

Nelsons 'Victory' Revealed
HMS Victory 1803 - 1806
The ship during the Campaign of Trafalgar



A Private Research Paper - The search for Nelson's Victory
An investigation into the appearance of HMS Victory at Trafalgar

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This work is not for sale or resale.

HMS Victory 1803 - 1806

What she really looked like at Trafalgar

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HMS Victory

At Chatham I hired a boat to see the men of war, which are there in great numbers. I sketched the Victory in three views. She was the flower of the flock, a three decker of (some say) 112 guns. She looked very beautiful fresh out of Dock and newly painted. When I saw her they were tending sails which circumstance, added to a very fine evening, made a charming

John Constable



*Figure 1: HMS Victory entering Portsmouth by William Joy 1844 Norwich Museum**

* The 'Victory' that Joy portrays is, as we shall see, one of the closest semblances to *Victory* of Trafalgar under sail that exists, the ship is incorrect in having the round bow, but from the viewpoint of the observer this is not immediately discernible.

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For comprehensive publication referencing also see the Bibliography (supra).

Introduction

- ¹ The Campaign of Trafalgar in this work is taken to mean 1803 to 1805.
- ² The Mariners Mirror. Volume 10 Issue 2. Carr Laughton, L.G. H.M.S. Victory; Report to the Victory Technical Committee of a Search Among the Admiralty Records. 1924. pages 173 – 211.
- ³ *Abstract taken from Wikipedia:* In the study of history as an academic discipline, a Primary Source (also called an original source or evidence) is an artefact, document, diary, manuscript, autobiography, recording, or any other source of information that was created at the time under study.
Primary sources are distinguished from secondary sources, which cite, comment on, or build upon primary sources. Generally, accounts written after the fact with the benefit (*and possible distortions*) of hindsight are secondary. A secondary source may also be a primary source depending on how it is used. For example, a memoir would be considered a primary source in research concerning its author or about his or her friends characterised within it, but the same memoir would be a secondary source if it were used to examine the culture in which its author lived. "Primary" and "secondary" should be understood as relative terms, with sources categorised according to specific historical contexts and what is being studied.
- ⁴ 19th Century naval historian (William James, n.d.)

HMS Victory Today

- ⁵ This Broadside view adopts the lines of the *Boyne* (Victory's half sister which was itself taken directly from the refit plans for Victory in 1801), and overlain with the Lower, Middle and Upper Deck gunport arrangements of the original 1765 plans. All other aspects are detailed throughout this work.
- ⁶ Bugler, Arthur. H.M.S. Victory: Building, restoration and repair. HMSO. 1966. Page 1.
- ⁷ Lavery Brian. Nelson's Victory; 250 years of War and Peace. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2015. Page 182.
- ⁸ LG Carr Laughton was also acknowledged as one of the major driving forces behind the foundation of the Society for Nautical Research and was editor for the SNR of The Mariner's Mirror from its inception until 1913.
- ⁹ The Mariners Mirror. Volume 10 Issue 2. Carr Laughton, L.G. H.M.S. Victory; Report to the Victory Technical Committee of a Search Among the Admiralty Records. Pages 173 – 211.
- ¹⁰ Lavery Brian. Nelson's Victory; 250 years of War and Peace. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2015. Page 182.
- ¹¹ The Mariners Mirror. Volume 10 Issue 2. Carr Laughton, L.G. H.M.S. Victory; Report to the Victory Technical Committee of a Search Among the Admiralty Records. Laughton dates the model as 1802.
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ This term '*topgallant forecandle*' probably relates to a short flying forecandle added to Victory sometime in the 19th Century as evidenced in contemporary photographs.
- ¹⁴ Goodwin, Peter. Thesis 'The Influence of Industrial Technology and Material Procurement on the Design, Construction and Development of H.M.S. Victory'. University of St Andrews. 1998. Records that whilst this issue was discussed at the time it was "*deferred until the Dockyard had assessed estimates to make the alteration Work had already been undertaken to fit the open bulwark, the proposal to fit built up bulwarks at the forecandle were rejected on the grounds that additional work was to cost £382*".
- ¹⁵ Bugler, Arthur. H.M.S. Victory: Building, restoration and repair. HMSO. 1966. Page 48.
- ¹⁶ The Mariners Mirror. Volume 9 Issue. 4. Watts, Sir Philip. Notes on the Preservation of H.M.S. "Vicory" and her Restoration to the Trafalgar Condition. 1923 The Mariners Mirror. Volume 9 Issue. 4. Watts, Sir Philip. Notes on the Preservation of H.M.S. "Vicory" and her Restoration to the Trafalgar Condition. 1923.
- ¹⁷ Lambert, Andrew. Nelson: Britannia's God of War. London, Faber & Faber. 2005. Page 349.
- ¹⁸ The 2020 Covid-19 pandemic exposed the finely balanced cash position of the NMM with the enforced lockdown and consequent reduced revenues bringing them to the brink of insolvency had the UK Government not stepped in with financial aid.

Marine Artists

- ¹⁹ 22nd November 2015 <https://modelshipworld.com/topic/12051-hms-Victory-traffic-fair-forecastle/?tab=comments#comment-365376>
- ²⁰ Translates as 'Book of Studies' a collection of prints by Turner which included 71 prints that he worked on and printed from 1807 to 1819. Turner created the etchings of the prints, which were worked in mezzotint by his engravers, mainly in sepia watercolour, sometimes with elements in pencil and other media. Altogether there are over 100 paintings relating to the series, included some not published, are now in Tate Britain as part of the Turner Bequest.
- ²¹ Tracey, Nicholas. Britannia's Palette: The Arts of Naval Victory. McGill-Queen's Press. 2007. Page Tracey, Nicholas. Britannia's Palette: The Arts of Naval Victory. McGill-Queen's Press. 2007. Pages 285 & 286.
- ²² The Trafalgar Chronicle. Piggott, JR. The High Raised Nelsonian Star: Turner, Nelson and the Royal Navy. Cranbrook The 1805 Club. 2008.
- ²³ Lincoln, Margarette. Nelson & Napoleon. London, The National Maritime Museum. 2005.
- ²⁴ Page, Anthony. Britain and the Seventy Years War 1744 – 1815: Enlightenment, Revolution and Empire. Palgrave, Bayswater. 2015. Page 168.
- ²⁵ The guns were removed between 25th and 29th December 1805
- ²⁶ Painter and historian who published several books on the works of Turner.
- ²⁷ This simple statement records the fact that Constable recorded the *Victory* immediately after her last refit prior to Trafalgar, from this point she would change little.
- ²⁸ Hughes, Eleanor. Spreading Canvas: Eighteenth Century British Marine Painting: Nicholas Pocock: Accuracy and Agency. Italy, Yale Centre for British Art. 2016
- ²⁹ Wikipedia
- ³⁰ Reproduced under Yale University Policy: Open Access to Digital Representations of Works in the Public Domain from Museum, Library, and Archive Collections
- ³¹ Inventor the Manby Mortar - later developed into the breeches buoy that fired a thin rope from shore into the rigging of a ship in distress.

Literature Appraisal

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- ³³ Credit has to be given to the SNR who since the time of Carr Laughton has fostered the drive for research shedding light on naval history.
- ³⁴ The Nelson Dispatch. The Quarterly Journal of the Nelson Society. Volume 7 Part 1. Ryan, John. Book Review – HMS Victory: Her Construction, Career and Restoration. 2000.

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- ³⁵ Lavery, Brian and Stephens, Simon. Ship Models: Their Purpose and Development from 1650 to the Present. London, Philip Wilson Publishers Limited. 1995. Pages 17 & 18.
- ³⁶ TNA ADM 106/1820 - Letters from Chatham Officers to Admiralty 4th March 1803.
- ³⁷ TNA ADM 106/1819 - Letters from Chatham Officers to Admiralty 20th September 1802.
- ³⁸ Gardiner, Robert. Warships of the Napoleonic Era. London, Chatham Publishing. 1999. Page 7.
- ³⁹ The Trafalgar Chronicle, New Series 1. Conover, John. What did HMS Victory Actually look like at the Battle of Trafalgar. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2016.
- ⁴⁰ NMM Citation: "Scale: 1:48. A contemporary full hull model of the Victory (1765), a 100 gun first rate, three-decker ship of the line. Model is decked. Depicted after extensive refit (her so-called "large repair") completed in 1803, prior to the Battle of Trafalgar. Model also shows further modifications which were proposed after Trafalgar which were not carried out."
- ⁴¹ See Robert Dodd and Monamy Swaine paintings below.
- ⁴² The Mariners Mirror. Volume 11 Issue 1. Carr Laughton, LG. The Study of Ship Models. 1925. Page 9 that from 1800 "Replacement of the old drift and fife rails by high solid bulwarks", although he does not mention the source it is likely to be by way of an Admiralty Order.
- ⁴³ NMM citation reads "Scale: 1:48. A contemporary(?) half block design model of the HMS Victory (1765), a first rate, 100 gun three-decked ship of the line. Date made circa 1800-03(?)"
- ⁴⁴ Goodwin, Peter. Transactions of the Naval Dockyards Society: Volume 1. Preparing HMS Victory and the Ships for Trafalgar. Southwick, The Naval Dockyard Society. 2011
- ⁴⁵ Lavery Brian. Nelson's Victory; 250 years of War and Peace. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2015. Page 102.

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- ⁴⁶ Goodwin Peter Goodwin in his *Nelsons Ships: A History of the Vessels in which he Served*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 2002. Page 250.
- ⁴⁷ Some of these points not specific to the side elevation will be discussed in subsequent sections of this paper.
- ⁴⁸ This correlates with the NMM citation appended to the 1805 model – this works suggests one theory that the 1803 refit was given insufficient time to allow the full structural modifications to be made such as the closing up of the 16th Gunport or reconfiguration of the Transom stern
- ⁴⁹ Tate ref: D05486. *The ‘Victory’: Fore Part of Starboard Side* 1805. Citation “Together with the port-side view of the *Victory* on folio 18 (D05489; Turner Bequest LXXXIX 30), perhaps another on folio 17 (D05487; Turner Bequest LXXXIX 29) and the sky study on folio 17 verso (D05488), this is probably the origin of Turner’s picture showing Nelson’s flagship in three positions, from port, starboard and bows, usually known as *The Victory Returning from Trafalgar*, possibly shown in Turner’s Gallery in 1806, and bought by Walter Fawkes (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut). See Introduction to the sketchbook for discussion of the picture, its title and subject matter. Turner also made a drawing of a similar composition, probably intended for engraving in the *Liber Studiorum* but not used (Tate D08183; Turner Bequest CXVIII c).”
- ⁵⁰ Tate ref: D05487 *The ‘Victory’: Port Side, Smaller Vessels Alongside* 1805. Citation “Faded from exposure in the First Loan Collection. Finberg’s entry, written when the leaf was out of the book on this national tour, noted; ‘Probably connected with the subject of “Nelson”, if not actually one of the leaves of this sketchbook’. Despite Finberg’s reservations, the leaf surely belongs to this sketchbook. Finberg’s note must refer to Turner’s picture *The Battle of Trafalgar, as Seen from the Mizen Starboard Shrouds of the Victory* (Tate N00480),¹ exhibited at Turner’s Gallery in 1806, for which see the Introduction to this sketchbook. The more likely connection, together with the starboard view of the *Victory* on folio 16 verso (D05486; Turner Bequest LXXXIX 28a), another port-side study on folio 18 (D05489; Turner Bequest LXXXIX 30) and the sky study on the verso (D05488), is with *The Victory Returning from Trafalgar*, also possibly shown in Turner’s Gallery in 1806 (Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut).² See Introduction to the sketchbook and entry for D05486 for the picture and associated work. In this drawing, Turner concentrates on the bows, deck and stern and shows smaller vessels alongside.”
- ⁵¹ *Trafalgar Chronicle*. Brooks, Robin. *Victory in Art and the Constable Sketches*. Cranbrook The 1805 Club. 2005.
- ⁵² Carr Laughton, LG. *Old Figure-Heads and Sterns*. Mineola, Dover Publications. 2001. Page 272.
- ⁵³ Some sources suggest that the Poop and forecastle were variously armed with 18, 24 & 32 pdr carronades after the refit. See as noted Peter Goodwin in his *Nelsons Ships: A History of the Vessels in which he Served* notes at page 249 the vacillating armament of *Victory*.
- ⁵⁴ Goodwin, Peter. Thesis ‘The Influence of Industrial Technology and Material Procurement on the Design, Construction and Development of H.M.S. Victory’. University of St Andrews. 1998. Page 84.
- ⁵⁵ Lavery Brian. *Nelson’s Victory; 250 years of War and Peace*. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2015. Page 128.
- ⁵⁶ Burney, William. *Falconer’s New Universal Dictionary of the Marine* 1815 Edition. London, Chatham Publishing. 2006.
- ⁵⁷ The term ‘deal’ refers to a softwood such as pine or fir.
- ⁵⁸ Burney, William. *Falconer’s New Universal Dictionary of the Marine* 1815 Edition. London, Chatham Publishing. 2006. Page 351.
- ⁶⁰ Harland, John. *Seaman in the Age of Sail: An account of the shiphandling of the sailing man-of-war, 1600 – 1860*. London, Aldard Coles. 2020. Page 210.
- ⁶¹ Mondfeld, Wolfram zu. *Historic Ship Models*. London, Argus Books. 1985. Page 177.
- ⁶² Lever, Darcey. *The Young Rea Officer’s Sheet Anchor: Or a key to the Leading of Rigging and to Practical Seamanship*. New York, Dover Publishing. 1998.
- ⁶³ Bugler, Arthur. *H.M.S. Victory: Building, restoration and repair*. HMSO. 1966. Page 129.
- ⁶⁴ Steel, David. *The Elements and Practice of Naval Architecture*. London, P Steel. 1805.
- ⁶⁵ This figure from Steel has been reproduced.
- ⁶⁶ The contrast of this picture has been digitally increased from the original so as to enhance the detail, the picture has not otherwise been altered.
- ⁶⁷ Rees, Abraham. *The Cyclopaedia; or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Literature*. 1819 – 20. Newton Abbot, Davis & Charles. 1970.
- ⁶⁸ Goodwin, Peter. *The Construction and Fitting of the English Man of War 1650 – 1850*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 1987.
- ⁶⁹ Lavery, Brian. *The Arming and Fitting of English Ships of War 1600 – 1815*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 1987. Page 54.

- ⁷⁰ Goodwin, Peter. HMS Victory; 1765-1812 (First rate ship of the line) Haynes Owners' Workshop Manual. Yeovil, Haynes Publishing. 2012. Page 68.
- ⁷¹ Nicolas, Sir Harris Nicholas. The Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson; The Nicholas Edition. Volume V January 1802 – April 1804. London, Chatham Publishing. 1998.
- ⁷² Goodwin, Peter. Admiral Nelson's Warship at Trafalgar: HMS Victory – Pocket Manual 1805. Croydon, Bloomsbury Publishing Ltd. 2015. Page 88.
- ⁷³ Beatty MD, William. Authentic Narrative of the Death of Lord Nelson. Third Edition 1825. age 20.
- ⁷⁴ James, William. The Naval History of Great Britain; Volume IV – 1805 – 1807. London, Conway Maritime Press. 2002. Page 60
- ⁷⁵ The guns were removed between 25th and 29th December 1805
- ⁷⁶ Ballantine, Iain and Eastland, Jonathan. HMS Victory; First Rate 1765. Seaforth Publishing. 2011. Page 103.

The Bow

- ⁷⁷ Note the NMM Citation states “*the body plan, altered sheer lines, and longitudinal half-breadth for 'Dreadnaught' (1801), a 98-gun Second Rate, three decker. The main alterations include enclosing the stern, altering the gunports on the Quarterdeck, adding an entry port, and modifying the bow*”. These alterations are the forerunner for the modifications to Victory's Bow and Stern.
- ⁷⁸ Lavery Brian. Nelson's Victory; 250 years of War and Peace. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2015. Pages 185/6.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ Tate citation: ‘*One of two large studies of the deck of the Victory; the other is Tate D08275; Vaughan Bequest CXXI S. Like most of the sketches in the Nelson sketchbook (Tate D05446–D05490; D40701–D40705; D41427; Turner Bequest LXXXIX) these were made when the Victory returned from the Battle of Trafalgar for repair; see Introduction to the sketchbook for her movements. This drawing is further confirmation that Turner went on board soon after she arrived at Long Reach off Sheerness, and before 1 January 1806 when de-rigging began, as her masts and rigging are still in place. However her guns – normally twelve twelve-pounders on the Quarterdeck – appear to have been removed already. As in several drawings in the sketchbook, Turner is looking over the starboard side of the Poop down to the Quarterdeck. The same view appears in Turner's picture, Battle of Trafalgar, as Seen from the Mizen Starboard Shrouds of the Victory (Tate, N00480), exhibited in Turner's Gallery, 1806; it overlooks the section of the Quarterdeck where Nelson was killed. In the 1974 Royal Academy catalogue, it is wrongly described as 'from' the Quarterdeck. The drawing shows several figures, unrelated to the picture and perhaps other visitors to the ship. Some appear to be women.*’
- ⁸¹ Fincham, John. A History of Naval Architecture. London, Scolar Press. 1979. Page 205.
- ⁸² Goodwin, Peter. Thesis ‘The Influence of Industrial Technology and Material Procurement on the Design, Construction and Development of H.M.S. Victory’. University of St Andrews. 1998. Page 106.
- ⁸³ Attributed to RNM 1994.128 by Iain Ballantyne and Jonathan Eastland in their ‘HMS Victory; Warships of the Royal Navy’, page 159, but also see The Mariner's Mirror Volume 55 Issue 4 of 1969, in the notes section AJ Pack recounts that the description of two naked little boys, etc. was recorded by Midshipman Rivers in correspondence dated 12th June 1854
- ⁸⁴ See pages 239 / 240, by Sir Geoffrey Arthur Romain Callender 1875 – 1946.
- ⁸⁵ Carr Laughton, LG. Old Ship Figureheads. 1927
- ⁸⁶ General notebook kept by Gunner William Rivers, RNM 1998/41/1, page 159
- ⁸⁷ Sir Geoffrey Arthur Romaine Callender was an English naval historian and the first director of the National Maritime Museum from its opening in 1937 until his death in 1946, see his ‘The Story of the “Victory”’. London, Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1914. Pages 314/315.
- ⁸⁸ Tate citation: “*Turner Bequest LXXXIX 27; Pencil on white wove paper, 114 x 184 mm; Inscribed by Turner in pencil 'White Cloth' to right of stern; Inscribed by John Ruskin in red ink '27' bottom right; Stamped in black 'LXXXIX 27' bottom right*”
- ⁸⁹ Goodwin Peter Goodwin in his Nelsons Ships: A History of the Vessels in which he Served. London, Conway Maritime Press. 2002. At page 250 states “*Victory c.1803. This model of the ship shows her stern as it appeared after her 'great repair' 1801 – 1803*”.
- ⁹⁰ Lavery Brian. Nelson's Victory; 250 years of War and Peace. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2015. Page 103.
- ⁹¹ To reduce
- ⁹² Presumably the Trophy of Arms
- ⁹³ Goodwin Peter Goodwin in his Nelsons Ships: A History of the Vessels in which he Served. London, Conway Maritime Press. 2002.

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- ⁹⁴ Lavery Brian. *Nelson's Victory; 250 years of War and Peace*. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2015.
- ⁹⁵ Goodwin, Peter. *The Construction and Fitting of the English Man of War 1650 – 1850*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 1987/1650 - 1850'

Inboard

- ⁹⁶ Harris, David. *The restoration of HMS Victory in the twentieth Century*. International Maritime Archaeology. 1995. Page 140.
- ⁹⁷ McGowan; Alan. *HMS Victory; Her Construction, Career and Restoration*. London, Chatham Publishing. 1999. Page 26.
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- ⁹⁹ Fenwick, Kenneth. *H.M.S. Victory*. London, Cassell. 1959. Plate XIII.
- ¹⁰⁰ James, William. *The Naval History of Great Britain; Volume IV – 1805 – 1807*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 2002. Page 39.
- ¹⁰¹ Whilst a comparatively covered deck, the Upper or Main deck had sail trimmers and the like drawn from it to assist on the upper works making them more exposed to small arms fire than the Middle and Lower Decks.
- ¹⁰² Samuel Drummond was a British painter, especially prolific in portraits and marine genre painting. Drummond was apprenticed to the sea service when he was about thirteen. In 1791 he gave up his career at sea and entered Royal Academy schools in 1791. He became successful portrait and marine painter (Wikipedia).
- ¹⁰³ James, William. *The Naval History of Great Britain; Volume IV – 1805 – 1807*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 2002.
- ¹⁰⁴ Lavery Brian. *Nelson's Victory; 250 years of War and Peace*. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2015. Page 132.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 106.
- ¹⁰⁶ Lavery, Brian. *The Arming and Fitting of English Ships of War 1600 – 1815*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 1987. Pages 173 – 176.
- ¹⁰⁷ Goodwin, Peter. *The Construction and Fitting of the English Man of War 1650 – 1850*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 1987. Page 116.
- ¹⁰⁸ Lavery Brian. *Nelson's Victory; 250 years of War and Peace*. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2015). Page 187.
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- ¹¹⁰ Peterson, Lenarth. *Rigging Period Ship Models*. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2011. Page 51.
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- ¹¹² Pascoe, Daniel. *Archaeological evidence for the development of Royal Naval gunnery from 1545 – 1811; analysing change through technology and culture*. Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree 'Doctor of Philosophy', awarded by Bournemouth University. 2021.
- ¹¹³ Steel, David. *The Elements and Practice of Naval Architecture*. London, P Steel. 1805. Page 286.
- ¹¹⁴ Fir or softwood
- ¹¹⁵ Goodwin, Peter. Thesis 'The Influence of Industrial Technology and Material Procurement on the Design, Construction and Development of H.M.S. Victory'. University of St Andrews. 1998. Page 79.
- ¹¹⁶ Lavery, Brian. *The Arming and Fitting of English Ships of War 1600 – 1815*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 1987. Page 253.
- ¹¹⁷ "Midshipman Rivers journal and the carpenter's expenses, when Victory went into battle at Trafalgar most of the boats remained on the skid beams instead of being towed astern" – taken from Adkin, Mark. *The Trafalgar Companion: A Guide to History's Most famous Sea Battle and the Life of Admiral Lord Nelson*. London, Aurum Press Ltd. 2005.. Page 246.
- ¹¹⁸ Adkin, Mark. *The Trafalgar Companion: A Guide to History's Most famous Sea Battle and the Life of Admiral Lord Nelson*. London, Aurum Press Ltd. 2005.
- ¹¹⁹ Lewis, Jon E. *The Mammoth book of how it happened; Trafalgar; Over 50 first-hand accounts of the greatest sea battle in history*. New York, Carrol & Griffin. 2005. Page 314.
- ¹²⁰ A mast made from a single piece of timber, also called a pole-mast.
- ¹²¹ Lavery Brian. *Nelson's Victory; 250 years of War and Peace*. Barnsley, Seaforth Publishing. 2015. Page 106.
- ¹²² McKay, John. *Anatomy of the Ship: The 100-Gun Ship Victory*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 1995.

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- ¹²³ The section dealing with the ships Armament at Trafalgar deals more fully with this.
- ¹²⁴ Photographs entitled ‘*HMS Victory – The Aft Deck*’ appear in early 20th Century editions of ‘*Nelson’s Victory*’ published in Gale and Ponden’s Photographs entitled ‘*HMS Victory – The Aft Deck*’ appear in early 20th Century editions of ‘*Nelson’s Victory*. Portsmouth, Gale and Polden Ltd.
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- ¹²⁷ Bugler, Arthur. *H.M.S. Victory: Building, restoration and repair*. HMSO. 1966. Pages 136 – 137.
- ¹²⁸ The ‘Arming and Fitting of English Ships of War 1600 – 1815’ Page 44
- ¹²⁹ Peter Goodwin ‘The Construction and Fitting of the English Man of War 1650 – 1850’, Page 121
- ¹³⁰ Brian Lavery ‘The Arming and Fitting of English Ships of War 1600 – 1815’ Page 145
- ¹³¹ Goodwin, Peter. *The Construction and Fitting of the English Man of War 1650 – 1850*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 1987.
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- ¹³⁵ Goodwin, Peter. *The Construction and Fitting of the English Man of War 1650 – 1850*. London, Conway Maritime Press. 1987. Page 141.
- ¹³⁶ NMM Main Plan references ZAZ0124 & ZAZ0125
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The Ships Boats

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Appendix 1: Gunner Rivers Notebook

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