1000 to the Fund in the first year. The Cornwall in the above is the husband of Admiral Gardner's daughter, and Thornton is the family who were one of the key drivers of the Patriotic Fund. This bank went through several name change as partners were added Free joins the names in 1785 and is included within the name when in December 1825, by which time it was known as Pole, Thornton, Free, Down & Scott, it failed.¹⁰⁵⁶ It is claimed that it is Peter Free's over depending on credit post the Thorntons' retirement from active involvement post Henry's death in 1815, that meant it was overstretched in 1825.¹⁰⁵⁷ He was a Director of the Bank of England from 1800-3.¹⁰⁵⁸

George Goodwin (1780-1863). Outside his work on the committee the only references seem to be through his son, who became a very notorious architect. The older George Goodwin the elder, was the architect with whom the son trained, was involved in building new churches in the new suburbs as London expanded. So could have been linked to Clapham set/Thorntons who were sponsoring some of these churches.

David Hunter (1752-1822). Involved in the EIC from the 1780s he married in 1794 to Miss Helen McClure daughter of a Liverpool merchant. He was the partner of Peter Begbie discussed above and also invested as a partner with Andrew Reid. Clearly wealthy as he maintained two homes, one at Bloomsbury and one at Blackheath, he is known to have had shares in ships and have been involved in the sugar and coffee trade.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵⁶ NatWest Heritage site.

¹⁰⁵⁷ E M Forster, *Marianne Thornton: A Domestic Biography, 1797-1887* (New York, Harvest, 1956) p109.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Acres, *The Bank of England from Within* p623.

¹⁰⁵⁹ R Moody. *Dinosaurs and Other Extinct Saurians: A Historical Perspective* (Geological Society of London, 2010) pp31-3.



*Germain Lavie (on the seasaw steadied by Thomas)*¹⁰⁶⁰

Germain Lavie (1763-1824).¹⁰⁶¹ There were three generations all with the same name.¹⁰⁶² Of French Protestant ancestry the father was a solicitor in Putney, his second son, Germain, aged seven at the time of the painting, is the committee member, as the Lavie on the committee continues active involvement past 1810, when his father died. He also was a lawyer. Marrying Miss Mansel in January 1794.¹⁰⁶³ He also had a son called Germain born in 1800 who became a solicitor in 1827. The Committee's Germain Lavie was a local magistrate at Hampstead in 1819 and acted as solicitor for the Admiralty in two court cases (the second one in 1814) against Admiral Thomas Cochrane and was considered senior enough to give testimony to the House of Commons in 1818.¹⁰⁶⁴ Germain Lavie was a neighbour of James Abel at Belsize¹⁰⁶⁵ and as discussed in Chapter 9 his brother was the naval officer Sir Thomas Lavie.

¹⁰⁶⁰ USA National Gallery of Art by Johann Zoffany circa 1770 Accession number 1983.1.48.

¹⁰⁶¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine* Volume 135 p234.

¹⁰⁶² It is possible there were 4 generations using the same name as a Germain Lavie was buried at Putney in 1781.

¹⁰⁶³ *The Gentleman's Magazine* Volume 75 p88.

¹⁰⁶⁴ There is a testimony of Germain Lavie, solicitor in the evidence of the Select Committee Appointed to Consider of the Bankrupt Laws, *supra* note 7.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Daniel Lysons, *The environs of London: being an historical account of the towns, villages, and hamlets, within twelve miles of that capital: interspersed with biographical anecdotes, Volume 1, Issue 2* (London T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811) p351.

Richard Lee. Included within a list of Officers of Insurers for Houses and Goods in 1782 along with John Bell, Thomas Boddington, William Bosanquet and William Raikes. Listed as a new member of Lloyd's from 1792 and for 1799 lists him under merchants involved in the West Indies trade. Still listed as a member of Lloyd's in 1805.

William Macnish Porter (1763-1838). In 1803 he is known as William Macnish but was granted royal authority to change his surname on 21 August 1804. This was to take the surname of uncle, on his mother's side, and to be able to take the Arms of Porter.¹⁰⁶⁶ He was a member of the Russia Company in 1811.

John Mangles (1760-1837).¹⁰⁶⁷ Along with his brother James (1762-1838) they were partners in their father's chandlery business, which was bequeathed to them in 1788, this subsequently expanded across the Thames to Rotherhithe, where they were listed as shipwrights in 1817 and as Mangles and Company, wharfingers, in 1820. They owned three ships, which traded with the East Indies and Australia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The family also had a close interest in the Swan River Colony of Western Australia, and Mangles Bay in Western Australia is named after them as is the Western Australia floral emblem (*Anigozanthus manglesii* or the Red and Green Kangaroo Paw). Elizabeth Mangles, a daughter of James Mangles, married Sir James Stirling the Governor of Western Australia who named his residence after the Mangles family home (Woodbridge House). In 1829, James Mangles retired and in 1832 became MP for Guildford. John Mangles is listed as the owner of East India ship Good Hope 1795-98 and Travers in 1799-1808. Their company had business links with Thomas King's company Camden, Calvert and King.

¹⁰⁶⁶ London Gazette Number 15729 p1021 dated 18 August 1804.

¹⁰⁶⁷ From article on the Mangles collection

<http://www.surreyarchaeology.org.uk/content/mangles-collection> accessed on 19 April 2013., the MP database and Directory of East India Shipping.

Joseph Marryat (1757-1824).¹⁰⁶⁸ Merchant and ship owner with interests throughout the West Indies and America, indeed he was the Agent for Trinidad by 1807-1815 and Grenada from 1815 until he died. Became the Lloyd's parliamentary spokesperson in 1810 having become MP for Horsham in 1808 and became Chairman of Lloyd's in 1811. His son Frederick joined the navy in 1806, and served under the radical politician Captain Lord Cochrane, an experience that shaped his later career as an author. Descended from a Huguenot family, his father was an ordained minister but turned to medicine when Joseph was six. Joseph trained for a mercantile career in London and in 1782 went to Grenada. He met and married the daughter of an American loyalist on a visit to the United States in 1788 and returned to England in 1791. He went into business in London as a West India merchant. He had a country residence at Sydenham until 1815, when he bought the imposing property of Wimbledon House. He was a supporter of abolition of slavery, although supported corrections to two of Wilberforce's bills to avoid putting British business at a competitive disadvantage. In 1819, Marryat became a partner in the London bank of a London MP, Sir Charles Price, Price & Co., and the firm, which became known as Marryat, Kay, Price and Coleman.¹⁰⁶⁹ He dropped dead at his office there in 1824.

Rupert Humphrey Marten/Martin (1763-1839). Unbroken Service records this name as Marten, but some of the handwritten notes have it clearly spelt as Martin. It would appear that Martin/Marten moved between the two spellings.¹⁰⁷⁰ Marten was probably descended from the German family of Martens who had the Levant Company merchants Murrell & Marten.¹⁰⁷¹

¹⁰⁶⁸ Historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/marryat-joseph-1757-1824

¹⁰⁶⁹ Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers* p133.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Martin is the name of one of Britain's oldest banks active at this time at Lombard Street, London, with grasshopper sign, one of its' directors is R H Martin who could be this R H Marten.

¹⁰⁷¹ Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority, German Merchants in London, Naturalisation and Global Trade 1660-1815* p138 and p180. This might be why he changed the spelling of his name - to anglicise it.

Rupert was a partner in the bank of Call, Marten & Co. from 1810.¹⁰⁷² Writing in the “*Reports of the Committées Formed in London in the Year 1814 for the Relief of the Unparalleled Distresses in Germany ... Occasioned by the War which Terminated in the Treaty of Paris 1814*” he spells it Marten throughout, for this work which raised £120,000 he was made a freeman of Magdeburg. He was a Baptist Minister in London and known church reformer.¹⁰⁷³ He was also Director of the Commercial Dock Company under Benjamin Shaw in 1819¹⁰⁷⁴ and was director of the Thames Tunnel Company which during an incident during build he was rescued by a then young Isambard Kingdom Brunel.

John Mavor (1756-1826).¹⁰⁷⁵ A merchant with business in the West Indies¹⁰⁷⁶ who started at Lloyd’s around 1801 as an insurance underwriter, specialising in the West Indies trade.¹⁰⁷⁷ His son and grandson also have the name John, so the partnerships are sometimes unclear but the family were linked to Charles Boldero¹⁰⁷⁸ and William Lushington¹⁰⁷⁹ and provided the William Mavor (author, rector and mayor of Woodstock) with accommodation.¹⁰⁸⁰ The business with Lushington was dissolved in 1807.¹⁰⁸¹ Early 1800s the family moved to Hampstead, and his daughter Jane Elizabeth marries there in 1806 to John Armitage Brown (friend of Keates).¹⁰⁸² His other children were

¹⁰⁷² *ibid* p25.

¹⁰⁷³ Published research by his descendants on morganfourman.com/articles/robert-humphrey-marten/ accessed 28 August 2020.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *The Royal kalendar and court and city register for England, Scotland, Ireland and the colonies: for the year 1819* (Stockdale) p312.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Buried at St Marylebone PROB 11/1716/437 Ancestry.com *London, England, Church of England Deaths and Burials, 1813-2003* [database on-line].

¹⁰⁷⁶ From *Manuscript Sources for the History of the West Indies: With Special Reference to Jamaica in the National Library of Jamaica and Supplementary Sources in the West Indies, North America, and United Kingdom and Elsewhere* by Kenneth E. Ingram University of the West Indies Press, 2000 entry 0487

¹⁰⁷⁷ Parliament Report from Committees, Volume 7, 1824 p92.

¹⁰⁷⁸ The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Marine Insurances from 1810 p202.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Lloyd’s Lists for shipping interests, Lloyd’s subscription lists and UCL slave ownership sites.

¹⁰⁸⁰ William Mavor’s entry refers to staying with wealthy cousins.

¹⁰⁸¹ *London Gazette* 16102 26 December 1807 p1754.

¹⁰⁸² G Iles. “New Information on Keats’s Friend Charles ‘Armitage’ Brown and the Brown Family” (*Keats-Shelley Journal*, Vol 40, 1991, pp146-166) www.jstor.org/stable/30216146. Accessed 7 Aug. 2020 p149.

Margaret Still Mavor and John. The son does not seem to have been as successful declaring bankruptcy in 1812, but then worked with his father but went bankrupt again one year after his father died in 1827¹⁰⁸³ by which time the business was described as Insurance Brokers, Merchants, Dealers and Chapmen, this son dies in 1829 and by Elizabeth's letters left the family broke. It might be the grandson who was the John Mavor who as an agent of Lloyd's in Amsterdam returned the Lutine Bell in 1858.¹⁰⁸⁴

George Munro. A Lloyd's insurance broker, he was on the committee put together by Lloyd's to oppose legislation handing powers to other insurance companies where their spokesman was Joseph Marryat and appears on the list of members for many years. When Lloyd's reformed in 1811 and created a new 12 member committee structure, George Munro was one of the 12, he was still on the committee for Lloyd's made up of the leading underwriters in 1825.¹⁰⁸⁵



Joseph Marryat¹⁰⁸⁶ and Thomas Rowcroft¹⁰⁸⁷

Andrew Reid (1751–1841). Was a wealthy merchant and distiller, became a partner in 1793 with Richard Meux the brewer and the firm began to trade as Meux Reid & Co which failed in 1816 with the Brewery being bought by Griffin

¹⁰⁸³ *London Gazette* No16642 1827.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, 18 December 1858.

¹⁰⁸⁵ All from various Lloyd's registers and lists.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Unknown artist circa 1810.

¹⁰⁸⁷ R Dighton, etching published 1824 National Portrait Gallery D9032.

(now part of Fullers) and Andrew Reid starting his own brewery (which became part of Watney's with the name disappearing in the 1950s). The failure may have been partly due to the loss of one of its tanks flooding the area killing 8.¹⁰⁸⁸ His brother Jack Reid had made and lost his fortune in the East Indies and China returning home for his brother's support. David Hunter was also an investor with Andrew Reid.

Thomas Reid (1762-1824).¹⁰⁸⁹ Sir Thomas Reid was a subscriber to Lloyd's and was on the committee put together by Lloyd's to oppose legislation handing powers to other insurance companies along with Joseph Marryat. Thomas Reid was also involved in nominating in 1809 six Directors of the EIC including Baring, Inglis and Thelluson.¹⁰⁹⁰ In about 1790 he became a partner with John Irving in the West India trading house of his relative John Rae, which expanded its operations to the East Indies and became Reid, Irving and Company. In 1803 he became a director of the East India Company, being elected again in 1805–08 and 1810–13. In 1815 and 1820 he served as Deputy-Governor of the company, followed in both cases by being made Governor the following year (1816 and 1821). He was also a director of the Imperial Insurance Office. He inherited Greystone Park, Dumfriesshire and also purchased estates at Ewell Grove and Woodmansterne both in Surrey. He was made a Baronet (of Ewell) on 10 November 1823. His business partner John Irving was a MP from 1806 and a member of the Volunteer London and Westminster light horse, a Director of the WI Dock Co and involved with Alliance Life and Fire Insurance Co.

Thomas Rowcroft (1768-1824). A merchant trading in London involved with the Russian trade and also described as a East India Merchant although in a printed caricature he is titled as a Royal Exchange Consul General. He was elected Alderman of City of London in 1803 and served until 1808, representing the Pattern Makers. He commanded a troop of the Loyal London

¹⁰⁸⁸ C Klein, *The London Beer Flood* (17 October 2014 History.com) Accessed 7 August 2020.

¹⁰⁸⁹ From the History of Parliament on line entry for his son, the second Baronet.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *The Times* 5 April 1809.

Cavalry¹⁰⁹¹ and was Chairman of the London Hospital and was Vice President of the Literary Fund. Heavily involved in promoting the subscription for the Spanish patriots, this was a Fund set up in 1808 by the merchants and bankers and certainly raised over £38,000 to help clothe and equip the Spanish Army, which of course by then was working against Napoleon.¹⁰⁹² He lost his eldest son in 1819 in the service of the independents near the Spanish Main. He was killed while serving as the British Consul in Peru, possibly because he was wearing the uniform of the London Light Horse Association and was mistaken for a royalist officer during General Bolivar's struggle for independence.¹⁰⁹³ His son, Charles, after attempting to make money in the colonies returned to the UK bought a school and became a novelist. When Lloyd's reformed in 1811 and created a new 12 member committee structure, Thomas Rowcroft was one of the 12, he was also a victualing contractor.

Frederick Samuel Secretan (1751-1837).¹⁰⁹⁴ Started in underwriting partnership with Paul Le Mesurier around 1789. Le Mesurier, a Guernsey man served as Lord Mayor of London and was Colonel of the Honourable Artillery Company, he died in 1805. Both were natural French speakers. Secretan was from Lausanne, he was naturalised 18 March 1789¹⁰⁹⁵ and then started in partnership. In 1806 as he retired he built a house called Arcadia in Monmouthshire and became a near neighbour of Samuel Boasanquet at Dynastow Court. He inherited from James Woodhouse in 1813 and had to add that name and arms to his own. His eldest son took over underwriting in 1806 and had also joined the Honourable Artillery Company but his second son James joined the Navy as a young gentleman and was serving under Thomas Lavie and similarly became a prisoner of war for the remainder of the

¹⁰⁹¹ Dodsley's Annual Register, Volume 45 from 1805 p443.

¹⁰⁹² *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, for the Year 1808*, Vol LXXVIII published by Edward Cave p1182.

¹⁰⁹³ His obituary was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, for the Year 1824*, published by Edward Cave in 1825 The Supplement to Vol XCV pg 645

¹⁰⁹⁴ M Turner, *Contract Unbroken*. Privately printed by F L P Secretan to mark Secretan's 200 years at Lloyd's in 1989.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Journals of the House of Commons, Volume 44 p213.

war. The family appear to be religious, one son became a curate¹⁰⁹⁶ and one grandson was a vicar who published a book of his sermons. The partnership also owned a whaler and was involved in providing bonds for Channel Island privateers. The Secretan group lasted for over 200 years only disappearing in the Lloyd's restructuring in the 1990s.¹⁰⁹⁷

Benjamin Shaw (1770-1843).¹⁰⁹⁸ Shaw's father was a merchant, in partnership with Andrew Jordaine he left his partnership to Benjamin in 1790 as Jordaine and Shaw, merchants. Jordaine and Shaw were involved as contractors and agents for the Victualing Board.¹⁰⁹⁹ In addition to this he was a Director of the Union Fire Co. 1804-7, served as Deputy Chairman in 1808 and then again as a director from 1811-19. He was also a director Rock Life Assurance Office. He was also a partner in the bank Perring, Shaw, Barber and Co.¹¹⁰⁰ He was a member of Lloyd's committee in 1811 and chairman 1824-6. He was involved with the St Olave Volunteers holding the rank of Captain Commandant in 1803 and later the 5th Surrey Militia. It is possible he was the Shaw of Perring, Shaw and Barber's London bank, 1812-26. Shaw signed the London merchants' loyal declaration to Pitt's government in December 1795. Subjects that interested him included the Christian missions to India. Later an MP from 1812-18 he then reverted to his position in the business world becoming involved with the Commercial Dock Co and Anglo Mexican mint and mining Companies. He also became a member of the Society of Shipowners and sat on the Port of London committee. He also played a material part in the founding of University College, London. When Lloyd's reformed in 1811 and created a new 12 member committee structure, Benjamin Shaw was one of the 12

¹⁰⁹⁶ The website of St John the Evangelist-in-the-East Golding Street 1869 – 1943 lists their curates includes Secretan with comment that his father F S Secretan was from a French Huguenot family and a member of Lloyd's.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Portrait held by the family contained in M Turner, *Contract Unbroken*.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Most of this information is from the History of Parliament on line entry, the remainder is from lists of subscribers, members of committees etc.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Knight&Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet* p126.

¹¹⁰⁰ Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers* p128 with the papers of Perring at LMA confirming this was Benjamin Shaw.

James Shaw (1764–1843).¹¹⁰¹ From a farming background he became a successful merchant and politician. Lord Mayor of London 1805-1806, made a baronet in 1809, and was given a second patent in 1813 to allow it to pass to his nephew. At the age of 17, he followed his elder brother to America to seek work, returning after three years to take up a position in the same company's London offices and becoming a junior partner in the firm. He became a wealthy merchant and financially assisted the children of Robbie Burns, elected an Alderman in 1798 and became a Sheriff in 1803. He re-established the precedence of the Lord Mayor of London for state events for Lord Nelson's funeral. He was a MP until 1818. Later in his life, he bought £40,000 of fake bills on behalf of the city of London and began to liquidate his property to make good but was cleared by a commission. Shaw was also President of St Bartholomew's Hospital from 1806 to 1831 and was involved with the Honourable Artillery Company as Treasurer 1810-18 after serving as a Major in the 7th London Volunteers, Vice-President 1818-29 and then President 1829-43.¹¹⁰² He died with no heirs and the Baronetcy passed his nephew. There is a portrait in the Guildhall Museum London of him. Richard Dighton produced a caricature of James Shaw and the National Portrait Gallery holds a coloured print of this.

Robert (1741-1827) and George (1769-1855) Shedden. American and West Indian merchant and slave-owner. Robert's business was titled Robert Shedden & Sons. Originally owning a plantation in Virginia he lost that due to being a Loyalist in the American revolution and resettled in England. The family memorial is at St James Church Paulerspury, Northamptonshire where Robert bought the manor house in 1805. His son paid for a major restoration of the church.¹¹⁰³ Robert became Chairman of the Fund in 1823. George was his son who took over as Chairman in 1827, and indeed it was then his son William George Shedden who became Chairman in 1855. Robert and George were described as City of London merchants and Robert Shedden was a

¹¹⁰¹ Most of this information is from the History of Parliament on line entry.

¹¹⁰² <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=67243> accessed on 15 April 2013.

¹¹⁰³ This information is a summary of that contained with UCL British Legacies of Slave-ownership and St James church history.

leading underwriter. They owned at least one Falmouth packet, Princess Royal.¹¹⁰⁴ When Lloyd's reformed in 1811 and created a new 12 member committee structure, Robert Shedden was one of the 12. His memorial describes him as: "steady and consistent supporter of the Constitution and Established Religion, and was distinguished as a Patron and Guardian of Patriotic Institutions which befriended the Widows and Orphans who fell in battle, universally respected for Probity and Liberality as a Merchant, and pre-eminently for his judgement and enterprise in Marine Insurance, Mild, Charitable, and Generous, beloved by his numerous Family and Descendants, Devout and Humble". The son George owned the Spring Hill estate in the Isle of Wight and continued the family interests.

Henry Thompson. The name is too common to track which details pertain to this Henry Thompson. However, it is presumed this is the Henry Thompson who was an underwriter at Lloyd's in 1803.¹¹⁰⁵

Thomas (1752-1824) and James Warre (1756-1833).¹¹⁰⁶ This is the Warre's of the Port House in Oporto. Founded by William Warre, his son, also William had four sons. James was involved in leading the trade to Oporto and Thomas instead got involved in the trade to St Petersburg and was thus a member of the Russia Company. Both James and John (another of the brothers) had sons called Thomas. James' son was 1786-1842 and John's 1787-1860. It was only Thomas who was active in the committee, which is not surprising as he was the one who was based in England, James was on the committee for his donation but was based in Portugal but presumably therefore was involved in the later donations from the businesses there to the Fund. Thomas lived at West Cliff, in Ramsgate¹¹⁰⁷ but tried to find a seat at Newcastle Under Lyme in 1802 and possibly Hull in 1807.¹¹⁰⁸ Thomas bought

¹¹⁰⁴ Reports on Committees of Parliament Volume 12 Finance Reports p219.

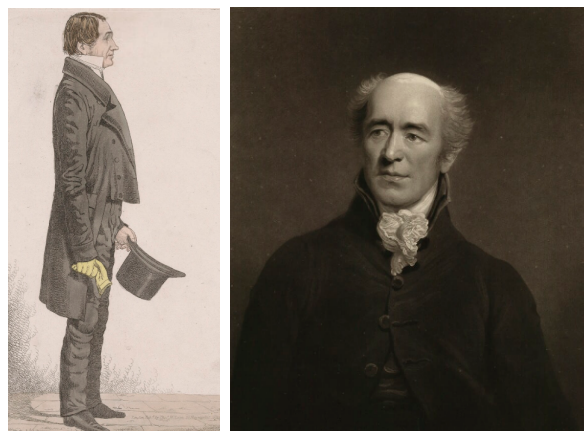
¹¹⁰⁵ *Lloyd's List* 1803.

¹¹⁰⁶ Warre Company website.

¹¹⁰⁷ From print of property titled West Cliff, Seat of Thomas Warre, Esquire (London: Vernor and Hood, 1806).

¹¹⁰⁸ <http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1790-1820/member/warre-john-ashley-1787-1860> accessed 7 August 2020.

West Cliff in 1817 at which point he had two other homes one off Oxford Street and one in St Petersburg.¹¹⁰⁹ James had another son William Warre who fought in the Peninsular Campaign. In the 1790s their company was handling 10% of the exports of port.



James Shaw¹¹¹⁰ and David Pike Watts¹¹¹¹

David Pike Watts (1754-1816).¹¹¹² He was bequeathed the wine merchant business of Mr Benjamin Kenton, a well-known philanthropist, that he was working for in 1800. Both his sons joined the army and he lost both in the Napoleonic Wars, one at the Battle of Barossa and the other of fever in the West Indies. Having also lost his wife and being a very religious man he got involved in “Many and various concerns, public and private (for no man took a more active part in all works of public utility and benevolence,)” He was an active member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and wrote a tract for them in 1799. The society was involved in setting up schools and in missionary work abroad, Watts argued for the school side being the most judicious work and was also instrumental in implementing the education methods advocated by Dr Bell in 1797. He was also involved with the Marine Society an organisation educating poor boys utilising a ship in Deptford in 1809. He was also a patron of Christ’s Hospital. He was involved in the

¹¹⁰⁹ B Kelly, West Cliff: 225 Years, Ramsgate Matters Article 27 November 2015 accessed 7 August 2020.

¹¹¹⁰ R Dighton, etching published 1824 National Portrait Gallery D46109.

¹¹¹¹ Print of etching by Sir William Beechey 1817, National Portrait Gallery D37899.

¹¹¹² M Russell, *Some Account of the Late David Pike Watts Esq* (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1841) Mrs Russell was his daughter and this summarises key information from that book.

Vintners Livery Company and became Master in 1810 for a short period March to July.¹¹¹³ He was involved in a lot of charity work and had even arranged for the distribution of 1200 blankets at the time anonymously during two severe winters. Ilam Hall was bought by David Pike Watts in 1809,¹¹¹⁴ which continued to be lived in by his son-in-law. David Pike Watts was also a supporter of his nephew John Constable in producing his paintings.

Robert Wigram (1744-1830).¹¹¹⁵ His father dying when he was only two, he was brought up by his uncle and followed him by qualifying as a doctor. He initially served as a surgeon with the EIC then invalided due to ophthalmia he became an importer of drugs and built up a big business. He had a wide variety of interests, Wigram and Co were an EIC House in 1802, in 1803 he was involved in setting up the East India Docks and in 1810 bought a major interest in the Blackwall Shipyard, which had been reduced in size by the East India Dock buying its eastern end in 1803. He owned various ships at least, mostly in East India service with at least *El Marquess of Ely* (1200) *Lady Jane Dundas* (1200), *Walthamstow* (1200), *Tottenham* (517), *Walpole* (774) *Rockingham* (800) and *London* (836) but also the *Henry*, which had a letter of marque in late 1790s.¹¹¹⁶ He was also auditor for the British Fire Office. He became MP for Fowey in 1802 and then Wexford for 1806-7. He was knighted in 1805 and was a supporter of Pitt, and then a staunch abolitionist. He declined to stand again in 1807 returning his seat to the original member. He was an officer in the 6th Loyal London Volunteers and largely funded the regiment. His grandson Sir Charles Hampden Wigram became Chairman in 1873.

¹¹¹³ This was probably after the death of the previous Master. From correspondence with the Archivist of the Vintners Livery Company.

¹¹¹⁴ Ilam Church Staffordshire has a statue of him.

¹¹¹⁵ <http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1790-1820/member/wigram-robert-i-1744-1830> and ships from the Lloyd's lists.

¹¹¹⁶ Choyce, James *The Log of a Jack Tar*. London: T Fisher Unwin, 1891 p115.

George Wood (1743-1823).¹¹¹⁷ The son of a vicar from Yorkshire who had become a judge and an MP from 1796 to 1806 when he surrendered his seat on the hint of the Earl of Lonsdale whose held the interest in the seat as he could not attend Parliament as often as he ought. He was a supporter of Pitt. Knighted in 1807 Wood resigned his judicial office in February 1823, and died 16 months later. He was a wealthy man and left £300,000. George Wood was a subscriber to Lloyd's in the late 1790s.

Secretary to the Patriotic Fund in 1803

John Parr Welsford (1760-1828). Served as Secretary for the Fund for its first 25 years and was also secretary for the Separate Waterloo subscription. Listed as a subscriber to Lloyd's by 1799, he was also listed as a broker at Lloyd's in 1803 as part of firm G Welsford and Co. (his brother Giles). He was certainly still acting as an underwriter in 1825 as his company is listed as giving a dividend.¹¹¹⁸ He married the sister of William Adams MP and Giles married the other sister.¹¹¹⁹ He had financial troubles in 1803 and went bankrupt¹¹²⁰ just prior to being given the role as Secretary with its salary. A note in the Fund minutes discussing whether his widow should be given a pension notes that he had discharged all amounts from his bankruptcy in 1803 His tomb at St George's Beckenham describes him as "Secretary of the Committee for Managing the Patriotic Fund subscribed in 1803 and also the Waterloo Subscription raised after the Immortal Battle. Two great Examples of British Spirit and British Liberality executing this important trust".

¹¹¹⁷ <http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1790-1820/member/wood-george-1743-1824>.

¹¹¹⁸ The Law Advertiser Vol II No 1 Thursday 1 January 1824 p5.

¹¹¹⁹ History of Parliament Trust, *The House of Commons, 1790-1820*, London: Boydell & Brewer, 1986 p38. The marriages are confirmed by Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain.

¹¹²⁰ Twist, *Angerstein*, p282.

Annex C

List of known Georgian Presentation Swords up to 1816

(excluding Patriotic Fund Swords)

List of Abbreviations

Museums	Books
National Maritime Museum (NMM)	Chris Allen Database (CADB) ¹¹²¹
The Royal Armouries Collection (RA)	May and Annis, Swords for Sea Service (M&A)
Royal Navy Museum (RNM)	Lines Album (LA)
National Army Museum (NAM)	Peter Finer sale catalogue from 1995 To 2013. (PF)
Royal Marines Museum, Eastney (RMM)	Leslie Southwick Presentation Swords A selection of British Swords awarded from 1780 Part 1 and 2. Vol 17 No 4 LS(Pres)
New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (NY Met)	Southwick, Leslie, The maker's mark of Thomas Price on British presentation swords <i>Journal of the Arms and Armour Society</i> , Vol. 4, No. 1, 2007 LS(TP)
Royal Armouries (RA)	Sim Comfort, Naval Swords and Dirks (SC with Volume and page No)
Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A)	London's Roll of Fame, produced under the direction of the Library Committee (Cassell & Co Ltd, London, 1884)

For security reasons where they are held in a private collection which one it is, is not made public in the source.

Pre French Revolutionary War

	Year	Presented To	Why	Type of Sword	Source
	1753	Clive of India	By the EIC for operations in Madras		The History of the Indian Navy 1613-1863 by Charles Rathbone Low printed in 1877 ¹¹²²
	1759	Commodore William James of the Bombay Marine	By the EIC Court of Directors – presumed to be for his capture of Gheria, Severndroog among others	Gilt hilted small sword	The History of the Indian Navy 1613-1863 by Charles Rathbone Low printed in 1877

¹¹²¹ The Chris Allen database is a card index of data collected by the Bonhams edged weapon valuer of the Georgian presentation swords that he has seen within his 40 year career, which includes all those passing through the Auction Houses in that time. This source is only quoted if not held by one of the other institutes or listed in another source.

¹¹²² Reprinted by RNM in 1990, p138 mentioned stated that then sword was with his descendent Sir Richard Levinge, the sword is shown in his picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds painted in 1784.

	1761	Captain Middleton (later Lord Barham)	By merchants of Barbados ¹¹²³ for keeping down the privateers	Gold hilted sword	Barham Papers Vol 2 p 269& V&A (Accession Number M.17&A-1978)
	1764	Stephen Martin Leake, Garter King of Arms	By Adolphus Frederick 4th Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (brother of Queen Charlotte) on the Duke's investiture with the Order of the Garter	Gold hilted small sword with blue and Gilt Blade	British Museum M&ME 1953,7-6,3
	Circa 1780	Barnard Turner	By the London Foot Association for his efforts in restoring & preserving the peace in the metropolis		LS(Pres) & City of London Museum (A27278)
	1780	Admiral M Arbuthnot RN	Island of Jersey for protecting them from an attack by the French Fleet in 1779.	Steel hilted small sword by Bland	New York Met Museum Accession No: 26.145.314a, b
	1781	Lt Col James Hartley	From EIC for the expedition against the Marattas in 1779	Gold and enamel smallsword by Morriset James Shrapnell	LS(Pres) & V&A Museum
	1783	Alex Dirom	By the Assembly of Jamaica for his services as Adjutant General of Jamaica	Gold hilted small sword (originally £200)	CADB
	1786	Lt Popham RN (later Sir Home Popham)	By the East India Company for survey work	Gold and enamel small sword	Arms and Armour Vol 7 No 2 2010 also in a portrait held by the NPG. It is at the RA
	1786	Lt Walter Locke	From Prince William Henry to Lt Locke of HMS <i>Hebe</i> 1785 ¹¹²⁴	Silver gilt oval side ring	M&A Vol 1 p 65
	1789	Captain Ashmead Pruett of the HEIC	From the EIC for his gallant defence of the <i>Ranger</i> against the Mahratta Fleet, 8th April 1783	Gold mounted small sword made by James Morriset of London	Lot 62 Bonhams auction 8 October 2014
	1789	Mr Nesham ¹¹²⁵	By the Municipal Government of Paris		1891 Naval Exhibition Catalogue Item 2683

French Revolutionary War 1789 – 1802

Year	Presented To	Why	Type of Sword	Source
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¹¹²³ The sources dispute the date, so there could be 2 swords, V&A say voted in 1757 but NRS Barham Papers says 1761 Captain Middleton left the station in October 1761.

¹¹²⁴ It is probable that this is for more personal events than an action. HMS *Hebe* in 1785 is not recorded as any significant actions but Prince William Henry was her 3rd Lieutenant.

¹¹²⁵ Mr Nesham was an unemployed Midshipman who rendered assistance to an unfortunate official whom the mob in Vernon in Normandy were about to hang.

	1791	Sir Samuel Hood	By the Assembly of Jamaica for saving life		NMM
	1791	Capt J Polhill	15th (Kings) Light Dragoons for the Birmingham riots	A 1788 light cavalry sabre by James Woolley of Birmingham	NAM Accession No 1987-09-5
	1793	Rear Admiral MacBride	Committee to encourage capture of Privateers	Smallsword	NMM ZBA 1773
	1793	Capt A Read	EIC for conduct during the war with Tipu Sultan	Gold enamel smallsword. Makers mark Michael Gamon actually made 1796/7	Arms and Armour Vol 7 No 2 2010
	1793	Admiral Sir Joseph Yorke	By the officers of HMS <i>Circe</i>		1891 Naval Exhibition Catalogue item 2705 held by the family at that time
	1793	Major General Thos Dundas	By "the respectable inhabitants of the Island of Guernsey"	A small sword with mix of the Guernsey crest & Scottish arms By Wakelin and Garrard, Panton Street.	Castle Cornet, in the Militia Museum. GUEMG: GMAG 1976.511
	1793	William Gordon	House of Assembly Barbados for capturing Tobago		https://holeousia.wordpress.com/tag/martinique/
	1794	Major General Culyer	By the inhabitant of Tobago for its conquest	Gold and enamel small sword by C Blend mounted by N Jeffries	LS(Pres)
	1794 ¹¹²⁶	Maj Gen Sir Alexander Duff	By the 88 th Regiment of Foot	a Gilt sabre by Thurkle	CADB
	1794	Arthur Muter	EIC for gallant defence of the <i>Pigot</i>	Gilt and enamel spadron	CADB – was exhibited Scotland but is assumed to have been on loan and is on old swords website
	1794	Alexander Brown	EIC for gallant defence of the <i>Pigot</i> from 2 French Privateers as she was being refitted in Rat Island Basin near Batavia	Gilt and enamel spadron	NAM. 1965-09-41-1
	1794	Admiral Howe	By the King for 1 June	Diamond hilted	Painting of presentation

¹¹²⁶ While not dated, there is only a very small window. Due to his wealth, son of Earl of Fife, and the purchase system Duff promoted very quickly. He was only in the 88th foot between Jan 1794 when he became a Captain with them and March 1794 when he became Major General. This period was spent serving in Flanders. Duff was an MP so full entry. He could have helped purchase this.

				small sword	NMM BHC0476. In family possession ¹¹²⁷
1795	Captain John Bathe 15 th Regiment of Foot	From the Dominican Planters and Merchants in Britain for service in defence of the island		Silver gilt and enamel small sword by Goldneys	Arms and Armour Vol 7 No 2 2010
1795	Baron Andreas Szentkereszi of the Tuscan Hussars	By the officers of the 15 th Light Dragoon for his heroic military deeds against the French in 1794.		Sabre by Davies of London	Old Swords Website Database
1795	Captain Robert Waller Otway Sword ¹¹²⁸	By the French Royalists in Martinique for capturing the schooner <i>La Belle Creole</i> which had been sent to burn Martinique.		hilt is only known example from colonies to contain 3 colours of gold work. Made by Ruffy, St Pierre Martinique, 200 guineas. French style pommel.	RA
1795	Midshipman Richard Bowen of the <i>Foudryant</i>	Presented by Capt R Calder Royal Navy to mark the appropriation his conduct was held in, at the taking of <i>La Pegase</i> a French ship of 74 guns on the 20 th April 1782, the fight between those two ships being Mr Bowen's maiden one		A 5 ball but with a silver gilt handle. Hallmarked 1795 so made then despite date on inscription. He made post in 1794 so probably to mark that. Died 1798.	Sotheby's 23 April 1981 Lot 144
1795	Captain Alexander Cochrane	Committee to encourage capture of Privateers		Style of 1796 infantry officers sword ¹¹²⁹ by James Morrisset	Ex National War Museum of Scotland now private collection
1795	Maj Gen P Hunter	Council and Assembly of St Vincent		Gold and enamel small sword by Rundell and Bridge/Morrisett	CADB and 3 Pres Swords
1795	Captain Brooke Young	Island of Antigua		Silvergilt and enamel small	CADB

¹¹²⁷ Confirmed in conversation with current Earl Howe.

¹¹²⁸ In this period Otway captured over 200 ships.

¹¹²⁹ While this might seem to predate the sword the 1796 pattern was one of a series of styles that existed in different regiments prior to then that were regulated in 1796 so this represents the popular choice selected the following year for the 1796 Infantry officer pattern.

				sword by J Grant	
	1795	Sir John Borlase Warren	Committee to encourage capture of Privateers		Whereabouts unknown but engraving held by the National Portrait Gallery from 1799 (NPG D37851) shows the hilt of an ornate naval style sword.
	1795	Colonel Douglas	From Sir Sidney Smith for the siege of St John D'Acree	Rapier made by Cornelius Bland	RMM
	1796	Vice Admiral Kingsmill	Committee to encourage capture of Privateers	Gold & enamel smallsword by Gray & Constable	
	1796	Lieutenant Governor Balcarres	From the Assembly of Jamaica		John McAleers article ¹¹³⁰
	1796	Captain Alexander Read	By the EIC for his conduct during the war with Tippoo in 1793	Gold enamel small sword. Makers mark MG	LS(Pres)
	1796	Lt Thomas New RN	Inscription worn away after "Lt Thomas New in token of our regard..." but probably for rescuing two companies of 14 th Regiment of Foot from a sinking transport	Gilt bronze with a rope swirl basket and backsword blade by Prosser	SC Vol 1 pp 155-6.
	1796	James Dunlop	By members of the London and Westminster Light Horse Volunteers	sabre	S Wood A Patriot and his Sword. Journal of the Arms and Armour Society Vol 16 No 2 1999 pp 64
	1796	Maj Heathcote	Derby Volunteer Infantry	A 1796 Infantry silver hilt	CADB
	1796 ¹¹³¹	Maj W Clarke	4 th Bat Lt Inf to 46 th Foot	Sabre by Reed	CADB
	1796	Sergeant Harris	Presented by the Weymouth Volunteers to Sergeant Harris May 1796	Standard 5 ball sword (not silver) with band on handle marked with inscription ¹¹³²	Wallis & Wallis 2 Oct 1991 Lot 84

¹¹³⁰ J McAleer, "Eminent Service: War, Slavery and the Politics of Public Recognition in the British Caribbean and the Cape of Good Hope c 1782-1807" (*The Mariner's Mirror*, Vol 95, No 1, February 2009, pp33-51) p39.

¹¹³¹ Major William Clarke became a Major in 46th Foot 28 September 1796 on transfer from 65th foot; retired July 1802.

¹¹³² I debated whether this belonged here, but in essence I can't see why it is different from the ones to the officers in the militias, it appears to be a good quality sword and has an

	1796	Maj General H Johnson	By the Associated Gentlemen of the Barony of Ida	Silver gilt smallsword by Makepiece / Morriset	3 pres sword
	1796/7	Captain George Gooch EIC Navy ¹¹³³	By the Underwriters of the Princess Charlotte	Silver gilt & enamel smallsword by Morriset ¹¹³⁴	Sold by Yarmouth Auctions and then Thomas del Mar in 2009
3	1797	Admiral Jervis (for St Vincent), Admiral Duncan & Vice Admiral Sir R Onslow	City of London for Camperdown	Gilt and Enamel small swords	M&A Vol 1 p69. Duncan's is at National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle). Onslow's appears in the 1891 Naval exhibition Catalogue Item 2738 at time still in family and St Vincents was Item 2775 & owned by Lady Forester
	1797	Earl St Vincent	By the Duke of Clarence	Gilt bronze mounted hilt with flat coffin pommel and spadron blade by Samuel Brunn	SC Vol 1 p 151 ¹¹³⁵
	1797	Earl St Vincent	By the brothers of Captain Hugh Dalrymple ¹¹³⁶	Claymore	1891 Naval Exhibition Programme Item 2671
	1797	Major General Coote	By the Officers of Garrison of Bandon	Silver gilt smallsword by Rundell and Bridge /Morriset	Peter Finer Catalogue 2003 and in 3 Pres swords
	1797	Recipient unknown but scenes are naval	Reason unknown	Silver gilt and enamel Morriset (Hilt and scabbard mounts – blade has not survived)	NY Met Accession Number 42.50.36a, b
	1797	Vice Admiral	by the EIC for the		John McAleer' article ¹¹³⁷

inscription. It appears to be from a group and not from an individual as working sword and thus while a fighting sword, would seem to straddle the camps.

¹¹³³ The link is a bit unclear, Gooch was Captain of the *Sir Stephen Lushington* from 1796-1803, and *Princess Charlotte* another East Indiaman that was only launched in 1795. But both vessels had as majority owner Peter Everitt Mestaer.

¹¹³⁴ Picture of sword on back cover of Wallis & Wallis Oct 1999 Auction catalogue.

¹¹³⁵ SC provenances his sword by a painting displaying the same sword, but it is also possible that more than one sword of the same design were made as there is no complete list of swords presented. However, the letter to Admiral Collingwood in 1805 only references 2 previous swords, Earl St Vincent and Nelson.

¹¹³⁶ Captain Dalrymple died HMS *Canada* in 1779 , so unclear why presented in 1797.

		Elphinstone	Capture of Good Hope		
	1797	Admiral Cockburn	By Nelson for his performance as Flag Captain in 1796 for the capture of the <i>Sabina</i>	Small sword by Richard Clark (hall mark confirms 1797/8)	NMM Accession Number WPN 1167
	1797	Admiral Sir Byam Martin	Two words one by Council and Assembly of the Island of Barbados and one by Island of Martinique		Admiral Sir Byam Martin's Letter – Naval Records Society Volume 1 Pg 249
5	1797	Lieutenant Jxxx Robb (not made as died prior to receiving) Captain William Daniel & Lieutenants Francis Douglas, John Buller, John Burn & Robert Williams (HMS <i>Glatton</i>)	Committee to assist in the suppression of the mutiny at the Nore	Bullers is a Hanger the remainder are silver gilt smallswords	Blair book 2 at NMM, Douglas at V&A, Burn at NY Met (Accession Number nos. 26.145.315)
	1797	Lieutenant William Henry Daniels (son of Captain Daniels)	Committee to assist in the suppression of the mutiny at the Nore (not minuted) ¹¹³⁸		NMM WPN 1553 and 1554
	1797	Lieutenant Henry Carew	By his fellow officers onboard HMS <i>Repulse</i> for his steady and active conduct in helping to rescue his ship from mutineers	Sabre with lions head pommel and open half basket hilt	RN Museum Portsmouth Accession No 1991/65
	1797	Lieutenant Dobbin of HM Revenue Cutter <i>Diligence</i> ¹¹³⁹	By the Customs Board for the invasion attempt at Fishguard		Photograph of the sword at the Town Hall in Fishguard

¹¹³⁷ J McAleer, "Eminent Service: War, Slavery and the Politics of Public Recognition in the British Caribbean and the Cape of Good Hope c 1782-1807" (*The Mariner's Mirror*, Vol 95, No 1, February 2009, pp33-51) p41.

¹¹³⁸ Lieutenant Daniels was awarded just £25 by the fund so it is likely that his was either subsequently approved and not minuted or just manufactured. It is noticeably less ornate than the others.

¹¹³⁹ Possibly a second one made for Commanding Officer of other Revenue Cutter involved *Speedwell*.

	1797	Lt Col S Wortley	By the 98 th Regiment ¹¹⁴⁰	Silver sabre – Persian blade by Johnston	CADB
	1797 ¹¹⁴¹	Robert Jnr Harvey	Norwich Light Horse Volunteers for contributing to establish the corps and their esteem	1796 Infantry sword	CADB
	1797	Captain Woodward	Presented to Captn. H.A.Woodward by the Genn. of his Compy as a Small Token of their respect and Esteem for him' on the reverse '3rd Regt of Royal Dubn Volu. or Barrack Devis,n and 4th Comp.y Dec,r 7th 97'.	Infantry Officer's 1797 Spadroon, iron hilt, sideguard pierced, engraved with crowned Irish harp supported by a pair of cannon on carriages, ivory handle with silver engraved 'cigar band'	C&T Auctioneers 18 Oct 2019 Lot 1130 and Lot 74 15 Apr 2020.
	1798	Captain W.E. Cracraft (HMS <i>Severn</i>)	Presented by the commanders of the Jamaica ships in the London trade for his particular care of the fleet of England in 1798.	Gold and enamel smallsword by Morriset	NY Met Accession Number 42.50.35a, b
	1798	Lieutenant Charles Rea of the Marines	For his part in suppressing the mutiny on board HMS Isis at the Nore, May 1797 by the		RMM

¹¹⁴⁰ James Stuart-Wortley-Mackenzie, was a colonel in the Bedfordshire militia. Raised 92nd Foot in 1779, and was appointed Lt Col to command. Took Rgmt to West Indies in 1780, and suffered severely in health. Returned home in 1783. Rgmt disbanded following Treaty of Paris. Upon death of his mother, in 1794, he inherited the Wortley properties and assumed surname on 17 January 1795. In 1800, he added the additional surname of Mackenzie, after inheriting estates of his uncle James Stuart Mackenzie. So only Wortley between 1795 and 1800. In 1794 98th (Argyllshire Highlanders) Regiment of Foot raised and sent to Cape of Good Hope. In 1798 it was re-designated 91st (Argyllshire Highlanders) Regiment of Foot and no 98th again until 1808. Unclear why 98th presented him with it. No logical reason they are associated.

¹¹⁴¹ This has been estimated and records are confusing. The Norwich Light Horse Volunteers were formed by John Harvey, brother of Robert Jnr, Robert Snr is their father. The unit was formed in 1797 and Robert Jnr is involved in that creation and there is a vote of thanks to him for his work in establishing it. Recorded in Records of the Norfolk Yeomanry to which is added the fencible and Provisional Cavalry of the same county from 1780 to 1908 by Lt Col J R Harvey. 1803 Robert was involved in the creation of the Norwich Infantry. Robert Harvey resigned from the militia in 1808. He was renowned for inveigling his way into the presence of Napoleon Bonaparte after presenting himself as Baron Harvey. He lived to tell the tale and the nickname "Baron Harvey" stuck.

			Committee of Merchants in London.		
1798	Admiral Nelson		By the City of London for the Nile		City of London Museum Acc No 11952
1798	Admiral Nelson		By the Egyptian Club formed from the Captains present at the Battle ¹¹⁴²		British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship
1798	Admiral Nelson		By the Duke of Clarence	Gilt bronze mounted hilt with flat coffin pommel and spadron blade by Samuel Brunn	British Naval Swords and Swordsmanship ¹¹⁴³
1798	Lieutenant W H Webley, 1 st Lt of HMS <i>Zealous</i>				1891 Naval Exhibition Catalogue Item 2703. This could be self bought but catalogue indicates not.
1798	Major General Johnson		By the people of Ida		CADB
1798	Captain J D'Oliver		By the Royal Dublin Volunteers	Sabre by Read	CADB
1798	Captain A H Fortesque		By his brother officers upon the occasion of his Captaincy in the 15 th Foot, 1798	A good quality fighting sabre (not fancy despite inscription) by JJ Runckel Solingen	Bonhams 2 Dec 2004 Lot 134
1798	Captain Thomas Pickstock, commander of the <i>Herald</i> of Jersey		By His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, for his gallant conduct on 25 February 1798 against a very superior French force in the Bay of Naples ¹¹⁴⁴		Société Jersiaise Museum
1798	Capt T Le M Gosselin (of the <i>Syren</i>)		By the Masters of the Merchantmen he had convoyed to Leeward Islands and Jamaica	Silver gilt smallsword	CADB and John Marshall Royal Navy Biography and letters in Lot 215 Essex Auction House 26 Apr 20 ¹¹⁴⁵

¹¹⁴² There are other swords commemorating the Nile, it is believed most were ordered by the other members of the Egyptian Club, but it is possible some were presented. This is an assertion Sim Comfort makes in his book on Lord Nelson's Swords.

¹¹⁴³ This is based on a letter by the Duke of Clarence to Collingwood and it could be that Clarence is referring to a sword he gave on behalf of an organization, the phrasing is unclear.

¹¹⁴⁴ The action took place while Duke of Sussex visiting King Of Sicily in Naples, so he asked Captain Pickstock to visit that evening. Sword gifted but not engraved until later, with the Duke writing to his son to agree the words.

http://www.theislandwiki.org/index.php/Thomas_Pickstock

¹¹⁴⁵ The letters were regarding the presentation from a Jamaican Coffee House of a sword was signed by Mr Grubb and Omahanney & Page. Since the John Marshall is self submitted I

	1798	Captain A McInnes	St Thomas in the Vale Troop of Horse	Silver hilted sabre H M	CADB
	1799	General Baird	By his fellow officers at Seringapatam	200 Guinea Gold and enamel smallsword By Jefferys and Gilbert/Ray and Montague – made in 1800-1	National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle) and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014
	1799	Lt Col Barry Close	By the court of directors of the EIC	£300 Gold and enamel smallsword with diamond encrustation by Green Ward/Ray and Montague	3 Presentation Swords and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014
2	1799	Vice Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchel and General Abercromby	By the City Of London for the defeat of the Batavian Fleet at Texel	100 guinea	London's Roll of Fame
	1799	Captain Sir S Smith	By the City of London for the defence of St Jean d'Acre		M&A Vol 1 p 69
2	1799	Captain Sir S Smith and Colonel Douglas	The Turkey Company ¹¹⁴⁶	300 guinea sword	Sir S Smith's Memoirs and the Scots Magazine 1799.
	1799	Colonel Douglas ¹¹⁴⁷	Sir Sydney Smith for the defence of St Jean d'Acre	Bejeweled rapier	RMM Accession No 1982/30a
	1799	Captain Samuel Brooking ¹¹⁴⁸	By Jamaica House of Assembly	100 guinea sword small sword	<i>Naval Chronicle</i> for 1803 and Marshall's <i>Royal Navy Biography</i> record it being voted, painting sold at auction by Mellors and Kirk June 2015 shows the sword.
	1799	Capt Standish Grady	By the Small County ¹¹⁴⁹ Yeomanry	1796 pattern sword by J R	NAM 1962-12-49-1 and then Lot 216, 12 Nov 19

think this is two ways of referring to the same sword. The letter was dated 1799 so the events it are for was the year earlier than it was made, which is in keeping with many others.

¹¹⁴⁶ Previously known as the Levant Company this is the group of London merchants trading with Turkey. Recorded in his memoirs and *The Scots Magazine, Or, General Repository of Literature, History ...*, Volume 61 (Edinburgh, Alex Chapman & Co, 1799) p 791.

¹¹⁴⁷ This could be one of the two above and the memoirs be slightly wrong with Sir Sydney Smith passing his on from the Sultan.

¹¹⁴⁸ Captain Brooking's ship was also called Jamaica, being the ex French *Percante* captured off Jamaica.

¹¹⁴⁹ Small County is an area to the South of Limerick

				Runkel, with horses head pommel	and Lot 303 24 Mar 20 Antony Cribb
1799	Major Patterson	By the officers, non commissioned officers and privates of his troop of Fife Light Dragoons 1799		Presentation sabre by Knubley & Co 7 Charing Cross,	Bonhams 30 Nov 17 Lot 91 and Lot 111 23 May 18
1799	Captain Lucius Ferdinand Hardyman	By the Insurance Office of Madras for the capture of La Forte		Gold and enamel smallsword by Ray & Montague mounted by Jeffreys & Gilbert	LS (Pres) and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014. Sold Sotheby's 16 Apr 1974
1799	Hardyman	Calcutta, Bengal & Amicable Insurance Company		Gold sabre by Gill	LS (Pres) and Sold Sotheby's 16 Apr 1974 with above.
1799	Captain Charles Cunningham	By King George III for the capture of Vestale by HMS <i>Clyde</i>			1891 Naval Exhibition Item 2789
1799	Major Benjamin Bloomfield ¹¹⁵⁰	By the Ony and Ara Cavalry for his defence of the country in 1798. Presented on 5 June 1799		1796 Heavy Cavalry sword	Royal Armouries Leeds
1799	Captain Carden of 4 th Dragoon Guards (he was CO of Templemore Cavalry in 1803)	From the Templemore Cavalry ¹¹⁵¹		Brass sabre by Archer	York Army Museum York WP00079
1799	Captain Edward Sterling Dickson of His Majesty's Brig Victorieuse	By the English Inhabitants of Trinidad for his diligence in protecting the colony from privateers. To be delivered to his agent in London.		100 guinea sword	Letters published in the Naval Chronicle 1800 pg 246
1799	Lt Col R A Oswald	By the Ayr and Renfrew Militia		Gilt sabre by Tatham, blade by Gill	Private Collection
1799	Colonel John	Presented by the Non		Gilt and	Lot 111 Bonhams 27 Nov

¹¹⁵⁰ Also awarded a similar sword in 1806 . This was for the Irish Rebellion. He is actually 1st Baron Bloomfield and was confidant of the Prince Regent partly through his accomplished cello playing. His uniform sword is also on display at the Royal Armouries Leeds.

¹¹⁵¹ From details at York Museum, Captain Carden's family owned the Templemore Estate. The Templemore Cavalry was a Yeomanry unit, fought alongside the 4th Dragoons who were based in Ireland in 1798 Irish Rebellion. I have my photo of the sword at the museum in the folder.

		Campbell	Commissioned Officers & Private Soldiers of the 2d Batt 4th Fen.le Infy to their Col. the Earl of Breadal-bane as a testimony of their esteem for his person and respect for his noble liberal and soldierlike conduct while serving with them in Ireland	enamel small sword by John Prosser	2013 (this was the sale from the family) and again sold Lot 97 30 Nov 2016
	1799	Captain Waller	Kerry Cavalry	Gilt sabre by Archer	CADB
	1800	Captain Edward Hamilton (HMS <i>Surprise</i>)	By the Assembly of Jamaica for the recapture of <i>Hermione</i> in 1799	100 guineas Gold & enamel smallsword by Ray & Montague sold by Rundell & Bridge	3 presentation swords and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014
	1800	Captain Hans Hamilton MP ¹¹⁵²	By the Fingal Yeoman Cavalry as "Testimony of the Confidence and Attachment on ye 15th Novr 1800	Gilt sabre by J J Runkel Solingen	Lot 94 Bonhams Oxford Auction 24 Apr 2012, on shelf. Being sold by MDR antiques in Oct 2017.
	1800	Captain Thomas Lane of the 1st Company Lower Iveagh Yeoman Inf	The Non Commissioned officers Drummers and Privates Men of your Company as a Mark of their high Respect and Esteem for your merit present you with this Sword on Parade Hillsborough Oc. 4r 26th 1800	Horsehead sabre by Archer of Dublin	Private Collection and then sold Czerny 19 Sep 20 Lot 647
	1800	Major Rutherford	By Roxburghshire Yeomanry by the Regiment to their commander		National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
	1800	Lieutenant and Adjutant John Allen ¹¹⁵³	By the officers and Privates of the Linen Hall Corps as a token of esteem and gratitude for his	Gilt smallsword by Richard Clarke & Son	Royal Armouries Leeds

¹¹⁵² The Fingal Cavalry was raised in 1796 under the command of Captain Hans Hamilton M.P. for Dublin, and stood down in 1801. Re-raised 27th August 1803 as the Fingal Cavalry 1st and 2nd Troops with Hans Hamilton Captain Commandant of both troops. A family of importance since the early 17th century, Hans Hamilton was M.P. for Dublin for 30 years. He died in 1822.

¹¹⁵³ John Allen was a Dublin Linen wholesaler and merchant

			unremitted attention to their interest and discipline		
	1800	Captain James Le Bair of the Guernsey privateer, <i>Mayflower</i>	By the owners of the private ship of war the <i>Mayflower</i> to Captain James le Bair in token of the high sense they entertain of his conduct and gallantry displayed on 9 April 1800 by the capture <i>Troisieme Ferrailleur</i> , French privateer of superior force	Presentation Infantry sword with scabbard with a gilded handguard depicting a lion triumphing over a dragon, blade marked by F f Runkel, Solingen, Scabbard has the inscription.	Castle Cornet in the Maritime Museum GUEMG: GMAG 1977.32a and 32b
	1800	Lieutenant Jeremiah Coghlan	By the Admiral The Earl St Vincent for the cutting out of the <i>Cerbère</i> when Coghlan was the Acting Lieutenant of HMS Viper. Two inscriptions "CERBERE 29, July 1800." and "A Tribute of Friendship from Admiral, the Earl of St. Vincent to the intrepid Coghlan."	Gold and enamel 100 guinea dress hangar. Locket signed Robert Makepeace, hallmark Ray & Montague	Peter Finer Spring Catalogue 2005 and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 and Lot 452 Cowan's auction 30 Oct 18
	1800 circa ¹¹⁵⁴	Captain Christopher Abbott	2 nd Troop Attorneys Cav to their captain as a mark of their respect and esteem	Gilt sabre by Prosser	Christies 16 Jul 2003, Lot 88 & Ant Cribb 26 Mar 19 Lot 83, Del Mar 4 Dec 19 Lot 276, Lot 312 Ant Cribb 24 Mar 19,
	1800 ¹¹⁵⁵	Captain Richard Palmer	By the NCOs and privates of the Mt Rath Cavalry re their captain as a mark of esteem and respect for his unremitted attention in promoting the discipline of the Corps	Sabre by Read of Dublin	Bonham's Lot 138 Waterloo Sale 1 Apr 15
	1800	Captain W M Hutchinson (CO of Roscrea Infantry)	Roscrea Infantry	An 1803 sabre (presumably made later for this time of award)	CADB

¹¹⁵⁴ The Attorney's cavalry, volunteer unit from Dublin, was formed in 1798 and the sword has the pre 1801 royal arms on it. So best guess is between those dates. He is still listed in command of 2nd Troop in 1803 and unit disbanded in 1808.

¹¹⁵⁵ The sword has pre 1801 royal arms and in 1803 he was in the Mountrath infantry militia.

	1800	Captain Commandant William Parker ¹¹⁵⁶	Presented by the Royal Kilmarnock Volunteers to their Captain Commandant William Parker Esquire as a mark of their respect for his Character and a Testimony of their high sense of his services to the Corps. Year 1800	Very ornate version of 1796 light cavalry sabre	East Ayresshire Council – Burns Collection
	1800	Major George Wilson of the 39 th Foot	Colony of Essequibo and Demerary ¹¹⁵⁷ for the sense entertained of his merit September 1800.	Gold smallsword by Samuel Cooke with scabbard by Richard Clarke, actually made 1801-2	Royal Armouries Leeds
	1800	Captain William Heartwell	“Presented by the Fort Glasgow Co. of Local Militia to...”	A 1796 Infantry pattern by Wooley, Deakin and Dutton with Scottish emblems	Elliot & Snowdon 16 Jun 70 Lot 178
	1800	Captain Christopher Abbott	By the Second Troop Of The Attorney's Cavalry	Gilt brass sabre by Prosser	Lot 88 Christies 16 July 2003 and Lot 4 Antony Cribb 24 Jul 18
2	1801	Admiral Viscount Keith and Lieutenant General Sir John Hely Hutchinson	By the City of London for Egypt	Both made by Ray and Montague -100 guinea gold and enamel small swords	London's Roll of Fame and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 both in private collections
	1801	Captain Sidney Smith	By the Sultan of Turkey	Scimitar with diamonds	Nelson's Lost Jewel by Martyn Downer
	1801	Rear-Admiral Sir James de Saumarez	By the City of London for Algeciras on 6 July 1801 & Cape Trafalgar on 13 July 1801	100 guinea small sword by Ray and Montague	M&A Vol 1 p 69 and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 in family possession but displayed in Castle Cornet Maritime Museum, GUEMG: GML 2004.25.19
	1801	Lord Lynedoch ¹¹⁵⁸	By the 90 th Foot (Perthshire Volunteers) – Lynedoch had raised	A trophy shamshir being taken in Egypt and	National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)

¹¹⁵⁶ Parker was a local landowner and supporter of Robert Burns.

¹¹⁵⁷ Major Wilson was returning to the West Indies with his Regiment when they were diverted to Demerara, a Dutch colony, which wished to surrender to the English.

¹¹⁵⁸ Lord Lynedoch was later known as General Thomas Graham, the sword that he later used in battle was another shamshir captured at the same time.

			the regiment	adapted with fancy scabbard made.	
1801	Captain H McVeagh	Lurgan Yeomanry Infantry		Sabre by Read	CADB
1801	Colonel A Stewart	42 nd Royal Highland Regt (the Colonel had led them at the Battle of Alexandria) is this from the regiment or the Highland Society subscription		Heavy Cavalry Boatshell sabre	CADB (note in 1801 the regiment had a Major who captured a french standard in the Battle of Alexandria same campaign as Hutchinson above)
1801	Rt Hon William Pitt, Lord Amherst	By the St James's Loyal London Volunteer Corps of Infantry to their Colonle		Gold and enamel hilted small sword	Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014
1801-2 ¹¹⁵⁹	Lieutenant Gerrard of the Marines	By those who served with him on board His Majesty's Ship <i>Fisgard</i> in memory of the action with <i>L'Immortalite</i> on 20 th October 1798 and the boarding expeditions at the Saints, Penmarks, Quimper, Noirmoutier, St Matthew, St Andero and Corunna.		Sabre and belt	Naval Chronicle 1802 p172
1802	Captain W Young RN	Masters of Transport Vessels ¹¹⁶⁰ on Expedition to Egypt		Silver gilt mounted sword by Ray and Montague, hallmark is 1801-2	Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 and Naval Chronicle 1802 p171.
1801-1802	Brigadier General Prevost	By the Island of St Lucia following his term as Governor.		Gold hilted version of 1796 British Heavy cavalry sword by Ray and Montague	Blair Book and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 sold at Auction at Glendinning's in 1991
1802 ¹¹⁶¹	Captain Thomas Wolley HMS <i>Arethusa</i>	From the British Consul and Factory In Madeira.		Gold & enamel Hilted Small-Sword by Ray and Montague. Hallmark is 1802-3	Ex NMM. Sold by Bonhams Lot 99 5 Jul 2005 & Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014, also Naval Chronicle 1802 p171

¹¹⁵⁹ The note is from Jan 1802 so would and refers to it already being presented so presumably late 1801, it would appear to be to mark all his actions on that ship.

¹¹⁶⁰ *The Naval Chronicle* makes clear these were James Walker of the *Julius Caesar* and Robert Major of the *Harbinger*.

¹¹⁶¹ From the hallmark of the gold handle.

	1802	Captain James Bowen	By the British Factory at Madeira ¹¹⁶²	Location unknown but presumed to be similar to above as presented at the same time.	The Naval Chronicle 1802 p171
	1802	Captain Thomas Searle	By the crew of the sloop <i>Grasshopper</i> (note sword in 1808)	A double edged dirk (12 inch blade)	Sotheby's 25 Jul 1991 Lot 221
	1802	Major Walter Ross	From the NCO and privates of the Loyal Volunteers to their Major Commandant in testimony of their esteem not only for his conduct as an officer but for his attention in other respects to the interests of the town of Cromarty	Elegant sabre engraving on silver plaque inset into handle by Mackintosh & Barnes	Wallis & Wallis 28 Apr 1999 Lot 150
	1802	Brigadier General H L Carmichael	By both Houses of the Legislature Tobago	Silver gilt mounted sabre by Osborne / Morriset	Blair book and 3 pres swords
	1802	Lt Col E M Pakenham	By the Inhabitants of the Island of St Croix	Gold hilted sabre by R Clarke /Ray and Montague	Blair book 3 pres swords and Peter Finer Catalogue 2003 and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 now at the Met Museum, New York
4	1802	Presented to the Austria, Prussia, Russia & Cossack leaders at the Peace of Amiens	City of London sword	Gold and enamel smallswords	M&A
	1802	Captain Robert Kerr	By Captain Robert Paul – probably for his promotion to Cdr.	Silver small sword	Christies 1 May 1985 lot 20.
	1802	Captain James Dunlop ¹¹⁶³	By the Grange Company by the NCOs and privates of the Househill Company of the Renfrewshire Volunteers	Sabre by Osborne	S Wood, A Patriot and his Sword. Journal of the Arms and Armour Society Vol 16 No 2 1999 p65. National War Museum of Scotland

¹¹⁶² He also received 400 guineas the previous year from the East India Company for his work escorting convoys.

¹¹⁶³This is the same Dunlop who received one in 1796 from London & Westminster Light Horse.

1802 1164	Captain Andrew Wilson	by the NCOs and privates of the Third Company of the Renfrewshire Volunteers	1796 infantry officers sword but solid silver hilt original with some gilt	Michael D Long stock item 0521 listed May 2021
1802	Major G Buchan	Berwickshire Yeomanry	Gold mounted sabre by Moyes and Cunningham	National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
1802	Major General John Moore	By the officers of the Regiments he commanded in Egypt in 1801	Ornate sabre	In the Rifles Museum Winchester
1802	Lt Colonel George Smith	From his brother officers of the 1 st Battalion 20 th Regiment of Foot for "meritous and exemplary conduct" ¹¹⁶⁵	Small sword – engraving on hilt,	Lot 1170, Chorley's auction, Cheltenham, 19 July 2017
1802	Captain R Curtis RN	Attention on voyage	Silver hilted smallsword by P Gilbert	CADB
1802	Brigadier General William Henry Clinton	From the British Consul and Factory in Madeira	Infantry officer's dress spadron with small sword hilt of two tone gold by Ray and Montague	NAM. 1960-07-49-1 and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014
1802	Captain Diggins	11 th Light Dragoons from Maj General Lord Paget	Mameluke sabre	CADB mentions Southwick
1802	Duncan	From Friends	Scottish basket hilt by A Cunningham	CABD
1802	Captain Anneas McKay	Linton Co. of Tweeddale Vols	1803 style sabre by Hunter	National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
1802	Lieutenant Colonel the Honourable William Monson	By the Non-Commissioned Officers and privates of the LVXXVI (ie 76 th) regiment ¹¹⁶⁶ as a tribute of respect, esteem and gratitude.	By Tatham, elaborate heavy cavalry sword	Sold by Thomas del Mar 25 Jun 08 lot 195
1802	Lieutenant Colonel James Stewart of the	Presented by Magistrates and council of Dumfries as	Sabre with various masonic	The Black Watch Museum, Balhousie Castle, Perth

¹¹⁶⁴ The hallmark on the handle is 1796 so this element must have been made earlier with the blade commissioned for Captain Wilson.

¹¹⁶⁵ This was given on the regiment's way home after its contribution to the campaign in Egypt.

¹¹⁶⁶ This was a regular unit serving in India at the time.

		42nd or Royal Highlanders	a Testament of Esteem for the Merits of their townsman and of high Respect for his Military Services to His King and Country	symbols by Osborn of Birmingham and Pall Mall, London	
	1802	Brigadier General William Henry Clinton ¹¹⁶⁷	By the British Counsel & Factory in Madeira	Gold smallsword by Ray & Montague signed by Rundell & Bridge	In Southwick 3 pres swords and Blair Book at the National Army Museum
	1802	Capt A Stronach	Grange Company of the Banffshire Volunteers	1796 Infantry Type	National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
	1802	Captain (Dr) Alexander Patton	Tandragee Yeo	Gilt Sabre	CABD. The officer is mentioned in the Regimental History as in Charge of the Infantry
	1802	Captain William Moffat of the ship Phoenix	By the Court of Directors of the East India Company "for his services in the Bay of Bengal and the Red sea" in particular the forwarding "to the Presidency of Bombay the most important dispatches from Egypt"	100 guinea sword ¹¹⁶⁸ similar to naval sword	Sotherby's Marine Sale 16th July 1993 Lot 254
	1802	Col Donald McLeod	1 st or Easter Ross Battalion of the Ross-shire Vols	Copper sabre by Hunter	CABD
	1802 ¹¹⁶⁹	Christopher Crawley (CO of the unit)	By the NCOs and Privates of the Creggan Infantry	Sabre	Bonhams Auction 23 Jul 15 Lot 91 and Lot 137 Waterloo Sale 15 Apr 15 and at Arms and Armour 26 Nov

¹¹⁶⁷ Brigadier General Clinton led a clandestine mission that captured the island. I have an article on it in *Antique Arms and Militaria* Vol 1 No 6 Mar 1979 p 41.

¹¹⁶⁸ While the sword states it is a 100 guinea compared with a Patriotic Fund sword it would not appear to be that valuable.

¹¹⁶⁹ This sword has post 1801 Royal Arms, Creggan infantry were a volunteer militia formed in 1796 in County Armagh. Crawley was a Captain in 1796 (and their CO) – so most likely this was presented on the unit ceasing in 1802/3 at the Peace of Amiens.

Napoleonic Wars

1803	Major W Seddon	Manchester & Salford Co of Pikemen ¹¹⁷⁰	Sabre by Osborne	CADB and Sothebys 23 May 1966 Lot 217 and Del Mar 4 Dec 19 Lot 285
1803	Captain Sir Philip Dumcombe ¹¹⁷¹	By the Fenny Straford Troop of Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry	Based on 1796 Light Cavalry sabre	Buckinghamshire Military Museum Trust, Buckingham
1803	Captain Kender Mason	By the Amersham Troop of Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry	Based on 1796 Light Cavalry sabre	Buckinghamshire Military Museum Trust, Buckingham
1803	Lt D H Stable	1 st Regt Royal Tower Hamlets Mil from Walthamstow Loyal Vols	Gilt sabre by R Johnston	CADB
1803	Lt Wheeler Wynne Coultman of the 9 th Regt Foot,	The Guild of Merchants at Michaelmas Quarter 1803 presented to... as a testimony of their esteem for his brave spirited conduct in defeating the rebels and taking their depot in this city on the night of 23 rd July last [eg 1803] Alderman Wm Stamer, Wm Henry Archer Masters George Walsh, Drury Jones Wardens	Curved pipe back blade, boatshell guard, horse head pommel, sabre	Christies 20 Oct 1982 Lot 12
1803	Major Samuel Pritchard	Scabbard bears the presentation plaque "The gift of the Non Commissioned Officers and Privates of the Loyal Southwark Regiment of Volunteers to Samuel Pritchard Esqr Major as a mark of	By Samuel Brunn (image in folder) ¹¹⁷²	Auction 2018

¹¹⁷⁰ Unit resurrected in 1803, although called Pikemen they were armed with Rifles. Seddon was not CO in 1804 (Lt Col George Philips) rather he was the inspecting Field Officer so covered many units, he later became a Brigadier in the Peninsular Campaign and rose to Lieutenant General.

¹¹⁷¹ Both Dumcombe and Mason were COs of their respective troops as they formed more units in 1803 post collapse of Peace of Amiens.

¹¹⁷² Address for Samuel Brunn is 55 Charing Cross, which makes it 1798-1804, so since Volunteer almost certainly 1803-04. There is also printed "A Sermon Preached at the Parish Church of St George Southwark Before the Loyal Southwark Volunteers on Wednesday 19 October 1803" which was the day their colours were consecrated. BY Rev Jonathan Payne London, Printed for the Author. Samuel Pritchard is the Major, only he and the Lt Col are listed.

			their Gratitude for his Zeal and Attachment to the same”		
1803	Major William Murray of Palamaise		By the officers of the Stirlingshire Yeomanry	sabre by Robert Hunter	National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
1803	Young		1 st Batt Banff Volunteer Infantry	Boatshell sabre	CADB
1804	Commander E H Columbine of HMS <i>Ulysses</i>		For his work in 1803 and 1804 in defending the isle of Trinidad by the Merchants and inhabitants of Trinidad	Gilt sabre	NMM
1804	Captain William Moffat of <i>Ganges</i>		By the Bombay Insurance Society for Dance’s action	Horsehead mameluke supposedly 100 guineas ¹¹⁷³	Sotherby's Marine Sale 16th July 1993 Lot 256
1804	Captain William Moffat of <i>Ganges</i>		By the East India Company for Dance’s action	Mameluke supposedly 50 guineas ¹¹⁷⁴	Sotherby's Marine Sale 16th July 1993 Lot 257
1804	Admiral Sir J T Duckworth		By the Jamaica Assembly in remembrance of the effectual protection afforded to the commerce & coasts of the island by his able & disinterested distribution of HM Naval forces under his command	Silver gilt by R Teed	NMM 1120
1804	Major John Hutchison		By the Peterhead Vol. Infantry from the members of the unit		Private Collection and Bonhams 31 Jul 13 Lot 467
1804	Captain John Thompson		By the members of 7 th Company of the 1 st Regiment of the Tower Hamlets Volunteers	Silver gilt 1796 infantry officers sword	LS (Pres)
1804	Edward Touzel		By the town of St Helier for saving them from the magazine explosion	Silver mounted sword	O Mourant article on the fire in the powder magazine ¹¹⁷⁵
1804	Lt Col James		By Officer’s of the 1 st	Sabre	National War

¹¹⁷³ As with the other 100 guinea sword to Moffat this does not appear to be good enough to be worth the money.

¹¹⁷⁴ As with the other one above this is the only sword that appears to have been presented for this reason. It is believed actually he was given cash for these two and purchased swords with it.

¹¹⁷⁵ https://www.theislandwiki.org/index.php/The_fire_in_the_powder_magazine_on_Mont_de_la_Ville

		Johnston of Kincardine Castle	(Streathan) Bn Royal Perthshire Vols		Museum of Scotland
1804		Lieutenant Colonel John Prince of the 6 th Inniskilling Regiment of Dragoons	By his Majesty King George III for his work as Aide-de-camp in particular "for his activity and judgment in choosing the horses for His Majesty's German Legion"	1796 Heavy Cavalry Officers dress sword	LS (Pres) and on display at Royal Armouries Leeds
1804		Adjutant William Murrell	On the 2 July 1804 by the NCOs and privates of the Clerkenwell Loyal Volunteer Infantry	Double edged blade. Weapon re-hilted circa 1830 – reverse of blade "Honi soit qui mal y pense / dieu et mon doit and initials WM	Sotherby's 25 July 1991 Lot 228
1804		Lieut. Col. Wilson	By his regiment the Queen's Royal Volunteers	Sabre	Painting of the sword being presented on 9 April 1804
1804		Sir Arthur Wellesley	By the British Inhabitants of Calcutta for his work in India	£1000 sword know to be diamond encrusted	Stolen in 1948 from V&A and destroyed for jewels. Ref Dispatches of Field Marshall Wellington Vol 2 p 1137 letter Bombay 8 Apr 1804. ¹¹⁷⁶
1804		Adjutant John Palmer of the Preston Volunteers	By the officers of the Knowslet, Prescott and Whiston Volunteers for the services rendered those Corps at Blackburn May 1804	style 1796 Heavy Cavalry Officers dress sword	LS (Pres) & Wallis & Wallis 16 May 1984 Lot 1559
1804		Alexander West Hamilton, ¹¹⁷⁷ Major Commandant of the Ayr and Kilmarnock Volunteer Riflemen	By the Non Commissioned Officer's and Privates of that Corps, in testimony of their attachment, respect and gratitude to him, for his unremitting assiduity in promoting	By Tatham, elaborate heavy cavalry sword	Sold by Thomas del Mar 25 Jun 14 lot 133

¹¹⁷⁶ I think this is the one Martyn Downer describes in Nelson's Lost Jewel as being from Bombay, p152 says diamond encrusted p238 says stolen.

¹¹⁷⁷ Hamilton was from a merchant family with noble links, his uncle was Earl of Eglinton. His family owned plantations in Jamaica and he had worked for the Governor there.

			the interest of the regiment ¹¹⁷⁸		
	1804	Captain G Goldney	Royal Bristol Volunteers	1803 sabre	CADB
	1804 (dated 20 Nov)	Captain Robert Coleman Esq	By the NCOs and Gunners of the Castle Corps of Artillery to their Captain....as a tribute of their high esteem of his conduct as a soldier and a gentleman since the formation of their corps. Marked Dublin – so the castle is presumably Dublin Castle	1796 type cavalry sabre – nothing very fancy on it, so without engraving on locket would not be described as presentation – by John Read, College Green, Dublin	Wallis & Wallis 30 Apr 2003 Lot 948
	1804	Lt Col Lord Grenville	Burnham & Buck Yeomanry from Burnham & Stoke Sqds	Sabre by Tatham	CADB
	1804	Lt Col Johnston	1 st or Strathearn Regt 1 st Brigade Royal Perthshire Volunteers	Mameluke hilted sabre by Osborn & Gunby	CADB (who says at Scottish United Services Museum now National War Museum of Scotland)
	1804	Lieutenant and Adjutant Sam M Laurence	By the Wem Division of Shropshire Volunteers ..[for].. his able military service and great attention towards them Decr 1804	A light dragoon type sword gilt cuopper hilt mounted with silver bands	Sothebys 17 Dec 1974 lot 303
	1804	Captain W Kelman	Fraserburgh Volunteer Artillery	Sabre 1804	CADB
	1804	Major Rutherfet	Roxburghshire Yeomanry	Sabre by T Gill	CADB
	1804	Assistant Adjutant Lt Col Charles. John Herries	The light horse volunteers of London and Westminster	Sabre by Osborn and Gumby	Sotheby's 27 April 1998 Lot 81
	1804	Colonel McDonnell	4 th Battn Invernshire Vols	Scots basket hilt	National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
	1804	Captain John Hilton ¹¹⁷⁹	By the 5 th Company of the 2 nd Loyal London Volunteer Infantry as a mark of their esteem for his conduct and ability	Made by James Young	NAM 1963-10-114-1

¹¹⁷⁸ 1804 was the year the Ayr Riflemen and Kilmarnock Riflemen formed into one unit.

¹¹⁷⁹ Hilton was made Captain on 17 Sep 1804.

1804	Major Edgar	2 nd L S V Cavalry	Gilt sabre by Prosser	CADB says in Muckleburgh Museum Collection (Suffolk Vols)
1804	Captain Spottiswoode	By the insurance officers of the Bengal Settlement for his Defence of the East Indiaman Lord Nelson on 14 August 1803 ¹¹⁸⁰	Single edged blade with a bronze gilt stirrup handle and silver plated scabbard	SC Vol 1 p 221-3
1804	Colonel Archd Patterson	By the 4th Lanarkshire Volunteer Regt	Silver gilt sabre by Woolley, Deakin, Dutton & Johnson	Lt 241 Bonhams 5 Dec 2012
1804/5	Captain John Thomson	By the NCOs and Privates belonging to the 7 th Company of the First Regiment of Tower Hamlet Volunteers as a token of esteem for their Captain	A 1796 pattern Infantry Officers sword with silver gilt hilt with highly decorated and inscribed blade by John Bennett	Royal Armouries Leeds
1805	Lieutenant Snook	By the EIC for his services in Macao		NAM
1805	Admiral Nelson	By Marquis Circello, the Sicilian Ambassador to London	Similar to Lloyd's	Nelson Museum Great Yarmouth
1805	Charles, Earl of Whitworth	Colonel Commandant of the Holmsdale Infantry ¹¹⁸¹	Silver gilt sabre by R Teed & Gilbert. The blade is Turkish	V&A 1606&PART/1-1871
1805	Unknown Naval Commander	East India Directors	Teed	Mentioned in his letter to the Fund regarding introduction of uniform pattern swords
1805	Major Byers	Durham Regiment Militia by the members of that militia		Private Collection Lot 3 Antony Cribb 24 Jul 18
1805	Lt Col Archd Paterson	4th Lanarkshire Volunteer Regt by its members	Georgian sabre ¹¹⁸² by Woolley, Deakin, Dutton & Johnson	Bonham 5 Dec 2012 Lot 241 (on shelf)
1805	Nathanial	For rescuing the Danish	Made by Teed	RMM

¹¹⁸⁰ The sword inscription has an error dating the action to 1804 rather than 1803.

¹¹⁸¹ There is no inscription on the sword but the hallmarks give the year as 1804-5 and certainly belonged to Earl of Whitworth.

¹¹⁸² Hallmark is a year earlier than the presentation.

		Portlock Captain of Sea Fencibles at Salcombe	ship ' <i>Little Catherine</i> ' in Bigbury Bay, Devon by his men	almost identical to a Lloyd's sword	
1805		Surgeon William Burnett	By the officers of HMS <i>Defiance</i>	A curved dirk with silver monogram	Lawrences 15 Nov 18 Lot 139
1805		Lt Richard Green 16 th or Buckinghamshire Regiment of Infantry	By the Honourable Court of Policy representing the inhabitants of the Colony of Surinam for his gallant defence of Part Armina		LA
1805		Captain D Gilkinson of the ship <i>Hope</i> ¹¹⁸³	From the underwriters of the brig <i>Fame</i> for his exertions in saving goods from the wreck of the vessel 28 Feb 1805	sabre	Wallis & Wallis 28 Apr 93 Lot 102 (on shelf)
1805		Lieutenant Colonel Robert Buchanan-Dunlop	By the NCOs and Privates of the First Troop of Light Horse Volunteers of London and Westminster – this was on his promotion to Lt Col from being Captain of their troop	Ornate but shape 1796 sabre – enameled langets – made by Thomas Price.	By private correspondence (with photos) with family through HAC archivist
1805		Brigade Major Crawford	By the Officers of the 2 nd & 3 rd Brigades of Yeomanry of the Country of Tipperary		
1805		Major Alexander Harvey	By the Rimond, Lonmay, St Fergus, Longside & Eathen Corps of Volunteers in testimony of their esteem and regard	Much more practical although ornate (image in PhD folder)	Thomas Del Mar 27 Jun 2012 Lot 259
1805		Captain William Leslie ¹¹⁸⁴	By The Aberdour Company, Fraserburgh Battalion, Aberdeenshire Volunteers. Testament of their regard and esteem	1796 pattern Sabre with gilt brass scabbard including lion embellishments	Lot 468 Bonhams 31 July 2013 and then on sale at West Street Antiques 2016, then Lot 188 Antony Cribb Auction 14 Mar 17.
1805		Lieutenant Pleydell Royal Marines	By General Picton for Lt Pleydell gallantry during the <i>Phoenix</i> capture of <i>La Didon</i> 10 th Aug.	1805 style naval sword but with shell pattern pommel only	On Sale by West Street Antiques Surry Stock number X1440

¹¹⁸³ I think this is a merchant ship.

¹¹⁸⁴ Captain Leslie had been appointed Captain in the Battalion in 1803, so this is at end of his first period of work.

			1805. Lt Pleydell was linked to the Pleydell-Bouverie family who were Earl of Radnor and supporter of Pitt. At this time Picton was awaiting trial for his time as Governor)	marking making presentation is an engraving on the locket. Made by Runkel Solingen	
1805	Captain Bradshaw		Royal Bristol Volunteers	Silver boatshell sabre by P Gilbert	CADB
1805	Colonel W M Kelso of Dunkeith Esquire		By the NCOs and Privates of the 1 st Ayrshire Voluntary in testimony of the esteem and respect they entertain for him as an officer and gentleman	Presentation sabre based on 1803 pattern infantry officers sabre with steel scabbard	Royal Highland Fusiliers Museum ¹¹⁸⁵
1805	Capt Archibald Young		By 1st Batn, Banff Volunteer Infantry, From His Company	Boatshell hilt with stirrup guard & curved blade by JJ Runkel	NAM 1982-04-777-1
1805	Col Earl C Whitworth		Holmsdale Infantry	Silver gilt mounted sabre with a Turkish blade. All by Teed	V&A 1606&PART/1-1871
1805	Captain Philip Lesbriel of the privateer <i>Greyhound</i>		By the owners for his conduct in capturing a Spanish ship	Brass hilt formed by a Greyhound and blade decorated with Greyhounds and ships.	Castle Cornet: In storage. GUEMG: GMAG 2002.159
1805	Lt Yeoman		The Non Commissioned Officers & Privates of the Mulgrave Volunteers present this sabre to Lieut Yeoman for his kind attention to the corps in bringing them to that state of discipline which has ever met the highest encomiums from the differing inspecting officers Aug 26 1805	1796 style Sabre with lions head pommel by Reddell and Bate	Lot 78 Christies 16 July 2003
1805	Lt Colonel T Brinley		By the officers of the 1st Bn 4th (or The King's	A 50 guinea horsehead	Kings Own Royal Regiment

¹¹⁸⁵ They also hold a portrait of Colonel Kelso who it is thought formed the unit, in the portrait he is resplendent in uniform and proudly holding the sword.

			Own) Regiment of Foot on his promotion to Quartermaster General in the West Indies	sabre ¹¹⁸⁶	Museum Lancaster, Item KO2454/01
1805	Captain O'Connell (he also got a PF for same action)	House of Assembly of Dominica for defence of Roseau Feb 1805	100 guinea	Australian Dictionary of National Biography	
1805	Major J Garioch	1 st Co Meldrum Vol Infantry	Boatshell sabre	CADB says at SUSM but it was not transferred to National War Museum of Scotland therefore must have been on loan. The museum have no record of it.	
1805	Brigade Major Thomas D'Arcy	By the Brigade of Yeomanry of the County of Longford	Gilt sabre by Read	Lot 87 Christies 16 July 2003	
1805	Lt Col Henry Norton Willis ¹¹⁸⁷	By the NCOs and Privates of the Kensington Volunteer Infantry		Held in the Regimental Collection of the Princess Louise and Kensington Regiment	
1805	Colonel Gould	By the sergeants Royal Sherwood Foresters in token of their estimation of him as an officer and a gentleman.		From the Regimental Record ¹¹⁸⁸	
1805	Lt Col R Stewart	Royal Perthshire Militia	Gilt sabre by Hunter	CADB	
1805	Lt Col A Napier	NCOs, Privates and Drummers of 95 th Regt ¹¹⁸⁹	Gilt sabre by Griffen and Adams	CADB	
1805	Major Patrick Walker ¹¹⁹⁰	Presented by the non commissioned officers & privates of the Western Regt of Midlothian Vol Infy to their Major as a	Gilt sabre by Gibsons, Thompson & Criag. Unique design, fire gilt	CADB and Bosley 1 Nov 17 Lot 850	

¹¹⁸⁶ Can be seen at <http://www.kingsownmuseum.plus.com/ko2454.htm>

¹¹⁸⁷ Willis was well connected as was Comptroller of Princess Charlottes Household

¹¹⁸⁸ Captain A E Lawson Lowe, *Historical Record of the Royal Sherwood Foresters* (London, W. Mitchell & Co, 1872) p 33.

¹¹⁸⁹ In 1802, the newly raised Rifle Corps was brought into the line of the British Army as the 95th Regiment of Foot, the 95th Rifles. 1805 saw a 2nd Battalion raised in Kent, and deployment to Germany as part of a British expedition to liberate Hanover.

¹¹⁹⁰ Major Patrick Walker served with the 2nd Midlothian Regiment Western Battalion and was appointed Major on the 23rd November 1803, this appears to be the date the Regiment was formed.

			mark of their esteem for him as an officer & gentleman 5 th Nov 1805	cross guard in fasces shape base supports a double link gilt chain terminated with a ring supported by a lion head mask.	
	1805	Admiral Collingwood	Duke of Clarence for Trafalgar	Gilt bronze mounted hilt with flat coffin pommel and spadron blade by Samuel Brunn	SC Vol 1 p 152-3
	1805-6	Duke of Cambridge			CADB
	1805-6	Name removed	Unknown reason or who		Sold at Christies in 1971
	1805	A medical officer	For Trafalgar – giver unknown	Made by Prosser, blade by J Runkel	M&A Vol 1 p235
	1805	Captain Tyler	For Trafalgar		1891 Naval Exhibition Item 2819c ¹¹⁹¹
3	1805	Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk and Captain Strachan	City of London swords for Trafalgar and Ferrol	200 guinea sword and two 100 guinea sword respectively. ¹¹⁹² All made by Ray and Montague	M&A Vol 1 p 69 and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014. Collingwood's is at the Royal Armouries Leeds and Northesk's is at National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle) Strachan's was at the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest and is believed to have been destroyed in WW2.

¹¹⁹¹ This is in addition to the one awarded by the Patriotic Fund for Trafalgar, both were displayed at the 1891 Naval Exhibition and both were owned by Lieutenant G W Tyler RN.

¹¹⁹² From London Roll of Honour. The 4 were not awarded together. Collingwood and Northesk awarded on 26 Nov 1805. Collingwood never received his, it was presented to his widow in 1810.

	1805-6	Colonel Bolton ¹¹⁹³	The Officers of the 13 th Light Dragoons Present this Sword to Colonel Bolton in Testimony of Esteem for his Conduct as a Gentleman and as a Tribute of Respect to his Merit as an Officer”.		Private Collection
	1806	Captain Hardy	City of London sword for Trafalgar		M&A Vol 1 p69
	1806	Captain Baker	Duke of Clarence	1805 pattern naval sword ¹¹⁹⁴	Bonhams 11 May 16 Lot 287
3	1806	Vice-Admiral Sir J T Duckworth, Rear-Admiral Sir A F I Cochrane and Rear-Admiral Sir T Louis	City of London Sword for Santo Domingo	Cochrane’s is by Ray and Montague	M&A Vol 1 p 69 and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 Duckworth NMM WPN 1121. Cochranes was on sale at Peter Finer’s in 2005. ¹¹⁹⁵
	1806	Major General Beresford	By City of London for Buenos Ayres	Beresford’s was not presented until 1816 but was made by C Alridge 1808-9 utilising Ray and Montague	Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 at Museum of London
	1806	Commodore Sir H Popham	By City of London for Buenos Ayres	200 guinea gold hilt sword with enamels. Commissioned by Thomas Harper ¹¹⁹⁶	London’s Roll of Fame
	1806	Midshipman Alexander Brenan	By his friends for Trafalgar	By Reed of Dublin, light cavalry style, with blue and gilt blade. Blade	NMRN Collection 2015/156 was in the family until 2015 when donated.

¹¹⁹³ Colonel Bolton, from an Irish landed family, had become Colonel of the 13th Light Dragoons in 1798. In 1804 the Rgmt was in Kent to prevent an invasion. In 1805, Bolton was made ADC to the King (and therefore became a full Colonel) and was ordered to superintend the creation of the cavalry of the King’s German Legion. It is likely one or both of these triggered the presentation.

¹¹⁹⁴ See <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/23564/lot/287/?category=list>

¹¹⁹⁵ Louis’s sword commissioned through James Birt, Leslie Southwick in Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 states that from the description it may have been by Ray and Montague. It was presented to Louis’s son as he had died prior to receipt and is currently unknown location.

¹¹⁹⁶ Leslie Southwick in Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 states that from the description it may have been made by Ray and Montague.

				makings look mixture military and Irish. Inscription on top locket, hilt is a helmet with royal cypher in hilt and fouled anchor and harp on the 2 langets. Central locket portrait Nelson	
	1806	Major General Sir John Stuart	By City of London for Maida	200 guinea gold hilt sword with enamels and diamonds. Commissioned by Thomas Ayres ¹¹⁹⁷	London's Roll of Fame
	1806	Lieut-General Sir David Baird	By City of London for capture of the Cape of Good Hope		Baird's is at National War Museum of Scotland Accession number M.2005.7
	1806	Major Patrick Murray	4 th Btn Royal Perthshire Volunteers		LS (Pres) & S Wood, A Patriot and his Sword. Journal of the Arms and Armour Society Vol 16 No 2 1999 p 68.
	1806	Lt Col David Ochterlony	By the citizens of Delhi on 27 June 1806	Sabre	National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
	1806	David Wight The Commanding Officer of the Midlothian Volunteer Infantry	By the Newbattle Co of the East Regt of the Midlothian Volunteer Infantry as a mark of their regard and esteem	Sabre by Rundell Bridge & Rundell ¹¹⁹⁸	Private Collection and Antony Cribb 20 Nov 18 Lot 270 and 26 Mar 19 Lot 81, Del Mar 4 Dec 19 Lot 282,

¹¹⁹⁷ Leslie Southwick in Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 states that from the description in may have been made by Ray and Montague.

¹¹⁹⁸ The presentations said "Into whose hand this Sword is put its hop't will not fear Bunopart So draw me out I shine so clear and if I strike my foes may fear" and "Presented by the Newbattle Company of the Eastern Regt of Midlothian Volunteer Infantry, to David Wight Esqr their Captain, as a Mark of their Regard & Esteem. 1806."

					Lot 313 Ant Cribb 24 Mar 20
1806	Vice-Admiral Sir J T Duckworth	By Duke of Clarence	Coffin pommel		NMM WPN 1122
1806	Major Twining	By the Royal Westminster Regiment of Volunteers as a mark of respect due for his uniform and unremitting exertions in promoting the discipline, the honour and the welfare of the Regiment	Small sword by William Yardley		Royal Armouries Leeds
1806	Maj Benjamin Bloomfield ¹¹⁹⁹	By the NCOs, Officers, Artificers, Gunners and drivers of B Troop RHA	1796 sabre		Royal Armouries Leeds
1806	Midshipman Pearce	By crew of HMS <i>Fourdroyant</i> for saving 3 seaman from a watery grave	60 guinea Silver gilt sabre by Osborn & Gunby		LA and Naval Chronicle Volume XV pg 105 & CADB
1806 ¹²⁰⁰	A G Fleetwood	Birmingham Light Horse	Gilt sabre		CADB
1806	Major Charles Lloyd	2 nd Div Lt Infantry of Militia in Ireland	Sabre by Prosser		CADB & Bonhams lot 92, 30 Nov 17, lot 113 ,23 May 18 & lot 214 12 Nov 19 Antony Cribb
1806	Colonel Sir A Muir	S S D R P Volunteers	Mameluke by Gibsons, Thompson & Craig		CADB
1806	Lt Gen C Lennox ¹²⁰¹	35 th Regt	Silver gilt boatshell sabre by Gilbert		CADB and poss at Glenbow Museum, Calgary
1806	Lt A Stein	Clachmannanshire Volunteers	An 1803 pattern sabre		CADB
1806	Bland				CADB
1806/7	Admiral Collingwood	Corporation of Liverpool for Trafalgar, the funds were part of the collection for the statue	1805 style but more ornate		Liverpool Town Hall
1806/7	Colonel Robert Bowie	Thought to be by the East India Company – he was on the Bengal Establishment	Gold mounted small sword by Ray and Montague		Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 at Philadelphia

¹¹⁹⁹ Also awarded one in 1799, both are similar in looks and displayed next to each other.

¹²⁰⁰ This is now thought to be later was offered for Waterloo sale at Bonhams but withdrawn –
crest not right and engraving looks much later than 1806

¹²⁰¹ General Lennox (4th Duke of Richmond) recruited men from his estates in Sussex and
had the regiment name changed to reflect the link to Sussex in 1804. The Regiment was
involved in the Sicilian campaign that year.

					Museum of Art
	1807	Lieutenant William Coombe	Not known by who but for carrying of the French Corvette Lynx		1891 Naval Exhibition Item 2818 ¹²⁰²
	1807	Captain Fairfax Moreseby of HMS Wizard	By the British Insurance Company at Malta for the protection of trade to and from Malta		NMM
3	1807	Rear-Admiral C Stirling, Brigadier General The Honourable William Lumley and Brigadier General Sir Samuel Auchmuty	City of London sword for Monte Video	Auchmuty's and Stirlings are 200 guinea gold, enamel and diamond small sword by Ray and Montague. Lumley's is a 100 guinea with gold and enamel, commissioned by Thomas Ayres ¹²⁰³	Stirling M&A Vol 1 p 69 and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 Auchmuty's is at National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
	1807	Capt the Hon Thomas Kenyon	By the members of the 4 th Company Shropshire Volunteer Infantry		LA
	1807	Major W Wyld	By the Southwell Loyal Volunteers	By Osborne and Gunby in the style of a light cavalry sabre with mameluke hilt	LA and on display at Nottingham Castle NCM 1968-34 (See folder)
	1807	Cadet Wright	Benghal Army	Sabre	National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
	1807	Col John Colvill	By the NCOs of 1 Bttn Forfarshire Volunteers		LA
	1807	Major J Buckley	2 nd Battn LXII Regt	Sabre by Prosser	CADB
	1807	Lieutenant Colonel Hope Stewart of Ballichin	By the Royal Atholl Volunteers in testimony of their esteem for him as an officer and gentleman 1807	Presentation sabre made in Edinburgh by Hunter with a crocodile as the guard and serpents twined as knuckle	Royal Armouries at Leeds and Christies 2 Nov 83 Lot 12.

¹²⁰² This is in addition to his Patriotic Fund sword for the same action, both swords were present at the Exhibition.

¹²⁰³ Leslie Southwick in Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 states that from the description in may have been made by Ray and Montague.

				guards and an eagle pommel	
	1807 ¹²⁰⁴	Capt Jackson	By the NCOs Drummers and Privates of the south battalion of Leeds Volunteer Infantry to...as a mark of gratitude and respect for his soldierlike and endearing attention to them in his duty as their adjutant	Small sword	Wallis & Wallis 10 Feb 1993 Lot 1526 (in folder) and Glendinnngs 25 Mar 98 Lot 1106 (within photo)
	1807	Earl Percy	Percy Tenantry Volunteer Cavalry	Gilt sabre with silver scabbard	CADB and on display at Alnwick Castle
	1808	Sir Charles Brisbane	For the capture of Curacao by the 2nd Battalion, 18th of Royal Irish ¹²⁰⁵		P Tuite, British Naval Edged Weapons—An Overview ASOAC Vol 86 p 48
	1808	John Welsh	From the Officer's & Privates of the East Maylor Volunteers to their Adjutant as a testimony of approbation for his zealous service for six years 1808.	Sabre (similar to PF) by Woolley, Deakin, and Dutton	Lot 450 Cowan's 30 Oct 18
	1808	Sir Samuel Hood	By the British Factory Madeira ¹²⁰⁶		LA & NMM WPN 1548 (but still owned by family)
	1808	Captain William Dawson	The Gallant Successor of the regretted Capt Harding of the <i>St Fiorenzo</i> . This Sword is Presented by the Merchants, Shipowners and Underwriters of Bombay in Grateful remembrance of His Courage and Conduct during the successful action with French Frigate <i>La</i>	Very similar to the Lloyd's Patriotic Fund sword	Creswell Museum of the Royal Australian Navy

¹²⁰⁴ This date is from CA who had it in his database but the description said pre1801 arms. Also CA said horsehead spadron which it was not either. Unless there are two to Captain Jackson. He had Captain W Jackson.

¹²⁰⁵ The Royal Irish took over in 1808 as the occupying force, Brisbane captured island on 1 Jan 1807, was knighted and made Governor. Also recognised by the Patriotic Fund.

¹²⁰⁶ This was for his work commanding a fleet that occupied the island in 1807. This greatly improved the British trading prospects with the West Indies and South America.

			<i>Piedmontaise</i>		
1808	Lt Col James Cooke	By the officers of the Trafford House and Hulme Local Militia			LA and sold by Wallis and Wallis 22-24 Oct 1974
1808	Captain Gotch	By the members of the Kettering Volunteers			LA and Kettering Museum
1808	Lt Edward Villiers Fitzgerald	By the members of the Kerry Cavalry			LA
1808	Captain Thornton	By the members of the Daventry Troop of Northamptonshire Yeomanry Cavalry	Sabre by Osborne and Gunby		LS (Pres) & V&A GILBERT.46:1-2008
1808	Captain William Rogers of HM Packet <i>Windsor Castle</i>	For capture of the <i>Jeune Richard</i>	Sabre by Osborn & Gunby		NMM Falmouth
1808	Lt Col John Boyle of Shewalton	By the members of the 3 rd Bttn 2 nd regt Ayrshire Volunteer Infantry			LA
1808	Colonel J d'Arcy RA	By the Shah of Persia on the defeat of the Russians at the battle of Sultanbolt ¹²⁰⁷	Gilt Shamshir		Lot 236 Sotheby's sale 14 April 2010
1808	Captain Thomas Searle	By the crew of HM Sloop Grashopper (note also dirk in 1802)	Gilt spadron by Teed		LA
1808	Major David Oglivy ¹²⁰⁸	By the members of the Brechin Volunteer Infantry – "in testimony of their esteem and respect for him as an officer and a gentleman"	A PF style sabre by Woolley, Deakin, Dutton & Johnson (photo in file)		LA and CT Auctions 13 Feb 19 lot 884 and Herman Historica 19 Nov 19 Lot 4392
1808	Captain John Darell	By the Wymondham Yeomanry Cavalry ¹²⁰⁹			Recorded in the Norfolk Annuals Vol 1 p64
1808	John Baird ¹²¹⁰	East Stirlingshire Cav	Gilt sabre by Gibsons, Thompson & Criag		National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
1808	Lt Col R Douglas	Royal Kirkaldy Vols	Gilt sabre by Wooley, Deakin & Dutton		Private Collection
1808	Major Charles Godfrey	Presented out of estimation to Major ... by the Non Comissioned	Scimitar shaped blade Sabre by J Reid		Wallis & Wallis 13 Apr 1983 Lot 1043

¹²⁰⁷ This has been worn by Colonel G d'Arcy (yes there is G and J) Governor of the Gambia in the field against the enemy after his regulation sword was shot out of his hand

¹²⁰⁸ Thought to be one of the Scottish noble family the Ogilvy's.

¹²⁰⁹ By Charles Mackie Published in 2012 it is a reprint of the original printed in 1901 and covers 1801-1850.

¹²¹⁰ This is not the General.

			Officers and men of K. Troop Royal Horse Artillery June 4 th 1808.		
1809	Colonel Burne	By the Officers of 1 Bttn 36 th Regiment of Foot	Turkish style handled sabre but hallmark is 1807/8 so must have been premade and then engraved for this.	LA and Royal Armouries No IX 2799	
1809	Colonel R Ross	By the officers of his Regiment in honour of Maida		Dictionary of National Biography	
1809	Lt Col Thomas Sydney Beckwith	By the officers of 95th (Rifle) Regiment		LA & formerly Royal Green Jacket Museum (stolen in 1963)	
1809	Lt Col Taylor	By the officers of the Lynn and Freebridge Legion		LA	
1809.	Col. John MacLeod of Colbeck, late Col. Commandant of the <i>Princess Charlotte of Wales</i>	By the Loyal Fencible Highlanders		Private Collection	
1809	Lt Col Charles MacLeod	By the officers and men of the 3 rd Battalion 95 th Rifle Regiment	Silver gilt sabre	Rifles Museum, Winchester	
1809	Colonel Henry Keating	From the Merchantile Community of Calcutta in testimony of their High Sense of his services in conjunction of Commodore Sir Josiah Rowley in the memorable enterprise against St Pauls and in the conquest of Bourbon whereby the dominion of the surrounding seas was asserted at a critical period and a most important security confirmed to British commerce eastward of the Cape.	Rundle Bridge and Rundell, presentation sabre with tiger head pommel and silver gilt fittings. Hallmark 1815,	Private Collection	
1809	Colonel R Garden	44 th Regt	Heavy cavalry boatshell in silver	CADB	
1809	Colonel Henry	From the Officer's of his	A silver-gilt and	Private	

		Augustus Dillon	Majesty's 101 st Regiment, to their Colonel the Honble Henry Augustus Dillon, as a Small, though Grateful Testimony of high Respect, Attachment and Esteem	enamel hilted presentation sabre by Salter	Collection (on sale by Peter Finer but private sale not public)
1809		Lieutenant Giles Rae	From the Milltown Yeomanry to their 1 st Lieut as a mark of their high esteem 14 th October 1809	1796 pattern presentation Sabre by Nicholson, Corke	Wallis & Wallis 30 Jun1982 Lot 1067
1809		Sir T Staines RN	Gentlemen of Thanet for his heroism commanding HMS <i>Cyane</i> in the Bay of Naples in June 1809	Gilt and brass small sword by R Teed	NMM Wpn 1252 and 1891 Naval Exhibition Item 2723
1809		Commander W O Pell	By Captain Hon Henry Duncan, Late of HMS <i>Mercury</i> for his gallant exertions & meritorious conduct whilst 1st Lieutenant of that ship Particularly night of 1 April 1809, when he commanded the Boats to attack 2 gun vessels at Rovigno capturing one and was severely wounded in 6 places and night of 7 Sep when he again commanded the boats to capture the French schooner <i>La Pugliese</i> at Burletta. Having before lost a leg in action he was promoted Commander	Gilt 1805 Pattern naval sword	NMM Wpn 1040
1809		Lt Col William Howe Campbell	The officers of the second battalion of the 31 st regiment in Portugal on his move to a Portuguese Brigade	Sword worth 120 guineas	Recorded in The Times Friday 30 June 1809 – not known whether made
1809		Captain J Walsh	Gravesend Vol Infantry	1803 type sabre by Salter	CADB
1809		Hugh 12 th Earl Eglinton	Ayr Yeo Cavalry and Local Militia	Sabre by Osborne & Gunby	Owned by National War Museum of Scotland (But on Display at Glasgow Museum)
1809		Captain H B	Rochester and Chatham	Gilt hilted sabre	CADB and

		Lynch	Volunteers in "testimony of the high sense they entertain of his zeal and the unremitted attention he paid to the discipline of that corps, and also for his gentlemanly demeanor towards every individual during the time he was their adjutant. XII March MDCCCIX'.		Thomas Del Mar 4 Dec 19 Lot 279
1809		Captain R Haymes	4 th Troop Leicestershire Yeomanry Cavalry	Gilt sabre by Thomas Gill	CADB
1809/10		Captain Douglas Campbell ¹²¹¹	By the NCOs and men of his Company of the 91 st (Argyllshire Highlanders) Regiment of Foot (later became Argyll and Sutherland)	Mameluke	Regimental Museum Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders – Stirling Castle
1809/10		Lt Col J Stirling	42 nd Royal Highlanders	Silver gilt sabre by Johnston, dated by hallmark	National War Museum of Scotland and LA.
1810		Unknown recipient	Presented by the NCOs and men of unknown unit ¹²¹²		Private Collection
1810		High Sheriff William Izod a Major in the Kilnenny Militia	By The Gentlemen Of The County Of Kilkenny for ambushing an armed attack (presumed to be brigands)		Was Private Collection then Del Mar 4 Dec 19 Lot 277
1810		Captain Lang	By the 6th company of 43 North Britain militia ¹²¹³ as a token of their respect towards him as an officer and gentleman	Mameluke	Lot 260 Thomas Del Mar 27 June 2012
1810		Midshipman George Dobson	By the Commander of HM Forces Fort Matagorda ¹²¹⁴		1891 Naval Exhibition Item 2673
1810 ¹²¹⁵		Lieutenant-Colonel Richard	From his officers	1796 Infantry Officer's Pattern	NAM Accession number 1960-10-

¹²¹¹ Duncan Campbell has been largely responsible for the last raising of the 91st Foot back for the Duke of Argyll in 1794 when the 98th (Argyllshire Highlanders) Regiment of Foot was recruited. In 1794 the 98th was sent to the Cape of Good Hope where in 1796 it was redesignated 91st (Argyllshire Highlanders) Regiment of Foot.

¹²¹² The engraving is too poor to make out the unit now – motto on blade *Gladium qui maruit ferat* – Let him who is worthy bear the sword.

¹²¹³ The 43 North British Battalion were part of the Argyll and Bute Regiment.

¹²¹⁴ Dobson was lent with a party of sailors from *Invincible* to strengthen garrison of Fort Matagorda.

¹²¹⁵ He departed in 1808 but the sword was made in 1810-11.

		Lloyd, commander of the Goree Island Garrison		or Gilt and enamel smallsword	16-1 and LS(TP)
1810		Major Ballantyne	Dumfries Miitia	An 1803 type sabre	CABD
1810		Captain Sir Christopher Cole ¹²¹⁶	By the Ships company of <i>HMS Caroline</i> for landings at Batavia	This looks from the part visible in the portrait to be of mameluke style	J Marshalls <i>Royal Naval Biography entry for Sir Christopher Cole</i> & portrait at the British Museum 1859,0709.1292
1810		Captain Christopher Cole	By the Gun room officers of HMS <i>Piedmontaise</i> and <i>Barracouta</i> for the capture of the island of Banda.	Silver Slotted hilt	Christies 27 June 1973 Lot 76
1810		Captain Christopher Cole	For capture of Banda by the officers of Madras European Regiment	Silver slotted hilt	Naval Medals and RNM 1990/328
1810		Captain Christopher Cole	By the gunroom of <i>HMS Caroline</i> for the capture Banda	100 guinea sabre by Thompson	1891 Naval Exhibition Item 2791 and RNM on loan from Portsmouth City Museum.
1810 ¹²¹⁷		Lt S A Simpson RN	Ships Co Niobe	Gilt sabre by Read Portsmouth	CADB
1810		Lt Col J C Curwen	From Officers, NCOs and Privates of the Worthington Regt of Local Militia for its time as a unit	Gold hilted 1796 infantry pattern	CABD
1810		Lieutenant George Fordor RN	From King of Portugal for Cayena	Silver sabre	CABD
1810		Lt Col Joshua	By the officers of the 4 th	1796 Heavy	Arms & Armour

¹²¹⁶ Captain Cole received at least 4 swords as portrait shows one and two others are at the RN Museum in Portsmouth and then one from auction. The existence of 3 swords for Banda is recorded in Naval Medals. There are though 5 separate listings of who presented by. Dictionary of National Biography says "By the crew of his ship *HMS Caroline* for the capture of Banda in 1810" and Naval Medals says "For the capture of Banda by the officers of the 3 ships under his command *Caroline*, *Piedmontaise* and *Barracouta*" Also one has been listed as from 1806 and linked to Batavia but says from Crew of *HMS Caroline* and he only took Command of *Caroline* in 1809. There is also a silver trophy vase presented by the Captain's of the three ships. I think the 1891 Naval Exhibition sword which is catalogued as "By the officers and ship's company" is the one by the gunroom.

¹²¹⁷ Lt Samuel Ash Simpson was on *Niobe* in 1810 off La Hogue and is praised by his Captain Loring so it is probably for this action that the sword was presented.

		Jonathan Smith ¹²¹⁸	Regiment Loyal London Volunteers as a mark of their high esteem for his invariable attention to the discipline and general interests of the Corps in 1810	cavalry pattern by Ray and Montague	Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 at Royal Armouries Leeds
	1810	Acting Master Alexander Thomas	By the inhabitants of Falmouth for his gallant defence of the Packet <i>Duke of Marlborough</i> against a French privateer	Ornate gilt sabre with scalloping to the scabbard	NMM Falmouth
	1810	Captain M H Court	From the Non-Commissioned Officer's and Matrosses of his Company of Madras Artillery employed at the capture of Amboyna & its dependencies ¹²¹⁹ as a small testimony of the respect & admiration they have for him.	Horse's Head by P Augier	Antony Cribb 30 March 2021 Lot 322
	1810	Samuel Palmer ¹²²⁰	By Kirkcudbright Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry		NAM 1964-10-92-1 now returned to owner
	1810	Captain S Shore	Norton Volunteer Corps	Sabre by J Gill	CABD
	1810	Lt Col J J Smith	4 th Regt Royal London Volunteers	Silver boatshell smallsword by Ray & Montague	CABD
	1811	Major Sir Robert Torrens Royal Marines	By the men under his command		P Tuite, British Naval Edged Weapons—An Overview ASOAC Vol 86 p 49
2	1811	Captain Maurice RN and Captain	For Defence of Anholt from the men ¹²²¹	Sabre	Both held by the RMM

¹²¹⁸ This is the same Smith as Alderman Smith who became so involved with Nelson's swords and possessions.

¹²¹⁹ In February 1810 three ships carrying detachments of the Madras Artillery and the Madras European Regiment attacked the Dutch Spice Island of Amboyna. Captain Court commanded the shore party, which also included Marines and some Seamen totaling 401 men in all. After the successful capture of Amboyna the remaining major Spice Islands surrendered without bloodshed or resistance.

¹²²⁰ Palmer was Adjutant for the Company from 1803.

¹²²¹ Although this was a controversial award initially to show that the RM were not happy with how the Naval Governor had written up the Battle but the RM insisted that the RN Governor also received one to prevent relations inflaming further. Captain Maurice's sword is at the Royal Marines Museum, Eastney and was made by Henry Tatham. Major Torrens (also by Tatham) was sold by Del Mar 8 Dec 2010 Lot 85. Inscription "Presented by the Non

		Torrens RM			
	1811	Vice Admiral Campbell (CinC Downs)	By Captains & Commanders under him on his leaving the station		
2	1811	Lieutenant General Thomas Graham, ¹²²² and Major General Dilkes	By City of London for action at Barossa		Graham's is at National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle) (Accession Number 1967-59H)
	1811	Mr Wm Dawson	By Captain Gordon of HMS Active for Dawsons support in the action off Lissa on 13 march 1811	Elaborate 1805 pattern levee sword	Wall Wallis & Wallis 5 Jun 1991 Lot 1510
	1811	Major Tucker 24 th Regiment, Commandant of the Army Depot in Portugal	By the officers commanding detachments of all regiments in the Army of Viscount Wellington	Silver gilt by Rundell, Bridge and Rundell	LS(TP)
	1811	Lieutenant General Lord Viscount Wellington	By the City of London for events in Portugal		LS(TP) & Wellington Museum, Aspley House (WM 1229-1942)
	1811	Lt Col McCarthy	By Lt Gen Martin Hunter, on the occasion of his leaving the 104th Regiment of Foot to join New Brunswick Regiment Fencible Infantry	Adapted from Light cavalry Officer's Pattern 1796; gilt guard; scabbard has gilt mounts	NAM 1966-12-7
	1811	R Irving	Dumfries Militia	An 1803 pattern sabre	CADB
	1811	Earl of Yarmouth	From the Prince Regent	Sabre with Indian blade by Tatham	CADB
	1811	Lt Col W M Carden	17 th L D from 25 th L D	Sabre by Teed	Private collection ¹²²³
	1811	Captain William Augustus	By the officers of his ship HMS Cornwallis	Silver gilt sabre by Thomas	Thomas Del Mar 4 Dec 19 Lot 274

Commissioned Officers, Drummers and privates of the Royal Marines in Garrison at Anholt to their gallant and humane commander Major Robert Torrens in token of their admiration of his bravery on the XXVII of March MDCCCXI and in gratitude for his kind consideration of their individual comfort and happiness" He was not made a Major until the month after the battle as part of his reward.

¹²²² General Graham is also known as Lord Lynedoch (see 1801 sword)

¹²²³ The London Chronicle for Feb 1811 has the record of his promotion to Lt Col 17th Light Dragoons from the 25th Light Dragoons.

		Montagu	from the officer of the troops engaged with him in the assault and conquest of Amboyna, 29 Feb 1810	Price retailed b Rundell, Bridge & Rundell. Hallmark is 1811. This is very similar in style to PF enough I double checked did not contain some Teed components	
1811		Lord March	City of Dublin	Gilt mounted sabre by Reed	CADB
1811		Maj Gen Dirom	Officers of the Leicestershire Regt (Dirom helped them with recruiting in 1811 hence the date for the sword)	Sabre by Osborn & Gunby	SUSM
1812		Captain J A Gordon	By officers of <i>HMS Active</i> to mark his gallant conduct at the battle of Lissa on 13 March 1811 & Pelagosa 29 November 1811	Sabre that sounds very similar to a Patriotic Fund sword	Recorded in his letter in 'The Real Hornblower' by Bryan Perrett p95.
1812		Capt James Hamilton Adjutant	By the NCOs and Privates of the Corps of Loyal North Britons	Broadsword, fancy with inscribed blade version of the regiment's sword	Held by London Scottish
1812		Unknown name removed	Unknown	Sabre	RM Museum sword
1812		Captain Fairfax Moresby	By the British Insurance Company at Malta for protecting trade of that island	Turkish scimitar	LS(TP) & NMM Wpn 1255
1812		Lieutenant W Jones RN	From the owners of Emenuela	Gilt smallsword by Brunn	CADB
1812		Captain D MacKinnon	Coldstream Guards	Silver gilt hilt sabre with copper gilt scabbard	CADB
1812		Mr Cartwright	By his fellow Yorkshire manufacturers for defending his mail against the Luddites attack on 11 April 1812		Jenny Uglow, <i>In These Times</i> , p 550
1812		Lt Col H Walker	Stratford & Tickhill Regt of Local Militia	A 1796 pattern heavy cavalry sword by Osborn & Gunby	CADB
1812		Colonel J Murray	By the House of	Silver gilt sabre	CADB

			Assembly of Upper Canada	by Rundell, Bridge & Rundell	
1812	Lieutenant Henry Ducie Chads ¹²²⁴ (later Admiral Sir Henry)	By General Sir Thomas Hislop who was onboard the Java for her action with the Constitution.			1891 Naval Exhibition Item 2755
1813	Admiral Sir James Saumarez	By the King Charles of Sweden for his time as C-I-C of the Baltic 1808-1813	Stylised regalia sword with a jewelled ¹²²⁵ handle and sea serpent quillons		Castle Cornet, Guernsey: Maritime Museum, GUEMG: GML 200.:25.20
1813	Captain Sir P B V Broke	City of London sword for the Capture of USS Chesapeake	Gold and enamel 100 guinea small sword by Ray and Montague		Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014. In descendants possession until sold at Sotheby's in 2005. Presumed to now be in a private collection.
1813	Major General the Hon Wm Ponsonby ¹²²⁶	By the officers of 5th Dragoon Guards			LS(TP) – York army museum
1813	Brigadier General Murray	By the inhabitants of the colony of Berbice for his “upright and able discharge of the duties of civil governor of that colony 17 May 1813”	Curved sabre by Rundell Bridge & Rundell		Private Collection, illustrated in The 4 th Antique Arms Fair Incorporating the Park Lane Arms Fair dated 2 March 2019
1813	Lieutenant Charles Barber RN	By the Ships Company of HMS <i>Norge</i> to their first Lieutenant	Presentation brass sabre by G Banks		NMM Wpn 1220
1813	Captain Thomas Noel Harris	By Edward Solly for Fellowship at the Battle of Leipzig ¹²²⁷	Sabre by Webb		Bonhams Wellington Sale 1 Apr 15
1813	James Tatham (or Tatem) ¹²²⁸	In appreciation of his services in the Artillery	Gilt stirrup with ivory grip.		HAC Collection EW30.

¹²²⁴ Lt Chads ended up effectively in command after Captain Lambert was mortally wounded.

¹²²⁵ According to the curator these jewels are reported to have originally been diamonds and rubies and now replaced with paste.

¹²²⁶ There are also 2 swords held by the RDG Museum believed to belong to Ponsonby, one has a unique engraving on the blade and is by Osborn and Gunby and is believed to be his dress sword, the other appears to be his fighting sword.

¹²²⁷ There was only one British Unit at this Battle a Congrave Rocket Troop from the Royal Horse Artillery but were commanded by a Captain Richard Brogue. There is a painting of the unit at the Battle by David Rowlands. Harris later Colonel Sir Thomas Harris was ADC to Lt Gen Sir and Edward Solly was a wealthy Baltic merchant who watched the battle.

			Division, 1813.	Etched blade with very faint inscription which indicates it was a presentation	
1813	Commander Francis Erskine Locke (or Loch) RN	Officers & Company of HMS <i>Rover</i> ¹²²⁹		Silver sabre by Slater	CADB
1813	Major G O'Malley	By Lt Col W Pollock 101 st Regiment of Foot (Duke of York's Irish) for their esteem on his leaving the Corps at Jamaica		Sabre by Salter	CADB
1813	Lt Col Colin Campbell	As a token of esteem by the non commissioned officers, drummers & privates of the Royal Perthshire Militia		Mameluke Sabre gilt brass stirrup hilt & ivory grip with triple gilt wire & silver plated scabbard by Johnsons Sword Cutlers, 12 The Strand	CADB and offered for sale by West Street Antiques Stock number PE1625 in June 2016
1813	Captain R Pennington ¹²³⁰	This sword presented to Capt R. Pennington of Royal Cumbeld Regiment of Militia by the officers. As a mark of respect 6th May 1813'.		Light Company style sword similar to 1796 Light Cavalry pattern by S. Brunn of 55 Charing Cross London	Bosley 1 Nov 17 Lot 851
1813	Lt Col James Watson	By the 14 th Regiment (he had commanded them in India & Batavia and made Colonel in 1814		Gold mounted sabre with a Persian blade	CADB
1813	Lt Col Snodgrass	For St Sebastian taken by storm XXX1st August MDCCCXIII, "This sabre is presented by his townsmen of Paisley joined by several noblemen and gentlemen in its vicinity is an expression of high		Silver gilt mounted presentation sword by Rundell, Bridge and Rundell,	Gorrings 4 Dec 2018, Lot 34

¹²²⁸ The sword says Tatham but the divisional records say it was Tatem being the name James George Upham later took.

¹²²⁹ He left her early 1813 having been involved in actions off Spain the previous year, Loch only promoted to Cdr in 1813, having been acting until then (O'Byrne (1849), Vol. 1, p668).

¹²³⁰ Captain R Pennington remained with the Militia and in 1834 was still serving as Adjutant.

			esteem for his character and admiration of his distinguished services in the course of his country and her allies”		
1813	Lt Col Jefferys Allen		Bridgewater Regiment of Local Militia (he was the Commandant and local MP/landowner)	Gilt sabre by Teed	CADB
1813	Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill		By the city of London for victory at Vittoria	Gilt and enamel small sword by John Ray and James Montague	V&A M.50-1963 and Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014
1813	Captain Robert Bloye		By the Corporation of Kings Lynn for his gallant conduct in the service of his country. ¹²³¹	A sabre by cutlers Green Ward & Green, with blade by Thomas Price	Mellors and Kirk Auction, 4 Mar 2015, Lot 272.
1814	Lt Gen George Don (he was both Lieutenant Governor of Jersey and Commander of the Militia)		By the Militia of Jersey	Gold hilted officers' small sword	Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 (was held by National Museum of War Scotland (Edinburgh Castle))
1814	Major Halford		59th Regiment Foot by the Mayor Commonalty of the City of Canterbury ¹²³²		Private Collection
1814	Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill		By the City of Birmingham	Ornate sword based on the 1796 light cavalry pattern	Cameroon Regimental Collection ¹²³³ Item CAM.F197
1814	Lt Sullivan		Presented by the NCOs and Privates of C Troop in the 1 st Regt of Life Guards to Lt Sullivan of the same regiment as an officer and gentleman St Jean de Luz, ¹²³⁴ France 24 March 1814	Sabre with a French ormolu hilt	Bonhams 30 Nov 17 Lot 93

¹²³¹ Captain Bloye was a native of King's Lynn, in command of HMS Lyra from 1810 he distinguished himself off Spain in 1812 and 1813 supporting Wellington at San Sebastian, he was promoted Captain in 1813.

¹²³² Inscription makes clear Halford lived near Canterbury as it is to their fellow citizen.
¹²³³

<http://www.sllcmuseumscollections.co.uk/search.do?id=137674&db=object&page=1&view=detail> they also have what is believed to be his battle sword.

¹²³⁴ Lt Sullivan had served with the regiment throughout the Peninsular Campaign. Jean de Luz was where the headquarters was for Wellington's army for the winter of 1813-14.

1814	Major General Robert Ainslie Governor of Dominica	To his Excellency Major General Ainslie Governor of Dominica &c &c &c / This sword is presented by the two branches of the legislature / in testimony of his meritorious conduct in the reduction of the maroons in the year MDCCCXIV.	Double-edged spear point blade. silver hilt hallmarked 1814 with <i>T.P</i> (could be Thomas Pepper II, Thomas Pitts II or Thomas Purver, all London silversmiths using similar marks at time.	LS(TP) and Lot 451 Cowan's 30 Oct 18.
1814	Captain Henry Stephen Fox-Strangways 3 rd Earl of Ilchester	Presented by the Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates of the 5 th Troop of Dorset County Cavalry to their Capt. The Rt. Hon.ble the EARL of Ilchester as a Small Testimony of Respect and Gratitude for his Lordships Zealous Exertions in Promoting the Discipline of the Corps 1811	Silver gilt and enamel hilted sabre by Salter. It is the hallmark that tells us this was made 1814	Private Collection (on sale by Peter Finer but private sale not public)
1814	Captain John Lumley of HMS <i>Pomone</i>	By his Ship's company for the capture of the USS <i>President</i>	Stirrup	RNM 1959/6
1814	Captain John Bull ¹²³⁵	By the passengers on HM Packet <i>Duke of Marlborough</i> for defending them from being boarded by a superior force ¹²³⁶	£50 silver sabre with pure gold filigree and cast decoration	LS(TP) & NMM Falmouth (NMM WPN 1056)
1814	Master William MacDonnell	By the passengers on HM Packet <i>Duke of Marlborough</i> for defending them from being boarded by a superior force ¹²³⁷	Same design as above but cheaper materials being £20 and thus gold plated sabre by Rundell Bridge and Rundell	NMM Falmouth
1814	Major General Charles Baron	By two officers who had served under him in the		LS(TP) & Historisches

¹²³⁵ The NMM at Falmouth not only holds Captain Bull's sword but also a portrait of him.

¹²³⁶ The vessel was actually British *HMS Primrose* that was mistaken for an American Privateer.

¹²³⁷ This is the same incident as above.

		Alten	Peninsular Army		Museum am Hohen Ufer, Hannover (VM 1626)
	1814	Major General Richard Hussey Vivian	By the officers of the 18 th Hussars after he was wounded in the advance on Toulouse		LS(TP)
	1814	Major Alexander Dickson (later General Sir) Royal Artillery	From the Officers of the Artillery who served under him in the Peninsular campaign in 1813/14		Mentioned in his obituary – Gentlemen's Magazine 1840, June pg 650.
4	1814	Field Marshall Prince Schwartzberg of Austria, Count Barclay de Tolly of Russia, Prince Otto von Blucher of Prussia and Hetman Count Platov of the Don	By the City of London for liberating Europe		LS(TP)
	1814	Lt George James Sullivan	1 st Life Guards (he was in the Peninsular campaign at this time)	French style Sabre	CADB
	1814	Major General Ainslie	Legislature of Dominica for subduing the Maroons (he was Governor)	200 guinea Gilt cross hilt	CADB (& Glenbow Mus)
	1814	Lt Col O'Callaghan ¹²³⁸	Presented by the NCOs, drummers and privates of the Durham Regt. of Militia to as a mark of respect they entertain for him.	Sabre by Samuel Brun, Charing Cross, London	Held by Durham Light Infantry Museum
	1814	Major James Grant of the 60 th Foot	By the inhabitants of the colony of Berbice	Silver hilted small sword	National War Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh Castle)
	1814	Lieutenant William Bace ¹²³⁹	From Lieut Col Herford to Lieut William Bace of	Elaborate sabre similar to 1796	Antony Cribb Auction 30 Jul 19

¹²³⁸ An ex-Regular Army officer, James O'Callaghan joined the Durham Militia in 1798 and became Lt Col in May 1805, retiring in 1835. Sword image is at: <http://dlmuseum.durham.gov.uk/pgObjects.aspx?&ID=5588&CODE=9&CATDESC=Weapons&WEB=MAIN&SEARCH>

¹²³⁹ Captain William Bace (1779-1852) was promoted from the Ranks. Bace served with South Gloucestershire Regiment at Cape of Good Hope, Egypt and Italy. In 1812 he applied to join 1st Battalion 61st in Spain, which he did by financing his own passage. Served in Peninsular at 'Huebra'/San Munoz Nov 1812, Blockade of Pamplona Jul 1813, Battles of the Pyrenees 28 Jul- 2 Aug 1813, Battle of the Nivelle 10 Nov 1813, Battles of the Nive 9-13 Dec 1813, Blockade of Bayonne Dec1813-Feb 1814, Battle of Orthes 27 Feb 1814 61 Regmt the

			the 1st Batt 61 Foot In Gratitude for his Valour and Support in the Action at Toulouse June 8th 1814.	pattern light cavalry sabre with most of the ornamentation on the scabbard	Lot 222 (picture held)
1814	Major General Lord Edward H Somerset, 4th Regiment of Dragoons		By the officer's of that regiment	Adapted from pattern 1796 Light Cavalry sword; blade made by John Andrews;	NAM 1950-12-53
1814	Admiral Sir T F Fremantle		By the Petty Officers, Seaman and Marines of HMS Milford ¹²⁴⁰		1891 Naval Exhibition Item 2778
1814	Major General R H Vivian		Officers of the XVIII hussars/Light Dragoons after he was wounded in the battle at Crois d'Orade. The regiment is correctly the 18th (King's Irish) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons (Hussars)	Silver gilt sabre	CADB and Dictionary of National Biography
1814 ¹²⁴¹	Lt Col Torre		"This sword is presented by the Subaltern Officers of the 2 nd West Regiment to Lieut. nt Col Torre as a mark of their high respect & esteem which they bear towards him".	1796 Infantry pattern sword	Bonham's 30 Nov 17 Lot 94
1815	Colonel Henry Keating		By The Mercantile Community Of Calcutta In The Memorable Enterprise Against St. Pauls And In The Conquest of Bourbon Whereby The Domion Of The Surrounding	Silver gilt mounted by Rundell Bridge & Rundell	LS(TP)

Advance Guard, and various minor affairs. Almost daily skirmishing with enemy until the Battle of Toulouse 10 Apr 1814, where his horse was shot from under him. He commanded 1st Battalion 61st for several hours in that Battle and following day. Received a Commanding Officer's Gold Medal for the Battle of Toulouse.

¹²⁴⁰ This was then owned by Lord Cottesloe. HMS Milford was in the Adriatic from 1813- 1814 when Fremantle was the Admiral. In 1814 on the surrender of Napoleon 800 ships surrendered to Fremantle. Bringing in a large sum of prize money.

¹²⁴¹ Torre was Lt Col of 2nd West Yorks from 1806 until it was disembodied in 1816. But *The records of the third battalion Prince of Wales's Own West Yorkshire Regiment, late Second West York Light Infantry Militia, or "York Regiment*. Compiled for the regiment in 1882, and revised 1897, by Colonel George Jackson Hay, C.B. Commanding the Regiment c/o York Army Museum, Torre is mentioned in 26.10.1814 entry as being thanked for the general appearance and discipline of the regiment, it is likely this is the occasion of the presentation of the sword.

			Seas Was Asserted At A Critical Period And A Most Important Security Confirmed To British Commerce Eastward Of The Cape. ¹²⁴²		
1815	Lt Col Hugh Gough, 87th (Prince of Wales Own Irish) Regiment	By the City of Dublin when receiving the freedom of the city after his service in the Peninsular Campaign and North Africa.	Adapted from the Light Cavalry Levée sword with a mameluke hilt, made by Richard Johnston; gilt brass cross guard & scabbard	NAM 1960-09-43	
1815	Lieutenant Charles Swanston	By the Bishop of Calcutta - presumably on Swanston becoming Assistant Quarter Master General of the Survey Branch	Indian shamshir with oriental blade & Indian silver quillons but English style engraving	NAM. 1977-04-68-1	
1815 ¹²⁴³	Lt Col Robert Henry Dick	A testimony of esteem and respect from the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Royal Highlanders	Ornate sabre with silver gilt scabbard, decorated with St Andrew and the cross, Maida and Fuentes d' Onor	The Black Watch Museum, Balhousie Castle, Perth	
1815	Major Kelly	By the soldiers and NCOs of the Life Guards	Sabre	Household cavalry museum	
1815	Colonel Keating	By Calcutta	Silver gilt small sword	Christies 27 September 1995	
1815	Captain N Aylmer ¹²⁴⁴	By the Prince Regent	Cavalry sabre by Prosser	Bonham 30 Nov 17 Lot 374	
1815	Captain F L Maitland RN	By the Duke of Clarence	Gilt 1805 pattern naval sword	SC Vol 2 pg 300-4	
1815 ¹²⁴⁵	Major Molloy of	Presented to as a token	Sabre	Wallis & Wallis	

¹²⁴² It was made when he left as Governor in 1815 although commemorating an act in 1809.

¹²⁴³ This sword is not clearly dated. By the reference to Lt Col Dick it has to be after he became Lt Col, which was 1812 and one of the battle honours on it is 1811. With the phrasing it would appear most likely to be for Waterloo and Quatre Bas as that is when he was briefly CO.

¹²⁴⁴ Captain Aylmer had a chequered career, an Irish Rebel leader in 1798, he was banished and joined the Austrian army. Working his way up, he was on the staff of the Emperor of Austria when he visited UK post Waterloo. He was selected to teach the Austrian Sword exercise to the British cavalry starting with the Light Dragoons, with Prince Regent as Colonel in Chief. But appears not to have gained his regiment's permission and was cashiered for it but unusually without loss of honour.

		the 12 th Infantry	of the esteem and respect entertained for him by his attached friends Major Dayly, Captains Keady, Turberville and Spinks, Lieutenants Jenkins, Lawson & Thornton, Paymaster O'Keffe, surgeon Price and assistant surgeon Fraser.		auction (page pulled out so undated).
	1815 to 1817	Captain Stewart	By John Lynch for his work in the area of the Island of Jamaica		Private Collection
	1816	Captain Imbert ¹²⁴⁶	By Brigadier Sir Robert Hall in testimony of the zeal & bravery displayed while serving in the Royal Flotilla at Messina. The Brigadier was the other commander.	Sabre by Tatham	NMM Wpn 1172
	1816	Rear Admiral Sir Philip Durham	By Port of Spain, Trinidad for his work forcing French and American ships out of the Leeward Islands	Sabre style ¹²⁴⁷	LS(TP) at National War Museum of Scotland
2	1816	Admiral Sir Edward Pellew (lord Viscount Exmouth) & Rear Admiral Sir David Milne	By the City of London for their part in the bombardment of Algiers	Pellews - 200 guinea gold & enamel with diamond studs by Ray & Montague. Milne -100 guinea gilt spadron by Teed	Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 Pellew's is on loan and displayed at RNM and Milne Lot 255 by Lyon & Turnbull, on 26 Mar 03.
	1816	Captain Edward Chetham	By Lts Warre, Cole, Aitchisen & Everard for his valour at Algeirs ¹²⁴⁸		M&A Vol 1 p 66
	1816	Col J Ross	3 rd Battn Rifle Brigade	Mameluke sabre	CADB

¹²⁴⁵ The most likely date for this seems to be Major Molloy's initial promotion to Major, which was 26 October 1815. At that point all the others are the correct rank shown here. Major Dayley was not a member of the 12th but was serving with them in India (his biography is published). He joined them around 1820, around early 1820s the group starts to disperse.

¹²⁴⁶ This is more by a British officer to a Sicilian officer. Captain Imbert was serving in the Sicilian Navy at the time which had been created the previous year as an Anglo-Sicilian Force.

¹²⁴⁷ It is shown in the painting of him by Sir Francis Grant, when he was Admiral of the Red.

¹²⁴⁸ These were the 4 Midshipman promoted because of the action from Captain Chetham's ship HMS *Leander*.

Groups of Swords but Dates not Clear

Duke of Clarence 20 known 1805 pattern swords, Sir John Gore's is confirmed as post 1815 as is Admiral Pellet Green's,¹²⁴⁹ it is likely Admiral George Cockburn's, Admiral Sir Charles Rowley's and Admiral Augustus Clifford's given after Napoleonic Wars due to their career. But the other 14 recipients¹²⁵⁰ are likely to date from the Napoleonic Wars with at least 4 more where it is highly likely there was an earlier 1805 pattern as well.¹²⁵¹ Maitland's is in list. The unattributed 1805 sword¹²⁵² could be either pre or post 1805. **So assumed 14**

Lines Album Exact Year unknown but from but from between 1804 to 1811 (date of Album):

Lt J H Roche by the Gentlemen of Counties Meath and Westmeath for his gallant defeat of the rebel army at Clonard during the Irish rebellion 12 July 1798.¹²⁵³

Captain Dickens – no further details known

Lt Col Crokers by the Officers of the Sandymount, Baggotrath, Liffey & Donnybrook Rangers¹²⁵⁴

Lt Col James Brydges Willyams by the members of Cornwall Regt of Light Infantry

Capt Pennington by the Sizergh Company of the Kendal and Lonsdale Volunteers

And from between 1808 and 1811 as use of term Local Militia starts in 1808:

¹²⁴⁹ Portrait depicting it shown in C Freemantle, Sir Andrew Pellet Green: Vice Admiral Thomas Fremantle's Protégé" (*The Trafalgar Chronicle*, New Series Volume 5, 2020) p113 but subsequently confirmed by correspondence with the family. It is thought it comes from when he looked after the Duke Of Clarence illegitimate son in 1818.

¹²⁵⁰ The others are: Blackwood, Baker, Collingwood, Fitzroy, Hargood, Hoste, Martin, Maitland, Northesk, Spencer, Stopford, Thornbrough, Ussher and Warren.

¹²⁵¹ These being Codrington, Hardy, Hope and Keates.

¹²⁵² Discussed in main body Bonham's 26 May 2021 Lot 81.

¹²⁵³ Although this would initially appear to be 1798. Lankester in his work on Samuel Lines, says this is later but date unknown.

¹²⁵⁴ Sold by Wallis and Wallis 16 Jan 1975

The Rt Hon Hugh Earl Eglinton by the officers of the Yeomanry Cavalry and Local Militia Corps of the County of Ayr¹²⁵⁵

Col Jebb by the Scarsdale Regiment of Local Militia

Col the Rt Hon Henry Lord Gray of Ruthin by the officers of the South Regiment of the Warwickshire Local Militia

Lt Col J Cooke of the Trafford House & Hulme Local Militia, Sabre by Hamet, Taham label in box¹²⁵⁶ (but most likely 1808).

Others with unknown actual year but in this period

- Major Byers by the Non-Commissioned Officers, Drummers and Privates of the Durham Regiment of Militia to as a mark of Respect they entertain for him. a gilt brass presentation sword of light cavalry style by Samuel Brunn, 56 Charing Cross so between 1805 and 1811 Christies Lot 86 16July 2003. Was in PW collection
- Between 1803 and 1813 Lord Grenville's presentation sword thought to be from his time Lieutenant Colonel of the (1st or Southern Regiment) Buckinghamshire Yeomanry Cavalry. Lot 224 Bonhams 31 July 2012 Inscription was removed but the crest remained. Catalogue is on the shelf. Sold again Lot 305 Antony Cribb 24 Mar 20.
- Robert Shaw, from the Rathfarnham Light Dragoons. (NAM. 1953-01-3 – 1) Dated 1803-07. Blade is the shape of a Pattern 1796 Light Cavalry sword, with gilded and engraved decoration, including the figure of Justice on a pedestal, the crest of a stag, Britannia, a mounted dragoon brandishing a sword. Made by John Read. Ornate stirrup guard, with a side bar curving from the pommel to the crossguard in gilded metal, this , in turn, is embellished with two curls. Pommel is in the form of a dragoon's helmet. Ivory grip bound with silver wires.

¹²⁵⁵ Eglinton was Lord Lieutenant of the County, held by Glasgow Museum A1982.27

¹²⁵⁶ He raised the Trafford House Volunteers in 1804, so most likely is when they became the local militia, he died in 1812, so not on disembodiment.

- Lieutenant John Mudie Eastern Forfar Local Militia source 1796 Infantry pattern sword (source CADB) He was promoted Lieutenant in this unit in 1809 and Captain on 26 May 1813 so must lie between these.
- Captain Peter Spiers sword – at Dorchester Museum “the Keep” home of Dorset Yeomanry. Presented by the Sterlingshire Yeomanry to him. Captain Peter Spiers is a cousin of Captain A G Spiers who was an MP and in the Renfrew Yeomanry. Probably from the era, he became Captain of them in 1798 and by 1820 was a Major for a post war dealing with a civilian riot. So probably presented at one of the changes, eg 1803 or circa 1810.
- Col Bryce McMurdo by the Dumfriesshire Yeomanry Cav to their Colonel Gilt sabre (Source CADB) Must be post 1803 as McMurdo appointed to Yeomanry on returning from regular army in 1803 and in 1803 as regiment changed name from Dumfries to Royal Dumfrieshire when reforming. There is a portrait of him from 1800-10 ascribed to him with military rank.
- Lt Col John B Riddell by the Roxburghshire Volunteer Infantry Sabre (Source CADB) Riddell was Colonel in 1805 as published a manual and was the Colonel on their raising in 1803. So must be between 1803 and 1813 and probably prior to 1808 due to disbandment of Volunteer Units.
- Captain?? John Simpson by the 10th Co Invernesshire Militia an 1803 sabre (Source CADB). This must date from between 1804 and 1814. As it was given number 10th in 1804 and disbanded in 1814. It is John Simpson formerly of 27th Foot, as his daughter married in 1823.
- Lt Col William Douglas by the 98th Regiment gilt sabre (source CADB) Douglas helped form the 98th Foot in 1804 and was then made Lt Col of the Regt, he became a Colonel in 1813 and then a Major General hence there are biographic entries for him. He was severely wounded at some point presumably during his regiment’s participation in the 1812 US war but was involved in events in West Indies as well.
- Capt A McInnes by St Thomas in the Vale Troop of Horse a 1798 pattern Silver hilted sabre (Source CADB). This is a Jamaican militia that certainly existed in 1778. Alexander McInnes was the 2nd Lt in 1808 but in the 1817 list is at top so presumably Captain with date of position 16 Dec 1810

although also same rank and name as an officer in Life Guards serving in Peninsular 1808-14. Although HM CA did not record the year.

- Sgt R Henderson by 1st Regt Ayrshire Vol Inf 1803 sabre (source CADB listed SUSM, not held by National War Museum of Scotland so must have been in private ownership and loaned). Regiment stood up 1803 and disbanded circa 1808. A William Henderson was promoted ensign in 1805. So either initial wrong and this is on promotion or it is a sports prize.
- Lt Col John Vincent of the 3rd West Yorkshire Regt of Militia,¹²⁵⁷ a gilt sabre by Gill (listed in CADB). Vincent was Lt Col from 17 June 1806 to 24 October 1811.¹²⁵⁸
- The sword taken from Captain Lambert by Captain Bainbridge USN after USS *Constitution* defeated HMS Java in 1812 was a presentation sword (Source P Tuite, US Naval Officers Their Swords and Dirks, (China, Andrew Mowbray, 2004) p31. Bainbridge had the original inscription removed so do not what it is for but must be pre 1812 and had his own added.
- General Sir Charles Philip Belson was awarded a presentation sword as it is mentioned being handed on in the will of his descendants in Jersey (Source Jersey Will of Berkely Henry Belson proved 31 Jan 1947 reference D/Y/A/117/34. Since he retired from the Army in 1816 it is very likely either for his performance at Waterloo or his earlier performance in the West Indies or Peninsular Campaigns.

Undated swords from CADB

Name	Presented By	Sword	Notes
J G Blennerhassett	Inhabitants and Officers of Opporto	Gilt sabre by T Robertson	
Lt Col I Croker	Dublin Yeomanry	Sabre by Brady, Dublin	This is probably later as Croker

¹²⁵⁷ Both the name and the regiment number cause confusion. There are two Lt Col John Vincent in the Army at the same time, the other is serving as Brevet Colonel of the 49th in 1811 in Canada and in 1799 the 3rd and 4th West Yorks were disbanded and the 5th became the 3rd before being disembodied in 1802, recreated in 1803 and disembodied again in 1814.

¹²⁵⁸ Historical records of the first regiment of militia or, Third West York Light Infantry." by Captain G.A. Raikes, 1876, York Army Museum.

			was Brigade Major for a couple of decades.
Sir R L Dundas	Royal Staff Corps	Gilt smallsword	Engineers between 1800 and 1837. He joined as a Captain in 1802 and rose to Major General by 1830.
Capt M Mahon	Royal Mahons Infantry	Gilt sabre by Archer	
Major Potter	Ilkeston Volunteers	Gilt sabre	
Lt H Pynn	82 nd Regt Officers of Barrony of Clogha Brigade of Yeoman	Gilt sabre	
Major Simple	Lurganby Corps of Yeomanry	sabre by Read	probably later as unit mentioned in 1820s and 1830s
Major Wright of York Hussars	From Prince of Wales	Sabre by S Brunn	Brunn makes it between 1798 and 1820

NAM records also record NAM 1987-05-18-1 as a circa 1800 presentation sword but with no other details it was loaned to them and was then returned. This could easily be any of the many in the above table.

Swords not included within the table with why

- Two Cadet swords for Honorary Reward Cadet Company Baraset. one a Mameluke sabre but with silver mounts for Cadet C J Wild dated Octbr 1807 (Wallis & Wallis 24 Feb 1988 Lot 1042) other 1796 pattern infantry sword with nothing extra except inscription Cadet J G Drummond dated 21st July 1809 (Elliott & Snowden 3 May 1971 Lot 109) – prize swords.
- Captain Henry Brown Wood by the Fifeshire Regt of Militia on joining the Regiment, a Gilt sabre by Dudley held at Edinburgh Castle – now dated 1825.
- Sword mid 18th century given to Chevaliere D'Eon by George Keate (probably the actor rather than poet) D'Eon being the cross dressing swordsman/diplomat/spy. Sword is broadsword style. George Keate was a

poet, artist, naturalist and antiquarian best known for his book on the Pelew Islands (links to Snook). Keate also owned a portrait by Kauffman of d'Eon, and to complete triangle wrote a poem to Kauffman "Epistle to Angelica Kauffman". Sword is type favoured by cavalrymen (which d'Eon had been) and could have been refurbished and engraved to be given, as blade is Portuguese and certainly scabbard and possibly hilt made by an English cutler. Not dated. Must be pre 1797 as Keate died that year. John Dates it as 1787 in the filename but not the article. Sword is a pure individual gift not for public to see and not presented in that sense (see John McGrath article). Sword at RA in Leeds.

- NAM 1981-10-51-1 EIC Mameluke-hilted presentation sword, 1807 (c). This sword was one of many awarded by the East India Company to British Army and Royal Navy officers after distinguished actions in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815). The Mameluke hilt and curved blade was a favourite style for presentation swords. It is not known who or for what this is to, just presentation standard.
- Arms & Armour Vol 11 No 2 Aut 2014 list of Ray and Montague swords – No 6 this scabbard is thought to be for one bought for himself by George Prince of Wales (later George IVth), No 13 which is thought to be bought by Prince William Frederick by his family, No 20 as it is unknown who for and who by – so could be for someone for themselves and therefore is not engraved with name rather it is presentation quality.
- Sword in South Lanarkshire Museum as part of the Cameroons Regimental Collection. "This companion of Lt J Paterson of 90th at the Battle of the 13th March 1801 near Alexandria and through the deserts of Egypt [sic-Egypt] to Cairo is presented by him to his father as a mark of regard 25 March 1803." On the other side is engraved 'D Egg Haymarket London'. This is a normal military style sword made by Durs Egg (a German sword and gun retailer based in London). Not included as it is his battle sword which he then gives to his father as a memory rather than a sword presented for something.

- Naval Exhibition Catalogue of 1891 contains Sword presented to Dr Bryson Medical Director General of the Navy – in family possession – item 2639 – Dr Bryson became Med Dir General in 1864 so must be later.
- Naval Exhibition Catalogue of 1891 contains sword presented to Sir Samuel Hood – with no other details – at that time held by the family Item 2708 – this could be one of two that are already recorded above as being given to him. It also records a sword presented to Sir Samuel Hood for the Nile – I believe this is probably his Egyptian club one and therefore not a presentation but purchased.
- Naval Exhibition Catalogue 1891 contains sword presented by Sultan of Morocco to Captain W H C St Clair RN HMS Phaeton (owned by Capt W H C St Clair) – Item 2711. Captain CSt Clair was in command of HMS Phaeton from 1886-90 so sword must date from that period.
- Naval Exhibition Catalogue of 1891 contains sword (Item 2739) presented to Captain Cockraft by the inhabitants of Mozambique – his action on the River Nunez was in 1842.
- Duke of Richmond, Goodwood Troop of Yeoman Artillery, this was presented in 1819 as confirmed by Christis's sale catalogue for 16 Dec 2003. It was a mameluke style very much in the style of a Generals.
- General Miguel Ricardo de Alava (1771-1843), (also known as Admiral as one of the Spanish leaders at Trafalgar) presented to him by the town of Vitoria in gratitude for having stopped the city being sacked following the battle on 21 June 1813. Given by him to Lord FitzRoy Somerset, later 1st Baron Raglan, circa 1836. Deposited with the Royal United Service Institution by Lt. Col. George Somerset, 3rd Baron Raglan, in 1895; removed by Major FitzRoy Somerset, 4th Baron Raglan, in October 1952. Sold at Christies Lot 20 the Raglan Sale 22-23 May 2014. Excluded as not British.
- Wilhelm von Oranien, ormulo mounted presentation standard sabre. Lot 139 Waterloo Sale, Bonhams, 1 Apr 15. Engraved on top locket with William's name but nothing to indicate it was presented as opposed to self purchased. Possible that it could have been presented by the Prince

Regent as he was briefly engaged to his daughter and also fought bravely in the Peninsular Campaign, Quatre Bras and Waterloo.

- Presentation sword, 1816 presented Capt Swanston, in the name of the King of France, by the Governor General of the French Establishments in the Indies, 28 Nov 1816. NAM 1962-06-4. Excluded as not British
- Francis William Austen, known as Frank, brother of author Jane Austen. For his action in May 1800 during the blockade of Genoa while in command of *Petere!* he was thanked by CinC Lord Keith, later that year while serving under Sir Sydney Smith he drove off French troops from a beached 80 gun Turkish ship of the line *(Turkey being an ally at this time) and burnt the wreck. For this he was presented with a sabre and pelisse by the Turkish Captain (see the Nelson Dispatch Vol II Part 7 July 2013 The Ships of Frank Austen by Clive Caplan p 442. Who references O'Bryne Naval Biographical Dictionary 1849 pp 27-8). Excluded as believe working weapon rather than presentation sword.
- A 1796 pattern infantry sword given as a gift by his Excellency The Honble A Cochrane Johnstone to Lieutenant Q Wattleworth of St Georges Regt to Domenica, Decr 17th 1797". Made by Wooley & Co. Andrew Cochrane (one of the sons of Earl of Dundonald who took his wives surname was Governor of Domenica at the time) excluded as believe this was a working weapon given rather than a presentation sword. Blade is not inscribed, rather engraved on the guard, so probably later.
- Colonel Hill given a sword by a Turkish Captain following a battle in the Egyptian Campaign in 1801. This is an Arabic sword not British and just ornate rather than made for presentation. Given March 1801 - Edwin Sidney, *The Life of Lord Hill G.C.B.* (J Murray, London, 1845) p 41.
- Presentation sword given by the Dey of Algiers to Admiral Murray, date unknown but must be prior to his death in 1819. Excluded as not English.
- A 1796 light cavalry sabre listed by Historic Military Antiques – engraved with Presented to SERJt Major W Breatt R H ARTy by His Commanding Officer 1815. Engraving looks more Victorian and would appear to be a work sword given by CO at best. The sword is a standard sword with nothing outside the engraving.

- Presentation sword to Captain William H Bowen. Sword identified in *Islamic and Oriental Arms and Armour: A Lifetime's Passion* by Robert Hales. Has handwritten label identifying that presented to Captain William H Bowen by the Dey of Algiers. The sword definitely exists it was sold by Charterhouse Auctions, (Lot 229, 25 March 2011) however there is some confusion as labeled to Captain William Bowen who was a Captain from 1796 to 1813 but did not appear to visit the area. A more likely recipient would be Captain James Bowen from his visit in 1799 on the *Argo* when he impressed the Dey and persuaded him to release six British slaves. He had only gone there to arrange food and water, William James, *The Naval History of Great Britain Volume 2* (Bentley, London, 1859) p360.
- Sword sold by Antony Cribb Lot 163 27 Jun 17. Described as a Georgian Light Company Officer's presentation sword. Etched blade with some signs of gilt finish – but nothing fine about this weapon. Just within the etching a scroll saying “A PROOF OF FRIENDSHIP FROM HENRY WALTON ESQUIRE TO JOHN WARDELL” According to Auctioneer Henry Walton and John Wardell were both detained on the Prison Ship Jersey after the fall of New York in 1776 the British created 16 Prison Ships, the Jersey being one. They observe that the sword was possibly taken from John Wardell by a British Officer upon his capture. Other notes refer to Captain Walton as serving in the Virginia Cavalry.. So really unclear of date. There is evidence that a Captain Henry Walton served in Virginia cavalry in US revolution While American (hence excluded) but could indicate that technology was not there earlier. Must have been given after they were in prison ship together and not while there, so the account does not hang together. A sword can't be taken from someone before they were with the person they gave it to.
- Sword presented to Sir Henry Hardinge by Field Marshall Wellington. This sword was captured,/acquired by Wellington in Paris following the fall of Napoleon in 1814, it was reputed to be Napoleon's sword. This was then given in 1817. Inscription 'This SWORD was worn by / The DUKE of WELLINGTON / from his entering into PARIS / July 1815 to 1817' and 'FROM The DUKE of WELLINGTON / TO SIR HENRY HARDINGE / AT

THE REVIEW of The PRUSSIAN ARMY / NEAR SEDAN in FRANCE / 1817', This was in effect a captured sword. Lot 48 Christies 17 Dec 2015.

- Ottoman silver mounted Shamshir presented to Captain Colin Mackay of Bighouse by Mohammed Ali Pasha of Egypt in 1807 following his command of the Grenadier company of the 2nd Battalion 78th Regiment of Foot at El Hamet in 1807. Has been previously loaned to National War museum. Thomas Del Mar 14 Dec 2005 Lot 68.
- 1796 Light Cavalry sword – engraved “Lt Colonel William Tomkinson 1809-1815” from an article in *Antique Arms & Militaria* Vol 3 No 11 August 1981 pp27-9 by the then owner Geoff R Worrall – clear this was subsequent engraving of his sword by his family to make his period of active service.
- Sword with stirrup hilt, and single side bar; side bar joined to stirrup by fouled anchor guard, cushion pommel and plaques on handle, guard engraved “Philip Richardson Royal Navy/in commemoration of 1st August 1798/off the mouth of the Nile/under the command of Sir Horatio Nelson Kt B “. Richardson was born Jersey 1774, joined RN 1793 and rated Midshipman 1794. On Saumarez’s ship *Orion* and wounded at the Nile. He recovered and commissioned in 1799. I am confident this is his own sword bought later and marked with his great moment. No sign given by anyone to him. Sotheby’s Auction 7 June 1983 Lot 153.
- Peter Dale of Pall Mall – at the London Arms Fair 17-18th September 1982 advertised including with a picture a mameluke silver gilt presentation sabre to Colonel Sir Robert Nickle of the 88th Foot or Connaught Rangers who was involved throughout the Peninsular War. Unable to find any other reference to the sword. Since he was involved in presenting a sword to Major General Duff in 1816 and was then a Captain, the fact that is to Colonel and is a mameluke convince me it is dated later than 1816.
- Wallis & Wallis 29 Apr 2014 lot 85 – described as a presentation sword, but is a standard infantry light company officer’s sword seems to be simply due to the locket being inscribed “To Capt Willm. Meredith from his Corps” the style and conventionality lead me to conclude that it was either a later

engraving to attribute (probably by his family) or just some others helped him pay for his work sword.

- Wallis & Wallis 7 Oct 2009 lot 76 sword of Captain George Cunningham of the 2nd Rohilla Cavalry for putting down the insurrection on April 21st Bareilly 1816, which is the uniform he is on the picture with the sword – this was an Indian insurrection.
- Wallis & Wallis 14 May 2008 lot 28. Given by “Ebenzeer Geale Esq offers this to his friend Thomas Coleman Esq as a token of his esteem. Sword has style of writing of maker Shrapnell & Son probably from 1801. The two Lieutenants served together on HMS *Bellisle* at Trafalgar where Geale was killed. It is a standard fighting sword and therefore I suspect given by Geale as he died to his friend who had it then engraved.
- Thomas Del Mar 5 Dec 2018 lot 57. A coorg gold-hilted knife (Ayda Katti) pommel inscription for Lingra Jender Wadeer' within circular linear frame enclosing the Raja's cypher and date for 1808/10. From family of Sir William Macnaghten, of Madras Army and then Bengali civil service particular involved in law and diplomacy. Massacred at Kabul in 1841. Ling Rajender Wadeer, Raja Of Coorg was known for his warmth towards English as following account (Scots Magazine 1815 p. 207-8): '.....on my return from the Travancore country, I passed through the territories of the Raja of Coorg from whom I met with a very hospital reception. He is extremely fond of the English; assists them in every way in passing through his country and will not suffer them to pay for anything. He has built an elegant house at his capital, and furnished it entirely in European style for their accommodationHe dresses frequently in the English style; and instead of indulging in luxury and dissipation, as Eastern princes are apt to do, he has made it his study to excel in all sorts of manly exercises. He is extremely fond of hunting..... On taking leave him he presented me among other things with a knife made at Coorg, and of remarkably well tempered steel..... being ornamented with gold.....is for men of the highest caste.....the Raja has brought the manufacture of swords and guns to great perfection.....he showed me a double-barrelled Joe Manton and an imitation of it made at Coorg.....they were so perfectly

similar in every respect that I really could not tell them [apart].” Not a presentation dagger but a gift that happens to be a knife. Not European. No indication made for this purpose.

- Wallis & Wallis 1 May 1996 Lot 115 was 1796 Infantry Officers sword with on the folding guard engraved “The gift of Lord Lynedock to A D Graeme” this would appear to be the gifting of a normal working sword, there is nothing presentational about the weapon, it was the standard regulation pattern.
- Captain Simon Simpson, 1st Regt Ross Shire Local Militia. Wallis & Wallis 18 Oct 1995, Lot 87 and DNW 28 Nov 2007 Lot 107. Inscription ‘Presented by the permanent non-commissioned officers of the 1st. Regiment Ross-shire Militia to Captn Simon Simpson their adjutant in testimony of the high sense they entertain of his conduct as an officer & gentleman towards them & the regiment in general’, within a cartouche ‘Thos Bates warranted’, copper-gilt hilt mounts, pierced stirrup guard cast and chased with a lions mask and intertwined serpents, shield shaped langets filled with a mounted cavalryman, horse head pommel with mane forming the back strap. Wallis & Wallis add it had 1801-1816 Arms. Thomas Bate was a Birmingham sword maker from 1770s to 1806 (when merged with Redell, and then split out again on his own in 1816. On a sword forum¹²⁵⁹ current owner posted photos which show it is Bate’s not Bates. Owner researched Captain Simpson and discovered he served in other militias until 1798 and then went on half pay. Recorded as Adjutant of Ross Shire Militia in 1815, regiment only existed 1808-1816. So combination of maker and regiment mean it is probably 1816 when it disbanded that sword was presented.
- Lt William Fellows, sold Antony Cribb 26 Mar 19 Lot 84, standard 1796 pattern light cavalry officers sword of Loyal Dudley Cavalry, named to Lt William Fellows with on the blade a pair of angels supporting a shield bearing the crest and motto of Ward family, regimental initials, the figure of Mesopotamia, Britannia, the Latin inscription DUCIT AMOR PATRIAE,

¹²⁵⁹<http://antiqueswordforum.com/viewtopic.php?p=370&sid=b7f3a76922a4f499cb2c6fc9b17e7dda>

crowned GR cypher and crowned pre 1801 arms, a stand of arms and the date 1798, behind the langet, maker's mark of Woolley & Co. behind the other langet, and LIEUT FELLOWS along the back edge. This appears to be his sword rather than one presented to him.

- Sword presented to Lt Gen Sir John Vandeleur for a series of Battles in the Peninsular and Waterloo. From the 16th Light Dragoons. The fact that the script says to Lieutenant General means it must have been presented post 1821 as he was promoted then.
- Moffat swords all from Sotherby's Marine Sale 16th July 1993 and I have a scan of the pages in the completed information file. Three are included in the above list but excluded was Lot 253 as this appears to be captured from the Malays and indeed based on a previous captured/traded weapon, Lot 255 which appears to be French and was supposedly given by his French prisoners, I am fairly sure with no choice and Lot 258 which is supposedly a sword seized from Sultan Tipoo's armoury so again captured.
- Lt Colin Campbell from his friend J N Thompson, Dec 1804. Wallis & Wallis 28 Apr 93 Lot 83. This seems to have been given on his promotion to Lt by a friend who is wealthy enough to help him. Date matches his promotion not any battle. Sword a good fighting sword and engraving is on the chape.
- Sword awarded to Commander Richard Budd Vincent of HMS Arrow (he also received a Patriotic Fund sword) from the Captain Pasha at Constantinople in March/April 1804 – Marshalls Dictionary of naval Biography p 916.
- Ackland sword from 1817 so out of scope. Reeman Dansie Auction 18 May 17 Lot 76. Irish presentation sword, gilt bronze hilt with helmet pommel and gilt and silvered stirrup guard with crowned GR cipher, twin langets with silver crowned Irish harp to one side and 9th (Norfolk Regiment) of Foot Hibernia badge to other, original red and gold bullion dress knot - the gilt copper scabbard with scarlet leather inserts, engraved on locket 'A Tribute of affectionate respect from the Corporation of Drogheda to their Gallant Townsman John Ackland Esq. Captn of the 9th

Foot for his meritorious services in the Peninsula, Oct. 10th 1817. Peter Van Hoorick Recorder' and 'J. Read & Sons Makers, 8 College Green, Dublin' - curved fullered blued, gilt and polished with 1801 - 1816 Royal Arms, crowned GR, military trophies, Justice, Britannia and Soldiers, Angels, Order of St. Patrick and crowned Irish harps. Captain John Ackland 9th (Norfolk) Regiment of Foot, described his service on his 1829 Statement of Service for retired officers:- 'I was appointed an Ensign to the 9th Regiment of Foot in 1806 and served under Sir Arthur Wellesley Campaign of 1808 in Portugal and in that severe and trying campaign under Sir John Moore in Spain, that shortly after I served in the Expedition to Walcheren when my health was much impaired by the disastrous sickness which prevailed. That prior to my perfect recovery from this severe illness I again returned to the Peninsular under Lord Wellington where I remained actively engaged until severely wounded on the retreat from Burgos although I had been previously so at Salamanca. I was ordered to England for the recovery of my health from the wounds and on its being established I accompanied the 1st Battalion of the Regiment to America although not effective therein, on my return to Europe with the Regiment I was placed on half pay!' He received a £100 p. a. pension from 1813 (for loss of use of a hand at Burgos, Villa Muriel 25 Oct 1812) and retired to Drogheda, Ireland, where he assumed the life of a country squire. Provenance: Purchased by Philip Southgate in 1984 from Peter Dale, who purchased it at Phillips Auction 23rd Feb 1984, lot 159.

- Clementson and Sussex swords both held by HAC (along with Tatem and Le Mesurier's) are both post 1820 as they have a GRIV decoration. Sussex's is by Osborne.
- Fredric Rolette – describes the sabre he was given with a photo, it is very much in the PF style. “Presented to Lieut. Frederick Rolette of the Provincial Navy a Canadian born subject, who distinguished himself on many occasions during the later American War, particularly in the Naval Action on Lake Erie of the 11th September 1813, under the brave, Captain Barclay on a Testimony hereof his school companions with other loyal and patriotic Canadians voted 50 guineas for this sword.” article in Trafalgar

Chronicle New Series 1, Autumn 2016.

- General Prevost. Baldwin Military Auctions 5 Jun 13 Lot 160. Prevost sword by Hawkes Mosley & Co, Piccadilly London, a very grand sword and what often be called Presentation quality but actual known to be the private sword of Sir George Prevost. That cutler started in 1810 and Prevost died in 1816 so must date from those years.
- Wallis & Wallis Auction Catalogues 22 Mar 2011 Lot 684 was a Georgian presentation sword just out side the time frame but was the gift of J P Kemble to J Cooper, 1817, John Philip Kemble being an actor 1757 to 1823. The sword is odd: John Cooper was an actor 1793 to 1870 who became well known around 1811 and was often in Shakespearian style roles, which might explain the sword.



Kemble's sword give to Cooper

- 10th Hussar Swords – seen at least one sold as presentation (twice Wallis and Wallis 1988 and again 9 June 2015 Lot 297 *10th Hussars and one of the swords inscribed "HRH George PW to REW 10th Hussars 1808"* This is the sword of he sword of Rowland Edward Williams, Cornet 1805, Lieutenant 1806, Captain 1809
- Sword presented to Cornet Whiteway of the Devon Light Horse Volunteers – it was presented in 1864.
- B Beresford sword from CADB Wallsworth Infantry Gilt sabre by J Lamprey Dublin. I think this is most likely post Napoleonic War. George Lamprey was Cutler in 1783, Samuel Lamprey was cutler in 1811 (and was still alive in 1820) and Jones Lamprey was cutler in 1850. Initial wrong for General Beresford. I think linked to Wallsworth Hall, which is in Gloucester. Gloucester Militia part of suppression of Irish rebellion in 1797.

- Sword presented to Admiral Sir Charles Napier by the Societe de Civilization most of his experimental stuff was after the Napoleonic war and a French Society is not likely to make an award to a British Admiral during the war and we know they resumed giving to the British soon after. So I conclude post 1816. At the time of exhibition the sword was owned by Mrs Henry Jodell. Napier's daughter married Rev Henry Jodell. His son died in infancy so sword would have descended via daughter. Recorded in Naval Exhibition Catalogue of 1891.
- Major Campbell 2nd Batt XII Regt Sabre by Prosser (source CADB) appears this is John Campbell of the 12th Regiment (of Foot). He was a Captain in the Regiment until 1821, very long serving as there in 1804. When he left the regiment and either retired (there is a John Campbell who moves as a Major to Half pay) or to another regiment (a Major Campbell appears in 11th Foot). Either way I believe given on his retirement from the 12th Foot in 1821 and past this period.
- Major General Sir John Stuart was also presented a sword by the King of Two Scillies for Maida probably in 1806 he was so pleased with this he had it incorporated into his grant of arms in 1810. The sword in the Arms is so specific that in the Earl Marshal's Book Series I 38/205 – the Royal Licence authorising the augmentation is dated 19 May 1810 (I 38/203)' at the College of Arms that a detailed drawing of the sword as well as the coat of arms.
- A Turkish dirk presented to Captain William Young in 1801 By Sultan Selim III for his work as Captain of the Fleet in the Expedition to Egypt that year (source 1891 Naval Exhibition Item 2772). Excluded as not British.
- The two swords to Nelson in 1798 for the Nile by the King of Two Scillies and the Sultan of Turkey are excluded as they are not British.
- 4 swords, 3 from the Prince Regent of Portugal in 1809 for the capture of Cayenne to Lieutenant Mulcaster (this one was gold) and at least 2 of the Midshipman (these are silver). Reference in description of his relationship with Captain Yeo. But one Midshipman's sold by Sotheby's 1976 and another in Private collection. And one to Lieutenant George Forder by the

Kings of Portugal for the same action. In a silver scabbard¹²⁶⁰ 1891 Naval Exhibition Item 2776. This could be mislabeled in the catalogue. All these are foreign.

- By Syyed Saaed Sultan of Oman to the Captain John Wainwright of *Chiffone* in recognition of his exertions against the Tauassin Pirates, Persian Gulf in 1809 A ccimitar with gold and silver mounted Scabbard described in the 1891 Naval Exhibition Catalogue at that time still in the family. This is foreign.
- 1815 to the Duke of Wellington By Emperor Alexander of Russia Diamond encrusted. Stolen from V&A in 1948. References various. Destroyed for jewels. Foreign.
- There is a known sword from the Prince Regent to his brother for his wedding (source LS(TP)). This must be at least 1818 so out of scope. Only Prince Regent married initially and on death of his wife in childbirth with risk of loss of legal heir, two brothers were quickly married in a double wedding in 1818. The Duke of Kent and the Duke of Clarence. So this is the earliest possible date.
- To an unknown officer of the 94th Foot. silver gilt mameluke, maker mark "SH Birmingham" 1818, retailed by Mackay and Cunningham Edinburgh, Blue & gilt inscription list of subscribers (indistinct) (TREVANION & DEAN Auction 21 Apr 18, Lot 327) Out of scope 1818.
- A stylised regalia sword with a jeweled¹²⁶¹ handle and sea serpent quillons presented to Admiral Sir James Saumarez by the King Charles of Sweden for his time as C-I-C of the Baltic 1808-1813 as foreign.
- Presented by Colonel Le Mesurier to the best marksman in the North East Division of the Honorable. Artillery Company on 24 September 1803, the reverse side engraved with recipient's name Mr R Buck. This is a prize

¹²⁶⁰ In 1891 it was with a medal presented by the King of Portugal as well and was lent by the trustees of the late William Shand Low.

¹²⁶¹ Castle Cornet, Guernsey: Maritime Museum, GUEMG: GML 200.:25.20. According to the curator these jewels are reported to have originally been diamonds and rubies and now replaced with paste.

sword for a competition but shows the militia interest in presenting swords.¹²⁶²

- The Royal Collection also has the sword captured from Joseph Bonaparte at Vittoria.¹²⁶³

¹²⁶² Antony Cribb 10 Nov 20 Lot 166.

¹²⁶³ RCIN 929347.

Annex D

Comparison with Naval/Military General Service Medal and Votes of Thanks 1803-8

1803

Date	Action	Note if not RN	PF	Naval Medal	Vote of Thanks
27 June	HMS <i>Loire</i> cutting out <i>Venteux</i>		Y		
14 July	HMS <i>Phoebe</i> with French privateer		Y		
31 July	Defence of HM Packet <i>King George</i>	Packet Action	Y		
12 & 17 August	Actions with HMS <i>Niger</i>		Y		
17 August	HMS <i>Ville de Paris</i> cutting out <i>Messenger</i>		Y		
18 August	HMS <i>Desiree</i> cutting out 6 vessels		Y		
9 September	Capture of two French <i>chasse-marées</i>		Y		
20 Sep	<i>Princess Augusta</i> defence		Y		
9 October	HMS <i>Atalante</i> action		Y		
14 October	HMS <i>Racoon</i> capture of French vessels		Y		
26 October	Capture of <i>La Resource</i>		Y		
31 October	HM Armed Cutter <i>Admiral Mitchell</i> driving ashore 2 French vessels		Y		

5 November	HMS <i>Blanche</i> cutting out a cutter		Y		
17 November	Taking of Fort Dunkirk, and French Privateer		Y		
26 November	HMS <i>Centaur</i> landing on Martinique		Y		
For year	Mahratta War				Y

1804

Date	Action	Note if not RN	PF	Naval Medal	Vote of Thanks
January	Defence of Gorée	Medical	Y		
4 February	Capture of <i>Curieux</i>		Y		
5 February	<i>L'Éclair</i> engagement with <i>Grande Decidée</i>		Y		
Unclear	<i>Charlotte Gallant</i> defence against a privateer	Merchant Navy	Y		
9 February	HMS <i>Centaur</i> destruction of batteries		Y		
15 February	Dance's action	EIC	Y		
19 & 24 February	<i>Drake</i> cutting out American schooner and storming of the fort		Y		
13 March	HMS <i>Emerald</i> cutting out privateer		Y		
7-9 March	Recapture of Goree		Y		
15 March	<i>L'Éclair</i> cutting out privateer		Y		
23 March	HMS <i>Antelope</i> & HMS <i>Magicienne</i> capture of <i>Schrik</i>		Y		

23 and 27 March	Capture of <i>L'Egyptienne</i>		Y		
31 March	Capture of <i>Atalante</i>		Y	Y	
26 April	<i>Scipio</i> beating off the attack of a French privateer	Merchant Navy	Y		
1 May	HMS <i>Thisbe</i> capture of privateer <i>Veloce</i> in the Mediterranean		Y		
15-16 May	Burning shell thrown overboard	Lifesaving	Y		
4 June	Saving St Helier from a magazine explosion	Lifesaving	Y		
10 July	Boats attacked Hieres Bay		Y		
31 July	Capture of <i>Hirondelle</i>		Y		
6 September	Attack on signal post at Benthaume Castle		Y		
18 September	HMS <i>Centurion</i> action with 3 French vessels		Y	Y	

1805

Date	Action	Note if not RN	PF	Naval Medal	Vote of Thanks
4 February	<i>Arrow</i> & <i>Acheron</i> action with French frigates		Y	Y	
14 February	Capture of <i>La Psyché</i> and recapture of <i>Thetis</i>		Y	Y	
17 February	HMS <i>Cleopatra</i> action against <i>La Ville de Milan</i>		Y		
22 February	Defence of Dominica	Army	Y		

5 April	Capture of fort at Mariel		Y		
Unclear	Action <i>Felix</i> against a privateer		Y		
21 May	Action between <i>Doris</i> and privateer	Merchant	Y		
2 and 4 June	HMS <i>Loire</i> capture of <i>Esperanza</i> (2nd) and storming fort (4th)		Y		
13 June	Capture of Spanish privateer <i>Maria</i>		Y		
7 July	HMS <i>Cambrian</i> capturing three vessels		Y		
18 July	HMS <i>Arab</i> action off Boulogne		Y		
10 August	Capture of <i>La Didon</i>		Y	Y	
13 August	Capture of <i>La Caridad Perfecta</i>		Y		
21 October	Trafalgar		Y	Y	Y
4 November	Ferrol		Y	Y	Y
14 November	Action between <i>Lord Eldon</i> and Spanish gunboats	Medical support	Y		

1806

Date	Action	Note if not RN	PF	Naval Medal	Vote of Thanks
6/7 January	Cutting out of <i>Raposa</i>		Y		
10 January	Cape of Good Hope		Y		
6 February	St Domingo		Y		Y
13 March	<i>London</i> and <i>Amazon</i> capture <i>Marengo</i> and <i>Belle Poule</i>		N	Y	

21 March	<i>Colpoys</i> capture of 3 luggers		Y		
26 March	<i>Pique</i> capturing <i>Phaeton</i> and <i>Voltigeur</i>		N	Y	
6 April	HMS <i>Pallas</i> capture of <i>La Tapageuse</i> , and subsequent destruction of signal posts		Y		
17 April	HMS <i>Sirius</i> action off Tiber		Y	Y	
4 May	HMS <i>Renommée</i> cutting out <i>Giganta</i>		Y		
24 May	HM Packet <i>Duke of Montrose</i> capture of <i>L'Imperial</i>	Packet action	Y		
1 June	HMS <i>Jason</i> storming fort at Agvadilla		Y		
22 June	HMS <i>Minerva</i> storming Fort Finisterre & cutting out 5 vessels		Y		
2 July	Capitulation of Buenos Aires		Y		
4 July	Maida	Army	Y	MSGM	Y
16 July	HMS <i>Centaur</i> attack on <i>Le Caesar</i> and French convoy		Y		
19 July	Capture of <i>La Guerrière</i>		Y	Y	
26 July	Destruction of <i>Christian Elizabeth</i>		Y		
28 July	Rendering assistance to injured enemy sailor	Medical	Y		
14 August	<i>Phosphorus</i> engagement with French privateer,		Y		
23 August	Attack on the <i>Pomona</i>		Y	Y	
25 September	HMS <i>Centaur</i> action with enemy squadron		Y		

12 October	Capture of <i>Salamander</i>		Y		
18 October	HMS <i>Caroline</i> action with Dutch ships		Y		
26 October	Capture of <i>La Superbe</i>		Y		
13 December	<i>Halycon</i> action against 3 enemy ships		Y		

1807

Date	Action	Note if not RN	PF	Naval Medal	Vote of Thanks
1 January	Taking of Curacao		Y	Y	
2 January	HMS <i>Cerebus</i> cutting out 2 vessels		Y		
3 January	<i>Pickle</i> and <i>La Favorite</i>		N	Y	
21 January	Capture of <i>Le Lynx</i>		Y		
3 February	Monte Video		Y		Y (& City sword)
14 and 16 February	HMS <i>Bacchante</i> capture of <i>Dauphin</i> and destruction of fort		Y		
8 May	HMS <i>Comus</i> cutting out <i>St Pedro</i>		Y		
7 August	HMS <i>Hydra</i> attack on fort and capture of three vessels		Y	Y	
15 August	HMS <i>Comus</i> and <i>Frederickscoarn</i>		N	Y	
16 Aug – 5 Sep	Copenhagen		N	N	Y

1 October	HM Packet <i>Windsor Castle</i> action with <i>La Genii</i>	Packet Captain	Y		City Freedom no sword
28 October	<i>Louise</i> and privateer		N	Y	
14 November	HMS <i>Carrier</i> and <i>L'Actif</i>		N	Y	
24 November	HMS <i>Anne</i> with Spanish gunboats		N	Y	

1808

Date	Action	Note if not RN	PF	Naval Medal	Vote of Thanks (1817)
2 March	HMS <i>Sappho</i> and Danish brig <i>Admiral Yawl</i>		N	Y	
8 March	Capture of <i>La Piedmontaise</i>		Y	Y	
13 March	HMS <i>Emerald</i> attack on Vivero Harbour and destruction of <i>L'Apropos</i>		Y	Y	
14 March	<i>Childers</i> action with a Danish vessel		Y	Y	
22 March	HMS <i>Stately</i> and <i>Nassau</i> with Danish ship <i>Christian Frederic</i>		N	Y	
4 April	HMS <i>Alceste</i> , <i>Grasshopper</i> , <i>Mercury</i> with gunboats		N	Y	
23/24 April	<i>Grasshopper</i> action with		Y	Y	

	gunboats				
7 May	HMS <i>Redwing</i> and Spanish gunboats		N	Y	
19 May	HMS <i>Virginie</i> and Guelderland		N	Y	
31 May	HMS <i>Redwing</i> at Tarifa		N	Y	
11 June	HMS <i>Euryalus</i> capture of 4 Danish gunboats		Y		
25 June	HMS <i>Comet</i> action with French frigate		Y		
5 May & 26 June	HMS <i>Standard</i> burning a frigate, destroying a battery and capture of two gunboats		Y		
5/6 July	HMS <i>Seahorse</i> capture of Turkish vessel		Y	Y	
11 August	HMS <i>Comet</i> and <i>Sylphe</i>		N	Y	
26 August	HMS <i>Centaur</i> , <i>Implacable</i> and <i>Sewold</i> against Russians		N	Y	
1 November	HMS <i>Cruiser</i> with a Danish flotilla of gun boats		N	Y	
10 November	Capture of <i>La Thetis</i>		Y	Y	
13 December	HMS <i>Circe</i> and brigs off Pearl Rock		N	Y	
Autumn	Peninsular Campaign 1st Period inc Battles of Rolica, Vimeiro, Sahagun, Benavente		N	4 x MGSM	Y