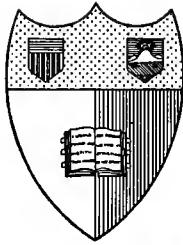


THE BRITISH IN
CAPRI 1806-1808

By SIR LEES KNOWLES Bart.



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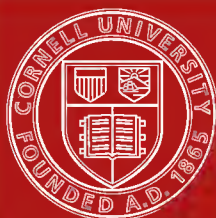
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THE BRITISH IN CAPRI

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

"THE WAR IN THE PENINSULA:

**Some letters of Lieutenant Robert Knowles, of the
7th, or Royal, Fusiliers";**

"A DAY WITH CORPS-STUDENTS IN GERMANY";

"MINDEN AND THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR";

"LETTERS OF CAPTAIN ENGELBERT LUTYENS."



THE ISLAND OF CAPRI.

View of the north side, as seen from the sea : Capri to the east, Anacapri to the west.

**THE BRITISH IN
CAPRI 1806–1808, BY
SIR LEES KNOWLES
BARONET, C.V.O., D.L., M.A., LL.M.
WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS**

**LONDON—JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD
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DEDICATED TO MY WIFE
THE LADY NINA KNOWLES
IN REMEMBRANCE OF OUR
WEDDING-DAY
THURSDAY, AUGUST 12TH, 1915

INTRODUCTION

“Val più avere amici in piazza, che danari in cassa.”

“I veri amici sono come le mosche bianche.”

These two Italian proverbs may be translated “Rather a friend on the square than gold in the bank,” and, “A real friend is as rare as a white fly.” They are particularly applicable to Capri where the Piazza (the square, the market-place), with its Terrace is the hub, or centre, of life. In fact, it may be said that in Roman times, when a Roman Emperor lived there, Capri was the hub of the universe.

Appealing to my many friends on the island, I feel sure that more than one will treat this peep at the period when the British were in occupation of Capri with kind consideration!

Before the present War, which began in August, 1914, there were two ways of reaching Capri—one by land and one by sea, and both by Naples. During recent years, the sea in the midst of the land, the Mediterranean, has become more and more a sort of German lake, with landing-stages all round it. The North German Lloyd Company despatched their steamers, like huge floating palaces, which, outward and homeward bound, touched regularly at Southampton. The size and accommodation of them were enormous; the company, the food, the Rhine wine, and the music,—“Life, let us cherish!” played on deck in the early morning, coming back to my

mind—excellent. Everywhere on board was to be seen the shine of elbow-grease, the “Putzen” beloved of the German Hausfrau, and passengers received every consideration and attention; but, on the upper deck, I have looked often with suspicion at one boat by itself, in the centre, and at the end, of a double row of large lifeboats. It seemed to stand out from the rest, and I suspected always, and I have reason to believe, that that dummy-boat was full of munitions of war—a large death-boat. These German steamers stopped at all the principal ports of the Mediterranean. They stopped at Tangiers,—the old-world Arab town with its little square, on each side of which was a post-office representing a nation, where one bought local stamps for the different countries,—visited a few years ago by the Kaiser, and then the scene of a great international controversy. They stopped at Gibraltar, whither and whence British officers, non-commissioned officers and men, wearing khaki-uniforms, were borne. On the occasion that I remember particularly, on board the boat was a boy, who had just left one of our great Public Schools, studying military books for an Army examination: an only son, he was one of the first killed in the war. They stopped at Algiers, and, so much had they over-run that glorious French town, that the leading German agent there had competed successfully with the representative of our most noted British Touring Agents; but, he is now in an internment-camp not far from London. They stopped at Marseilles, a short-cut overland east and west all over the world, passing under the very prows of the French fleet in that magnificent natural harbour at Villefranche. They stopped at Genoa, a short-cut overland through Italy to and from Germany, where one saw in the docks a veritable forest of German funnels, masts, and flags. I remember that, on May

14th, 1914, the notorious warships "Breslau" and "Goeben" were there, with officers and men returning from a visit with the Kaiser to Corfu: some of them joined our ship on their way home on leave. They stopped at Naples, where a demonstration of German ships in March, 1914, was followed by a demonstration of British ships—three British battle cruisers, the "Indefatigable," the "Indomitable," and the "Inflexible," three large cruisers, and eighteen destroyers, under Admiral Sir Berkeley Milne. Thence they passed through the Straits of Messina on towards the East. In order to show the luxury of these boats, and the way they catered for British and American tastes, I give one menu, printed on board in two languages, taken at random:—

DAMPPER "PRINZESS IRENE."
Freitag, den 29, März 1912.

MITTAGESSEN.

Schildkröten-Suppe.
Consommé Diplomate.
Loup de Mer mit Austern.
Rinderfilet, Champignon-Sauce.
Gedämpfter Lattich, Artischocken.
Saratoga-Kartoffeln.
Puterbrust, Zingara.
Frische Erbsen, Prinzessin Art.
Gebratene Wildente.
Endivien-Salat.
Napfkuchen, Troubadour.
Illuminirtes-Rahmeis.
Makronen-Aufsatz.
Früchte der Saison.
Kaffee.

S.S. "PRINZESS IRENE."
Friday, March 29th, 1912.

DINNER.

Turtle Soup.
Consommé Diplomate.
Loup de Mer with Oysters.
Filet of Beef, Mushroom Sauce.
Braised Lettuce. Artichokes.
Saratoga Chips.
Breast of Turkey, Zingara.
Fresh Peas, Princesse.
Roast Red-Tail Duck.
Endive Salad.
Baba à la Troubadour.
Illuminated Ice-cream.
Macaroon Table Piece.
Fruit in Season.
Coffee.

Since the commencement of the war, there has been a complete change in the naval complexion and character of the Mediterranean!

The best route now, in war-time, for the journey to Capri is by Paris and Rome; but, whatever route is taken, the traveller will find himself first at Naples, whence he will see the island at a distance of rather less than twenty miles across the bay. "*Vedi Napoli e poi*

muori!” or *Mori*, as the natives of the adjoining village said, “See Naples and then die,” and then *Mori*, as, I have been told, their play upon words ran.

In Naples, in the Museum, one may see a few authentic objects of antiquity from Capri, such as No. 6764—*Mitra sacrificante il toro*, and No. 6691—*Tiberio Viaggio di Notte*. From Naples one will visit certainly Pompeii, destroyed by the earthquake of A.D. 63, rebuilt during the reign of the Emperor Vespasian, and then, after a period of sixteen years, overwhelmed by the eruption of Vesuvius on August 24th, A.D. 79. The *lapillæ*, volcanic ash and pumice-stone, have preserved everything wonderfully. At the time that the city was overwhelmed, a general election was in full swing, and, in the quarter which is being uncovered, I saw the election-notices, painted on the walls in bold red letters on a white ground; and, most fascinating it was to watch the earth, like shingle, crumbling away before the spades of the explorers, and gradually declaring the thoughts, the wishes, and the aspirations of a townspeople that lived nearly two thousand years ago. Marcus Samellius, of the Guild of Fullers (*Fullones*), seems to have been the popular candidate, and clear, as if written to-day, were such election-placards as the following:—“*Marcum Samellium ædilem oro vos faciatis*,”—“I beg you to vote for Marcus Samellius as *ædile*,” and “*Marcum Samellium modestum ædilem*,”—“Vote for Marcus Samellius who will make you a just *ædile*.” Moreover, the abbreviations for these inscriptions were extraordinarily interesting. I was indebted for much kindness at Pompeii to Cavaliere Guido Scifoni, the royal superintendent, and to Doctor Giuseppe Spano, the inspector of the excavations.

The ancient life was much the same as the life of to-day, a modern patent even having been found in one

instance to have been anticipated so long ago, and side by side with the civil was the military life. One conjures up in one's mind the Romans with their artillery, catapultæ, like cross-bows, and ballistæ like swinging-planks, for throwing stones : a thousand yards the limit of the throw. A hundred years ago a cannon could not have fired its ball across the three miles, or thereabouts, between the mainland and Capri. To-day, our modern artillery could cover easily the twenty miles of sea which separate Naples from the island.

I remember in the eighties a well-known and distinguished military lecturer stating that our weapons then were as far removed from the weapons of the war of 1870,—with only distance-fuses of five-hundred-yard intervals, between which the Prussians rushed, and with Chassepot-rifles with a maximum range for spent bullets of about a thousand yards,—as the weapons of that war were removed from the bows and arrows of the ancients. What can be said now about the awful superiority of the weapons of the present war ?

Instead of taking the steamer directly from Naples to Capri, the visitor may make a very pleasant journey thither by train from Naples to Castellammare, thence in the electric-tram which runs along the coast, past the different stopping-places of the steamer, as far as Sorrento, whence the crossing is quite short, and it may be even shortened by taking a carriage forward from Sorrento to Massa Lubrense. But, it is not always certain that the small daily steamer can make the passage. I remember on one occasion my luggage was put on board at Naples the steamer which I hoped to catch at Sorrento. On arrival, however, at Sorrento, I found that the sea was too rough for the small boats, and I was kept there for two days. When I crossed, we had a glorious passage, the sun shining, the storm raging,

and the steamer tossed by the waves. We found the Marina Grande closed. Then we steamed round the Faraglioni rocks to the Marina Piccola : that too was closed, and the captain headed, it was said, for Messina. Then, he turned as if to go back to Naples, when a signal from the Telegrafo Hill told him to return to the Marina Piccola, where we were landed, to our joy, and to the joy of our friends who were watching us from the shore.

Arriving at the Marina Grande, a carriage may be taken up the zig-zag road, or the *funicolare*, the electric-railway, may be used, to reach the Terrace, the Piazza, and the town.

When the historian Green visited the island in the seventies, there was but a single road, and that still incomplete, and there were no wheeled vehicles except a single cart, the first which had appeared in Capri, and the children still stared at it as at a prodigy. History repeats itself, for it was not until 1914 that the first motor-car appeared there, and that was quite a small one, chiefly for the use of an invalid.

The most noted hotels are the Quisisana, the Pagano, and the Café Morgano, at Capri, and, with its beautiful garden, the Paradiso, at Anacapri. On landing, the first request made to one of the Forestieri, or strangers, is invariably—not for *soldi*, or money, but for macaroni. It seems as if Italian children were born with that word on their lips, and it supplies a polite term for begging, as well as, in reality, a daily and staple article of food. According to Webster's Dictionary the word "Macaroni" is derived from a Greek word for "happy." The Century Dictionary derives it from the Latin word *macerare* (to macerate). Macaroni is a kind of paste, or dough, prepared originally and chiefly in Italy from the glutinous granular flour of hard varieties of wheat, called *gran duro*, pressed into long tubes or pipes through the perforated

bottom of a vessel furnished with mandrels, and afterwards dried in the sun, or by low heat. There are many varieties, the most common kinds being maccheroni, vermicelli, bassotti, spaghetti, strisce penne, cannelloni, tagliatelli, lasagne, fidelini, names suggesting their appearance from the words of their derivation, such as small worms, short and thick, pack-thread, switch, bits cut-off, etc. ; but, I know many names for this food, which is eaten with butter and cheese (*al burro e parmigiano*), with gravy (*al sugo*), or with broth (*al brodo*), and tomato-sauce is always ready to hand.

In reference to the secondary uses of the word, the dictionary draws attention to the Italian word *maccarone*, now *maccherone*, fool or blockhead, and points out that it is to be noted that it is common to name a droll fellow, regarded as typical of his country, after some favourite article of food. A London exquisite of the 18th Century was called by the name, and reference is made to a member of the Macaroni Club. Walpole, Boswell, and Sheridan used the word, and it is found, too, in America ; for, in the doggerel "Yankee Doodle (he) stuck a feather in his cap, and called it macaroni."¹

Capri-wine is justly celebrated. It is, however, so universal, that I think much that is sold under its name cannot contain the sun-essence of the grapes of the island. Early in the year, you may see the contadini pruning their vines, and tying up the branches with thin, white wisps of wood-fibre which they cut with scissors, a work at which they are marvellously clever. Later, you may see them, with their small metal-reservoirs on their backs, spraying the young leaves with sulphate of copper, as a preventative against phylloxera or other diseases, when the vineyards assume

¹ See the "Century Dictionary" ; and see the "Dictionary of Phrase and Fable," by the Rev. E. Cobham Brewer, LL.D.

a pale milky yellow-green colour. The wine, red and white, is to my taste somewhat crude, and I imagine often that some of the sulphate is mixed mechanically with it. But, I remember, at one of the Villas of the island, drinking a most excellent sample of Capri-wine, which had been made from selected grapes of the owner, and kept in bottle for at least three years. It had a fine, rich flavour, and a beautiful amber colour.

One delicacy I must mention, namely, *Fogliaretti* or *Folaretti*, if I have spelt the name correctly, the *raisins secs* of the French, small packets of fresh grapes baked in vineleaves, tied with vegetable fibre.

In March, 1915, even before war had been declared by Italy, the midday steamer had ceased to ply between Naples and Capri, and the islanders were ordered to eat *pane unico*, one-bread-for-all, or war-bread, which was brown in colour, and very palatable.

One of the best passports to the island is a pair of Capri-shoes, which are of extreme utility and comfort upon the stony footpaths which are found between the vineyards with grey walls over-run with ferns and plants and flowers, and little green lizards. These shoes are made of white, or coloured, canvas with hemp soles, and the inhabitants respect the wearers as not strangers at least to one of their local customs.

The dialect of Capri is of interest: the words are clipped, so that, to some extent, genders are thrown to the winds, and a language of stems is substituted for a language of grammar. For instance, *piazz'* is used for *piazza* (the square), *carrozz'* for *carrozza* (a carriage), *buon giorn'* for *buon giorno* (good day).

There is one word that I have heard, which suggests a British origin. For cabbage, instead of *cavolo* the ordinary Italian word, the natives say *cappucc'*, a clipped form of the word *cappuccia*, pronouncing it as if spelt

“kappooch,” which sounds strangely like our English word “cabbage.” In connection with the language, there is an amusing story told of a Scottish lady, a comely widow, who has many friends in Capri. One evening, when taking some visitors for a walk, she was heard to be addressed by many of the natives with the greeting *buona sera* (good evening). Thereupon, when her friends returned to Scotland, they proclaimed her great popularity, telling how that in all directions she was addressed as “Bonnie Sarah.”

The people are very simple and kindly. It is almost certain that, upon your first acquaintance with them, they will give you some special name, not exactly a nick-name, but a name for the island; for instance, I was called “Il Barone,” or “Il Baronetto.” The late Mr. Wordsworth was called “Il Barbone,” because at one time he was the owner of a poodle-dog. One of my sportsmen at Anacapri was called “Muso di coniglio,” or rabbit-jaw. Christian names, too, in altered form, are frequently in vogue: for instance, Spedaro, the fisherman whose portrait is known all over the artistic world which centres around Capri, has a brother known as Carlucc’, which, I suppose, is a Caprese abbreviation of Carlo (Charles), or Carluccio.

Although the island is very small, the two communities of Capri and Anacapri have their own dialects. It is alleged that Anacapri, being very inaccessible, is of purer nationality, and of Grecian descent. Sometimes, as a jest, when I have been asked if I speak Italian, I have replied,—adopting the idea of *La lingua Toscana in bocca Romana*—the Tuscan language on Roman lips—, that I speak Anacaprese with a Caprese accent. No doubt the Anacapriotes, with a want of landing-places, are likely to be of a purer blood than the Capriotes, who have two natural harbours, the Marina Grande

on the North, and the Marina Piccola on the south side of the island, which are in close touch with the outside world. There is one family of *contadini*, or country-men, which is peculiar for its red hair, alleged locally to have a military Irish origin. Be that as it may, that colour of hair is certainly peculiar.

The islanders mix a certain amount of superstition with their religion, and I remember that on one occasion, when the funicolare, the electric-railway, had broken down, the drivers of the little *carrozze*, or carriages, rejoiced in a feast, and dedicated candles as a thank-offering to their saint, San Costanzo. That they carry religion into their simple life I would illustrate by the following incident, which made an impression upon me at the time. The bathing at Capri is delightful. If you wish to bathe in the shade, you bathe in the wonderful old *Bagni di Tiberio*, the old Roman baths associated with one of the many palaces of the Emperor Tiberius, on the north side ; if you wish to bathe in the sun, you bathe at the Marina Piccola, on the south side of the island. The water is beautifully clear, with a light blue tinge in it. Standing erect in the sea, you can count the pebbles at your feet. One day, as I was going to the latter bathing-place, I seated myself, at the side of the path near Villa Gorky, on a bench—one of those supplied by what was called the "Pro Capri," a Society for the improvement of the island, of which Mr. Alfred G. Clark was an active member, when, in 1914, its duties were taken over by the Municipality, upon Capri being declared a health-resort, and a small tax was levied upon visitors staying more than five nights in the island. Presently a woman with a donkey came along, and began to talk to me about the war. Then, several friends joined her, and soon I had a little gathering around me. I told them how Germany had invaded

Belgium, and how the Belgians had been treated by the Germans, and at last I said "*in Belgica le chiese sono distruite*" ("in Belgium, the churches have been destroyed"). At once these poor old women burst into tears, giving vent to a wail on the sentence, and a shrill vocal crescendo on the word "*distruite*," stifling it as best they could in oddments of drapery. Imagine a reversal of the scene! Imagine an Italian in the Isle of Man talking about the war to a group of Manx-women, with their donkeys, and the good souls shedding tears over, and bewailing, the destruction of Protestant Churches in some foreign land!

The women are wonderful workers, and the weights that they carry on their heads up and down the steep tracks are marvellous. I do not think that men could carry such weights: tall jars full of water, long barrels full of wine, bundles of hay or of firewood; and, I have seen two women carrying a piano of average size on their heads. I think that for these burdens special muscles must have been developed. Frequently, use is made of the tump-line, the old Indian form of shouldering heavy loads: a band round the forehead supporting the burden at the back of the neck. Canadians at the front carry loads of as much as 120 pounds in weight long distances with such bands.

In alluding to the sea, I must make passing mention of the grottoes, in the long list of which the Grotta Azzurra, the Blue Grotto, is given always precedence. In entering it in a small boat, one passes under a low arched opening in the cliff, to find oneself in a great cavern full of blue water on white sand. The sun strikes through the entrance and lights up the interior with a bright glow, giving the water, through which it is refracted, a blue tinge as of the lambent flame of burning spirit. The colour reminds me always, although

the idea is painfully mundane, of the flame around a fiery plum-pudding at Christmas-time. Then, too, one sees objects in the water, such as some swimmer, clad, as it were, in glistening silver scales, the effect of the wonderful sun-light.

I do not know that the Capresi are particularly musical ; but, when they are working in the vineyards, one hears them singing, in their peculiar way, airs like those of the Arabs. I might almost describe it as wailing, or chanting, without any particular tune, yet quite musical. Of course, as regards dancing, they are famed for the tarantella, and the ordinary musical instrument is the mandoline.

Living on the island of Capri is very much like being on a ship : one is constantly thinking of wind and weather. The Scirocco, or south-east wind, is the one which is the most considered, as it is warm and damp, with a very lowering tendency. The names of the winds are not without interest, and I give the following list with their points of the compass, which I transcribed from the pavement before St. Peter's in Rome, where they are fully set out. The French words for the winds, beginning with N.E.W. and S., are sufficiently indicative of their English equivalents, as an explanation of the Italian.

<i>French.</i>	<i>Italian.</i>
Nord	Tramontana
Nord Nord Est	Tramont : Greco
Nord Est	Greco
Est Nord Est	Greco Levante
Est	Levante
Est Sud Est	Levante Scirocco
Sud Est	Scirocco
Sud Sud Est	Ostro Scirocco

*French.**Italian.*

Sud	Ostro
Sud Sud West	Ostro Libeccio
Sud West	Libeccio
West Sud West	Ponente Libeccio
West	Ponente
West Nord West	Ponente Maestro
Nord West	Maestro
Nord Nord West	Tramont : Maestro

The winds from the south carry sometimes dust from Africa, and the winds from the north fine ash from Vesuvius. A wonderful sight from the Terrace is Vesuvius! Its smoking peak and streaks of lava are full of interest; and, even in the middle of April, I have seen it white with snow, and, in the far distance, the brilliantly shining range of the Abruzzi Mountains.

The botany of the island is very beautiful, and attractive. I think that, perhaps, the most remarkable flower is one of the Borage family, *Lithospermum rosmarinifolium*, which blooms in April and May. This small shrub bears a blue blossom, of the colour of gentian, or of *lapislazuli*, which shows up wonderfully against the grey rocks. The old stone walls, which close in the vineyards, are covered as a rule with the common pellitory of the wall, *Parietaria officinalis*, of the Nettle family, which is used in sweeping their houses by the local housewives, just as a housemaid uses tea-leaves at home. Early in the year, the ground is covered with beautiful specimens of the Orchid family. One sees a profusion of asphodel, spurge, and yellow broom, the cactus, and the myrtle, and, hanging in great masses, covered with large pink or yellow dandelion-like flowers, is the *Mesembryanthemum*, known as the ice-plant, or

witches'-claws. Of course, the gardens are prolific with roses, geraniums, stocks, marguerites, and the plantations with oranges and lemons, grapes, and figs.

The one want is water, every drop of rain which falls being collected by each owner in his own cistern. This is the only local supply, saving one little spring, the Fontanelle, on the road between the town and the Marina Grande. It is a pity that some enterprising capitalist has not dammed up one of the small valleys on Monte Solaro, where a reservoir could easily be made, and the island supplied all the year round with a sufficient quantity of water.

Quail-shooting is one of the sports, and in old times it was a lucrative sport for episcopal revenue. Near the light-house, at the Punta Campanella, I rented a small piece of rock surrounded by wire, as a *caccia riservata*, or private shooting—a strip of rocky coast marked off by a strand of wire—and I stayed in the old inn at Termini, walking down the Roman pathway, quite early each morning, before the flight of the birds. In connection with this is a curious story: on the Sunday before I was going over for the first time to shoot, there was an allusion in the first lesson to Massa, which is the name of the landing-place for Termini, and there was read, in the church-service, Psalm cv. v. 40, “at their desire He sent forth quail.” On the terrace at the inn I found a local painter designing an interesting picture, in which appeared a country-woman bringing birds to a monk outside a monastery. It occurred to a friend and myself that the Latin inscription for the verse might be introduced, and we hunted everywhere around Termini, and on the island, for a copy of the “Vulgate,” when, to our surprise, in the middle of our *caccia riservata*, in a tumble-down tiny stone-dwelling, we found one solitary small book, which proved

to be a copy of the "Vulgate," in which we found the Latin words that we wanted :—

"Petierunt et venit coturnix et pane cæli saturavit eos."

Along the coast one sees frequently nets hanging between high poles for catching quail on their flight from Africa through Italy to Germany. There are two flights of the birds, one to the north in the Spring, and the other to the south in the Autumn. The old-fashioned way of catching the quail is a rather attractive one. A man would carry two wings of net on light poles stretching high above his head, and before him an assistant would beat the bushes, and, as the birds flew out towards him, he would twist his wings round them, and catch them in the net. This old practice, I fancy, is dying out.

In connection with sport, the fishing is somewhat indifferent. Lines used are made frequently of single horse-hair knotted together, the bait being a prawn (*gambero*) on a small hook. The names of some of the fish sound strange, such as vope, mennelle, viole, and scorfani.

The gambling spirit is to be found in Italy as well as in other parts of the world ! The two principal games of cards, which are constantly played, are briscola and scopa ; but the chief form of gambling, of universal interest, is the weekly State Lottery, or Banco Lotto, which is arranged by the Government. From it the hospitals of Italy obtain considerable support. Whatever may be said about gambling, the spirit of gambling exists, and it is wise that it should be directed at least into non-harmful channels. This applies, too, in connection with racing, and with what is known as the *pari mutuel*, or the totalizator, which might with

advantage be introduced generally on race-courses.¹ The following outline may give an idea of the management of the lottery. Eight sets of five numbers under one hundred are drawn by the Government at the end of each week. Each person who enters for the lottery will choose, for instance, five figures, and will bet upon two numbers (ambo), three numbers (terno), or four numbers (quaterno), being found in one set of numbers drawn by the Government. You win according to your bet, if you find an ambo, terno, or quaterno in the Government draws, the stake won being higher the larger the combination of numbers upon which you have bet. There is a book,² which is quite elaborate, giving instructions, and associating numbers with events of everyday-life.

Every Saturday the drawing takes place, five numbers being drawn in each of the great towns of Italy, namely, Rome, Bari, Florence, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Turin, and Venice. The results are telegraphed to every local Banco Lotto in each district the same night, and the full results appear in the papers on Sunday morning. There is no official order of the names. The *Giornale d'Italia* would place Rome first; the *Mattino*, Naples; the *Corriere della Sera*, Milan; these leading papers being published in those towns respectively. Terno is the most popular, and I know an Italian in Capri who has played his terno cheerfully every week for thirty years, without winning even once. The odds on ambo are about twenty to one, and a success with quaterno would make a man in Italy wealthy.

The method of playing is simple. Having selected your numbers, taking omens, happenings, and dreams,

¹ At the present time the British Parliament is considering the creation of premium bonds in connection with the War Loan, and certain large business establishments in London have created Prize War Bond Departments.

² "Nuova Smorfia del Giuoco del Lotto di Giuseppe Romeo di Luca." Gabriele Regina Editore, 34 Piazza Cavour, Naples.

into account, you proceed to the nearest Banco Lotto, probably a small shop, outside which the numbers of the previous week are conspicuous, and dictate your numbers, which then are written for you on a flimsy coloured piece of paper, dipped in sand as a substitute for blotting-paper, and you wait for the result until Saturday.

If you live in the Province of Naples, you may hazard your money there, or you may select one of the other provinces, or you may spread your centesimi over the whole country, *tutta Italia* : but, the bigger the area, the less your profit.

The dreams of visitors, especially of non-players, are much relied upon. A friend had a curious dream which he mentioned casually to a Capri tradesman who, good man, questioned minutely as to its details, and then hastened to stake perhaps five-pence on numbers which seemed foretold. On Saturday, May 3rd, 1912, the island of Capri ran wild upon No. 17 : a boat had been upset off the Punta Campanella, and there had been a loss of life, and that number was associated with *Naufragio*, a shipwreck, and they bet upon it, and upon every number connected with *Barca*, a boat.

As regards the Churches of the island, the two oldest and most beautiful in Capri are those of San (or Santo) Costanzo, one of the oldest churches of South Italy, and Santo Stefano. In Anacapri, on the Piazza, is the beautiful old church of Santa Sofia. Of modern churches, there is the English "All Saints' Church," which was consecrated by the Bishop of Gibraltar on April 16th, 1912, and a German church. At the head of the Ecclesiastical Dignitaries of the island is The Most Reverend Monsignor Alessandro Ferraro, a man of considerable charm, ability, and eminence.

The island has very religious tendencies, and there is

a constant flow of worshippers through the doors of the church at the top of the steps of the Piazza. The services at Easter are particularly attractive. On the Thursday before Easter Sunday you may see the washing of the feet of twelve old men, seated round a long table in the body of the church. The washing is performed as a sign of humility by a dignitary of the church, and then each man is presented with a large circular loaf of bread, which looks somewhat like a small life-belt, and a lemon. On the Good Friday evening,—the flag on the Telegrafo having been all the day at half-mast—, there is a mournful procession with the recumbent figure of the dead Christ, and the Virgin standing over it. Then, on the Saturday at mid-day, there is a grand service, when, at the sound of the “Gloria,” numbers of small birds are set free by members of the congregation: the bells ring, the organ peals, the sun shines, and the birds seem to carry up to heaven the prayers of the congregation. On such an occasion the church is packed, and I remember a somewhat amusing incident when, just before the supreme moment, the chief donkey-woman, a big stalwart person, forced her way through the crowd, and produced, from under her skirt, a pair of doves, which she handed to a well-known French Countess, who clasped them to her breast, and then threw them aloft.

Later in the year is the feast of San Costanzo, on May 14th, when there is a procession of the church, carrying the image of the Saint to the Marina Grande. One sees then every bit of Ecclesiastical colour, and in the procession are conspicuous the daughters of Mary (*figlie di Maria*) clad in white, with pale-blue veils reaching down below the waist. The Parroco, or parish-priest, is very conspicuous on this occasion, organizing and arranging everybody and everything, and the procession

winds its way through the vineyards to the sound of constant fireworks, or bombi, as they are called, many being fired from the fleet of fishing-boats off the shore, and amid showers of pink rose-leaves and yellow broom-blossoms, and the island seems to rejoice in sunshine, gaiety, happiness, and life.

With regard to the villas of the island, there are many beautiful ones, with beautiful contents and surroundings. Perhaps the most interesting is the Villa San Michele at Anacapri, which belongs to Dr. Axel Münthe, Physician in Ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, and a member of a London club. This villa is perched on high at Anacapri, just above the old Phœnician steps. It formed part of a Roman palace, which was converted afterwards into a chapel, and later into a British fort. Military buttons have been found there, and it was Dr. Axel Münthe who saw in recent years a British military coat, with its buttons on it, used as a covering for a dying man whom he was visiting. In the grounds there may be seen a Roman grave, with a skeleton in it, which proves the antiquity of the site. Dr. Münthe owns also the fine old Tower of Materita, and, between it and San Michele, he has built a residence which was frequently occupied by the Queen of Sweden. To pass from this beautiful old villa, I would mention, as a beautiful new villa, the Villa Lysis at Capri, which is the property of a French nobleman, Count Fersen-Adelswärd. This villa stands below the Palace of Tiberius, overlooking the Punta Campanella and all the Bay of Naples. It contains a wonderful collection of objects of art. At the Punta Campanella, where, no doubt from the name, was formerly a bell, there is a light-house, built on the site of Roman remains, near which frequently small terra-cotta busts are washed by rain out of the soil, small heads of Minerva about the

size of the first joint of one's thumb, of pure Greek art, and locally called "pastores," or shepherds, associated probably with some shrine and sepulchral remains.

In the town of Capri, I would mention the Villa Castello, the guest-house long ago of abbesses, now the property of Mrs. Tweed Andrews, which is surrounded by ancient ecclesiastical buildings, and, at the Marina Grande, the Villa Torricella, the property of Miss Wolcott-Perry, famous for its outlook over the bay, and for its garden, in which is a sundial constructed of two blocks of marble, cut and abandoned by Roman masons, which were found in the grounds, and inscribed with the following charming lines by Mr. John Ellingham Brooks :—

" I mark for men the sunny hours
Of morning's youth and daylight's powers:
But, unrecorded leave the tears
Of cloudy days and gathering years."

Perhaps the most useful books for obtaining an immediate notion of the island are "Roman Memories," by the late Thomas Spencer Jerome ; "Old Calabria" and "Siren Land," by Norman Douglas ; "Capri," by J. C. MacKowen ; "The Book of Capri," by Harold E. Trower, and the articles which appeared in the *Saturday Review* of 1873 by the historian, John Richard Green, which were re-published as "Stray Studies." But, the greatest living authority upon Capri is Dr. Ignazio Cerio. Apart from his medical knowledge, he is an antiquary, geologist, botanist, zoologist, etc., and he has a fine museum in a grand old house with its entrance at the top of, and facing, the flight of steps leading from the Piazza. Four centuries ago it was the Palace of the Count Arcucci, who built, on Roman remains, the Certosa, or Carthusian Monastery,

with its subterranean chambers and wonderful water-system, now partly in ruins, but recently used as barracks for Italian troops. Colonel Hudson Lowe took up his quarters in the house now owned by Dr. Cerio, when he was driven by the French from the Palazzo Inglese, and the upper part was occupied by Colonel Thomas. The doctor has in his possession a camp-chair which belonged to Colonel Hudson Lowe, whose son, also Colonel Lowe, visited Capri upwards of forty years ago, and gave him a photograph of his father. The chair folds on two pivots, and it has a square open cane-bottom : only two legs remain, each about eighteen inches in length. On an oval brass-plate, fastened by two screws, is the inscription "Butler, patent, 14 Catherine Street, Strand, London." It has been supposed that Colonel Hudson Lowe occupied the Villa Castello, but Dr. Cerio does not think that such was the case.

The island of Capri was in old times the Brighton of Rome ; it is now the Brighton of Naples. Owned by the Italians, formerly overrun by the Germans, it is the adopted home of a considerable English-speaking community, and there is much ground for the statement that its residents represent nearly all the talents. In connection with this, I should like to mention my friend the late Mr. Thomas Spencer Jerome, the American Consular Agent, eminent as a lawyer and as an historian, who was fifty years of age on January 24th, and died on April 12th, 1914. He was educated at the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, post-graduated at Harvard University, was a legal professor, helped to draft the code of Cuba, and practised in Detroit. In 1897, he settled in the Villa Castello, Capri, where he spent much time in classical study. It is wonderful how engrossed he was in whitewashing the blackened character of the Emperor Tiberius in connection with his alleged orgies. He read

a paper on the subject at the Historical Congress in London in 1913, when he illustrated how frequently gross slanders are based upon a mere shadow of foundation. He was particularly severe upon Tacitus and subsequent classical writers, showing that history, and especially ancient history, is frequently only historical romance and not historical fact, and that the allegations against Tiberius were based upon a casual observation made about a century after he had died. Mr. William Wordsworth, who has died within the past few months, lived for many years at Capri. The grandson of William Wordsworth, the poet laureate, he may be said to have represented culture and poetry. Mr. John Ellingham Brooks, educated at Cambridge, Lincoln's Inn, and Heidelberg, and of the School of Antiquity at Athens, represents the classics. Mr. Compton Mackenzie, who lives with his wife on a charming property, where they pursue a favourite study of botany, represents literature. Colonel Bryan Palmes, late of the Somerset Light Infantry, is a linguist of no mean order. Mr. Horace Fisher, who at the age of twenty-two years won the Royal Academy medal, and settled about 1889 at Anacapri, represents art in painting. So recently as 1914, he exhibited in the Royal Academy three pictures, "The pergola in autumn," and "The street of cactus," at Capri, and "Water-carrying in the Abruzzi." There are many musicians in the island ; but, I have alluded to a sufficient number of talented persons for my purpose. However, I must not forget Mr. Harold E. Trower, who was for some time the British Consular Agent. Then, too, there is Mr. Bertram Binyon, whose mother is a sister of Princess Caracciolo. His father, a clever artist, left in his possession an attractive picture of the Piazza of Capri in times gone-by : his brother, Laurence Binyon, the poet, is in charge

of one of the Print Departments of the British Museum. I would wish to mention also, with grateful thanks for his assistance, Mr. Alfred Green, whose father's grave, with the inscription : " Dr. Henry Thompson Green, died 10 Oct., 1887, aged 78," is next to that of Major John Hamill. And I would thank my friend Mr. H. C. Churton for his constant help. Perhaps one of the most prominent of the inhabitants of Capri, and certainly one much appreciated by the English-speaking community, is Signor John Galatà, whose wife is a charming English woman. In Italy, Christian and surnames are reversed : for instance, the winner of the Marathon race in the Olympic sports was known by his Christian name, " Dorando," whereas his surname was " Pietri," his name in Italy being written " Pietri Dorando"—and thus Signor Galatà, who is Consul of the United States of America, prints his card :—" Avvocato Galatà Giovanni, del Consolato degli U.S.A., Vice-Pretore del Mandamento di Capri." In this connection, too, I would record the name of Mr. S. J. A. Churchill, M.V.O., His British Majesty's Consul General at Naples.

I offer, with gratitude, my best thanks to Mr. J. Lever Tillotson for his invaluable assistance in the production of the book, and to Miss M. Windeatt Roberts for the excellent index.

Among the refugees, until recently, was Maxim Gorky. In my mind, he is pictured as a man of about six feet in height, with a stoop, and a sallow but pleasant face with a blonde moustache—a man of about fifty years of age, wearing a slouch hat, a soft white collar, a short yellow jacket, pressed evening-trousers, black boots without heels, and a ring on the third finger of the left hand with a raised stone. He spoke only Russian. I have read that his name signifies " Maximus the Bitter," and that he chose it at the outset of his

career as an author, who, even in the time of Count Leo Tolstoi, was the most popular story-teller in the Russian Empire. Gorky built for himself a charming villa at the side of the pathway leading to the Marina Piccola, overlooking the south side of the island : the top floor seemed to be a room surrounded by a long narrow window on each side, giving the maximum of light ; flowers, dogs, and parrots were in evidence, and, when Gorky returned to Russia, and the house was being dismantled, I saw in it a fine collection of ancient and modern weapons. During his residence in Capri, Gorky was held in the highest esteem by the islanders, and his rare appearances in public were almost of the nature of royal progresses.

When I paid my first visit to Capri, I became interested at once in the history of the British occupation. I found it difficult, however, to obtain facts about it locally, and I determined, therefore, that I would bring together such information as I could collect, which might be useful to anyone else who wished to study it. Hence this compilation !

The winning and the losing of the island showed no great strategic operations, and the whole account is but a mere trifle in comparison with any one of the operations of a modern war. The *Annual Register* for 1806, p. 140, states merely :—

“ It happened, that at the moment when Sir Sidney
“ Smith came in sight of Naples, that city was
“ illuminated on account of Joseph Bonaparte being
“ proclaimed King of the two Sicilies. It was in
“ the power of the English admiral to have dis-
“ turbed their festivity ; but, as the sufferers from
“ his interference must have been the inhabitants

“ of Naples, and not the French troops, or the new king, he wisely and humanely forebore, and made for the isle of Capri, of which he took possession, after a slight resistance, and placed in it an English garrison. He then proceeded southward along the coast, giving the greatest annoyance everywhere to the enemy.”

In taking possession of Capri, Sir Sidney Smith mopped up, as it were, an unconsidered trifle, a sort of toll-bar of the sea, making use of the English fleet much in the same way that Napoleon was making use of the French army, and to show how little notice seems to have been taken of the loss of the island, and how that event lacked prominence, it may be mentioned that no allusion is made of it in the *Annual Register* for 1808, p. 239, in which, in reference to that year, it is stated :—

“ In Italy, the most prominent events were the transference of the crown of Naples to Murat, Bonaparte’s brother-in-law, the Grand Duke of Berg, the usurpation of the Papal throne and the annexation of Rome, with all the Ecclesiastical States—Placentia, Parma, and Ancona, to the French Empire. The cardinals were banished from Rome, but allowed no inconsiderable pensions. The person of his Holiness was secured in a state of confinement.”

It may have been that the government of the day was not unwilling to lose Capri, provided that they did not lose prestige.

In England the Navy blamed the Army, and the Army blamed the Navy, for the loss of Capri. However, the fate of the officer in command at Anacapri was considered to afford a lesson to officers in any subordinate command how they alter, or in any respect infringe on, the arrangements of their immediate superiors, particularly such as are of a permanent nature, which it ought to be presumed had been duly weighed and considered : in other words, disobedience was alleged, while no credit was allowed for initiative. Blame was attached also to another officer for what was considered a most improper use of a discretionary power, while no discredit was awarded for entrusting such power to an individual who was known to be injudicious. Moreover, the Commandant of Capri alleged that he was at a disadvantage for the want of artillery to defend the coast, where he had suggested frequently the expediency of more being placed, particularly at Anacapri, and that an officer of the Royal Artillery, who had visited the island, had recognised the necessity of it, while the Chief Engineer had been struck by the apparent impregnability of Anacapri with guns placed in flank positions on the most salient parts of the coast.

The midday rush of the Forestieri has passed, and Capri is now following her own destiny in peace. To those who do not know the island, I would say, "go and know it," and, going once, they will go again. Birds of passage, *colombi viaggiatori*, they may be ; but, in passing they will stop, and stopping re-pass, to pass and stop again, and, who knows but that they will remain !

Of that which is old much has been lost : much may be saved ! And, in this connection, I would urge those who take an interest in Capri, to leave some record in each historic spot—a label, if you will, for those who come after you. I have done my best : conscious as I

am of my own inability, and I crave the indulgence of my readers! To those who have helped, I tender my warmest thanks!

Fortune has favoured me in the matter of portraits. A century ago, miniatures seem to have been much in vogue; and so, I have been lucky in obtaining, as I obtained also for another book, two miniature portraits of my heroes of the time.

And now I say farewell to Capri! And, as I say it, I think of the Castello—as the pinnacle of the Temple—with the glorious outlook lying far below, and the words of friends still ring in my ears, bidding a happy and a speedy return¹:—

“Buon viaggio, buona salute, e a rivederla!”

WESTWOOD, PENDLEBURY,

Tuesday, January 1st, 1918.

L. K.

¹ It is of interest to note that, after the lapse of a century, fighting side by side with the Italian army and French troops on Italian soil, are British troops under the command of General Plumer, whose military secretary, I am proud to state, is my relative, Major James Knowles, of the 15th Hussars. See, too, the *Spectator*, December 1st, 1917, page 640.

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THE BRITISH IN CAPRI

THE BRITISH IN CAPRI

1806-1808

CHAPTER I

SIR SIDNEY SMITH—1764-1840

ADMIRAL Sir William Sidney Smith, or, as he is generally called, Sir Sidney Smith, was born in Park Lane, Westminster, on July 21st, 1764. His father, Captain John Smith, of the Guards, after serving as aide-de-camp to Lord George Sackville at the battle of Minden, August 1st, 1759, retired from the service, or was obliged to quit it,¹ and became gentleman-usher to Queen Charlotte.

Sir Sidney was the second of a family of three sons. He was educated at Tonbridge School and in a boarding-school at Bath. In his boyhood, he was quick, daring and mercurial, of small size, eminently handsome, with clustering, curling, black hair, a dark, clear complexion, and a high colour.

At the beginning of the American War, when he was eleven years old, he joined the Navy as a midshipman on board the "Sandwich," which bore the flag of Admiral Sir George Rodney, afterwards Lord Rodney.

For his bravery under Lord Rodney in the action off Cape St. Vincent, in January, 1780, he obtained a commission as lieutenant on September 25th, 1780,

¹ See, "Trial of Lord George Sackville." The proceedings of a General Court-Martial, published by Authority, 1760. And see, "The Letters of Junius," and "A Critical Enquiry regarding the real Author of the Letters of Junius," by George Coventry, 1825, page 97.

when he was "made" into the line-of-battleship, "Alcide," of 74 guns, then commanded by Captain C. Thompson. The appointment was confirmed by the Admiralty on August 29th, 1783, thus saving the rule that no officer could attain the rank of lieutenant until he was nineteen years of age.

After serving in the actions against the French fought by Rear-Admiral Samuel Graves, off Chesapeake, in 1781,¹ and by Lord Rodney at the Leeward Islands in 1782, he obtained his commission as commander, dated April 12th, 1782, when he was appointed to the "Fury" sloop of war, having served as a lieutenant less than one year. Upon being made post-captain at the early age of nineteen, having served as a commander for only one year and five days, he obtained the command of the "Alcmene," a small-class frigate of 28 guns. He returned to England, when his ship was paid off.

In 1785, he went to Caen, in Normandy, where he spent two years, gaining a proficient knowledge of the French language, and he visited also Spain. From 1790 to 1792, he advised the King of Sweden in the war with Russia, although he had no personal, political, or other interest in it, the Empress Catherine having reason afterwards to deplore his assistance. In the naval fights which ensued, he gained great naval knowledge, and, after the Convention of Reichenbach, signed on July 27th, 1790, between Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, Poland, and Holland, guaranteeing the integrity of Turkey, he was invested on May 16th, 1792, with the Swedish Order of the Sword, at St. James's Palace, and he received also the honour of an English Knighthood.

The invasion of Egypt by the French Directory, and

¹ See, "Narrative and Critical History of America," edited by Justin Winsor, librarian of Harvard University, etc. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington: 1888. Pages 501, 548.



SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH.

its designs on Syria and the whole of the Ottoman Empire, had awakened the British Government, not only as to the designs of France against Turkey, but also against British India, with the chief object of overthrowing the power of England. According to Count Montholon¹ "the army which was intended to change the destinies of India, was to set out from the Nile; the conquest of Egypt would bring in its train the loss of all the English settlements in America, and on the Peninsula of the Ganges."

After his return to England, Sir Sidney Smith was sent to Constantinople. Then, being recalled home from executing for Lord Grenville a secret mission in Turkey, he joined Lord Hood at Toulon in December, 1793, when he was actively employed in burning the French fleet and arsenal. For this valuable service, he received no remuneration, because, being on half pay, he held no appointment; but, Lord Hood sent him to England as bearer of the despatches. It was at this time that Bonaparte became conspicuous, and, later, speaking of the burning of the fleet in the harbour, he said "Sir Sidney Smith set them on fire, and they would have all burned, if the Spaniards (the English allies) had behaved well. It was the prettiest *feu d'artifice* possible."

In 1794, Sir Sidney was appointed to the command of the "Diamond" Frigate, on the station of the British Channel, and employed in clearing the Channel of French cruisers and privateers, and in making various attacks on the coast; but, after having with the boats of his squadron boarded in Havre-de-Grâce Harbour a lugger of eight guns, he was compelled to surrender. The following account of his capture reads somewhat like a fairy-tale.

¹ Count Charles Tristan, Comte de Montholon, 1783-1853, one of the faithful followers of Napoleon in St. Helena.

On March 8th, 1796, being near the shore off Havre on a reconnoissance, he fell in with and took possession of a French lugger privateer, the "Vengeur," which, after a change of wind and a calm, was with its captors and their boats, carried by the tide for a considerable distance up the Seine, and far beyond the numerous forts. There he remained entrapped during the whole night. The next day, after an unequal fight, which lasted for a considerable time, he was obliged to haul down the English colours that had been floating over the French, to surrender himself, his companions, about twenty in number, his boats and his prize, and that too in view of the "Diamond."

His humanity and chivalrous conduct have many illustrations ; for instance, in saving, at great risk, the lives of drowning foes, and in refusing unnecessarily to fire upon the crew of a disabled ship which he could not capture, conceiving it to be unmanly, and trusting that his country, though it might be benefited in a trifling degree, would gladly relinquish an advantage to be purchased at the expense of humanity, and the national character. Moreover, he gave special credit to his subordinates, by recording the deaths of petty officers and men individually, instead of collectively.

On April 19th, 1796, he was sent a prisoner to Paris. There, he was confined for upwards of two years in the prison called the Abbaye, and in the Temple. While in prison, he made many plans for escape. In one instance, he contrived to make a telegraphic code by pretending to catch and to kill flies upon the window-panes, and this with three ladies who lived opposite his apartment, his romantic nature giving these friends the names of the three muses of comedy, tragedy, and history—Thalia, Melpomene, and Clio. Then, too, he won the confidence of his keeper, who was induced to give him

leave of absence from his prison, saying "Sir, your word is a safer bond than my bars and bolts," and then, when the time of leave was ended, he renewed his usual vigilance. In fact, Monsieur Boniface, the gaoler, said to Sir Sidney, "If you were under sentence of death, I would permit you to go out on your parole, because I should be certain of your return."

From his prison, Sir Sidney saw frequently the horrors of the French Revolution, and the victims of Robespierre on their way to execution in the Place de Grenelle.

With the help of Monsieur Phélypeaux, an engineer, formerly in the service of Louis XVI., who was attached strongly to the Royal cause, believing that the English intended to restore Louis XVIII. to the throne, and by means of forged orders for his removal, he made his escape by Rouen, where he was obliged to stay several days, and, crossing the Channel in a small skiff picked up at Havre, arrived unexpectedly on May 8th, 1798, in London, where he was received with universal congratulations.

On July 2nd, 1798, Sir Sidney was appointed to the command of the "Tigre" of 80 guns, and he was sent to the Mediterranean. And, now, the most brilliant period of his career commenced, when he was sent as a joint plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Court, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, having been concluded between Great Britain and Turkey, lest the latter country should become subject to France. Strange to relate, he was joined in commission with his younger brother, John Spencer Smith, minister at Constantinople, at the Court of the Sultan Selim. The appointment of Sir Sidney to a separate command in the Mediterranean was an annoyance to Earl St. Vincent, and more especially to Lord Nelson.

At this time, the French Republic would fain have

had but one nation in Europe, and that the French nation, with many thrones and many kings at Paris. And now, having become aware that the enemy intended to make an expedition to Palestine, where Bonaparte proposed to rebuild the Temple, and re-establish the Jews in Jerusalem, Sir Sidney Smith sailed in the "Tigre" from Constantinople on February 19th, and arrived off Alexandria on March 3rd, 1799. After bombarding Alexandria, he sailed, in the vain hope of arresting the march of Bonaparte, towards Acre, and anchored off it on March 15th. He found the fortifications there in a dilapidated and most ruinous state, and almost destitute of artillery. Having made the best arrangements possible, he sailed on March 17th for Khaiffa, in order to intercept some portion of the French expedition. At the beginning of April, he was back again at Acre, and on May 9th, he was able to send thence, from the "Tigre," an official report of success to Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson. The moral effect of his victory was great.

The defence of Acre by Sir Sidney Smith, against an overwhelming force, has immortalized his name, and, when Bonaparte decided at last, after sixty days, to raise the siege, retreating in the night of May 20th and 21st in disorder, and abandoning all his artillery, his regret was such that, in spite of his unheard of luck, he was heard often to repeat, in reference to Sir Sidney, "This man has deprived me of my good fortune": "*Cet homme m'a fait manquer ma fortune.*"¹

The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted for Sir Sidney and his officers and men, and gratitude in other ways was universally expressed.

Fighting at Aboukir Bay between the French and the Turks followed, and the defeat of the latter freed Egypt

¹ "L'Expédition de Bonaparte en Egypte," by L. A. Thiers, edited by C. Fabregou, page 59.

from Bonaparte, as it made his subsequent flight appear less dishonourable. He embarked on board the two frigates, "Le Muiron," and "La Carrère," at an unfrequented beach, taking with him Berthier,¹ Lannes,² Murat,³ Andréossy,⁴ Marmont,⁵ Berthollet⁶ and Monge.⁷ General Menou was alone in the secret, and he announced to the troops that he, Bonaparte, had appointed General Kléber to be his successor. Kléber took over the command with reluctance, and the news came as a thunderbolt to the Army, which was thrown into consternation.

Bonaparte sent home a grandiloquent despatch of his victory, and, four days after its receipt by the Directory, he astonished them by his presence. Having betaken himself to an unfrequented spot on the coast on August 22nd, he had slipped away from Egypt, and landed at Fréjus on October 7th, 1799, to commence a career of military glory, for long unchecked, until the fatal opposition of the English in Spain.

¹ Louis Alexandre Berthier (1753-1815), Prince of Neuchâtel, Marshal of France, and chief of the staff under Napoleon, whose directions he carried out to the minutest detail.

² Jean Lannes (1769-1809), Duke of Montebello, and Marshal of France. He was the son of a livery-stables keeper. In Egypt he distinguished himself as a commander of one of the brigades of Kléber. Ambassador to Portugal in 1801. He was one of the most blunt and outspoken of Napoleon's marshals, and he was one of the few men for whom the Emperor felt a deep affection. With Davout and Masséna, he ranks as one of the ablest of all the marshals. He died of a mortal wound, at Vienna.

³ Murat. See Chapter II.

⁴ Count Antoine-François Andréossy (1761-1828). Accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt as a General of Brigade. Ambassador to England during the short peace which followed the treaties of Amiens and Lunéville, 1802-3, ambassador to Vienna, 1808-9, and ambassador to Constantinople, 1812-4. Napoleon made him Inspector-General of Artillery and a Count of the Empire.

⁵ August Frédéric Louis Vieesse de Marmont (1774-1852), Duke of Ragusa, and Marshal of France. Promoted to General of Brigade, in Egypt. In 1808, he was made Duke of Ragusa, and, on the restoration of the Bourbons, he was created a peer of France. He was not trusted. Eventually, he settled in Vienna, where he was made tutor to Napoleon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt (Napoleon II.).

⁶ Claude Louis Berthollet (1748-1822), a French chemist who was one of a band of scientific men who accompanied Napoleon to Egypt. Under the Empire he was made a count, and, after the restoration of the Bourbons, he was created a peer.

⁷ Gaspard Monge (1746-1818), a French mathematician, the inventor of descriptive geometry. A friend of Berthollet, whom he joined in scientific work in Egypt. Appointed a member of the Senate with the title of Count of Pelusium; but, on the fall of Napoleon, he was deprived of all honours.

Kléber sought for terms of peace, and, by the assistance of Sir Sidney, terms were arranged in the convention of El-Arish, dated January 24th,¹ 1800, which, unfortunately, were disallowed by his superiors. Lord Keith wrote to General Kléber that he had received orders from his Britannic Majesty not to agree to any capitulation, except his army laid down their arms and surrendered as prisoners of war, and abandoned all their ships in the port of Alexandria. Kléber, naturally indignant, called upon his men to fight: "Soldiers, the only answer to such insolence is a fight to a finish: get ready!" "*Soldats! on ne repond à de telles insolences que par des victoires; préparez-vous à combattre.*"

The British Cabinet wished now to accede to the convention of El-Arish: but, they were too late.

Barry E. O'Meara, surgeon to Napoleon in St. Helena till July 25th, 1818, in his book "Napoleon in Exile; or, A voice from St. Helena," referring to Sir Sidney Smith, quotes Napoleon as follows:—

"Sidney Smith is a brave officer. He displayed considerable ability in the treaty for the evacuation of Egypt by the French. He took advantage of the discontent which he found to prevail among the French troops, at being so long away from France, and other circumstances. He also manifested great honour in sending immediately to Kléber the refusal of Lord Keith to ratify the treaty,² which saved the French army; if he had kept it secret for seven or eight days longer, Cairo would have been given up to the Turks, and the French army necessarily obliged to surrender to the

¹ The "Encyclopædia Britannica," and Edward Howard and John Barrow, give the date January 24th; L. A. Thiers gives it January 28th.

² Viscount George Keith Elphinstone Keith (1746-1823), British Admiral. Assisted in the transport of the British army sent to recover Egypt from the French, 1801-2; Commander-in-chief of the North Sea, 1803-7; Commander-in-Chief in the Channel in 1812; Viscount in 1814. He was at Plymouth when Napoleon surrendered and was brought to England by Captain Maitland in the "Bellerophon."

English. He also showed great humanity and honour in all his proceedings towards the French who fell into his hands. He landed at Havre, for some *sottise* of a bet he had made; according to some, to go to the theatre; others said it was for espionage; however that may be, he was arrested and confined in the Temple as a spy; and at one time it was intended to try and execute him. Shortly after I returned from Italy, he wrote to me from his prison, to request that I would intercede for him; but, in the circumstances in which he was taken, I could do nothing for him. He is active, intelligent, intriguing, and indefatigable; but, I believe that he is *mezzo pazzo* (half-mad).

“I asked if Sir Sidney had not displayed great talent and bravery at Acre? Napoleon replied, “Yes, the chief cause of the failure there was, that he took all my battering-train, which was on board of several small vessels. Had it not been for that, I would have taken Acre in spite of him. He behaved very bravely, and was well seconded by Philippeaux,¹ a Frenchman of talent, who had studied with me as an engineer. There was a Major Douglas² also who behaved very gallantly. The acquisition of five or six hundred seamen as cannoniers was a great advantage to the Turks, whose spirits they revived, and whom they showed how to defend the fortress. But he committed a great fault in making sorties, which cost the lives of two or three hundred brave fellows, without the possibility of success: for, it was impossible he could succeed against the number of the French who were before Acre. I would lay a wager that he lost half of his crew in them. He dispersed proclamations amongst my troops, which certainly shook some of them,^f and I, in consequence, published an

¹ Named Monsieur Phélypeaux by Edward Howard, and by John Barrow.

² Colonel Douglas, of the Royal Marines.

order, stating that he was mad, and forbidding all communication with him. Some days after, he sent, by means of a flag of truce, a lieutenant, or a midshipman, with a letter containing a challenge to me to meet him at some place he pointed out, in order to fight a duel. I laughed at this, and sent him back an intimation that when he brought Marlborough to fight me, I would meet him. Notwithstanding this, I like the character of the man."

Later, however, notwithstanding successes, General Kléber was willing to agree to a renewal of the terms for the evacuation of Egypt, when he was assassinated by a Turk, who gave the General-in-Chief four stabs with a poniard, on June 14th. General Menou wrote to inform Sir Sidney Smith of the assassination, and of his having taken upon himself the Chief Command.

The conduct of Sir Sidney was debated in Parliament, where King William IV., then Duke of Clarence, said, "The first important check which the formidable army of French invaders met was from a handful of British troops, under Sir Sidney Smith, long before the landing of the army which became, in their turn, the conquerors of Egypt."

Our Government determined now to clear the French out of Egypt, and the Turks were stimulated to fresh exertions. Sir Ralph Abercromby was appointed to the command of the English troops, destined to act, in conjunction with Sir Sidney Smith and our Turkish allies, against General Menou, now in the chief command of the Republican forces. The force, in conjunction with Lord Keith, arrived off Alexandria on March 1st, and sailed the next day for Aboukir Bay, where it disembarked,

¹ Sir Sidney Smith said that there was not a word of truth in this story. He said that he was not responsible for all the folly of which his friends would make him guilty.

The admiration of Napoleon for Marlborough appeared when he presented the XX. Regiment with Coxe's "Life of Marlborough." See "Letters of Captain Engelbert Lutyens," published by John Lane.

and, on March 21st, 1801, the battle of Alexandria was fought. The French called it the *bataille de Canope*, after Canopus, a small town, now a heap of ruins, to the east of Alexandria. Sir Ralph Abercromby, just before the retreat of the French, was wounded by a musket-ball in the thigh, from which he died on March 28th.

In short : between 1799 and 1801, Bonaparte returned to Paris, where he was made First Consul, the French evacuated Egypt, and Sir Sidney Smith returned to England, where he was received with public congratulations, and later he was elected, in conjunction with Mr. James Hulkes, Member of Parliament for Rochester, taking his seat on November 16th, 1802. In the House of Lords, Lord Nelson,¹ fresh from the victory of the Nile,² seconded the address to the throne : and at this time, Pitt,³ Fox,⁴ and Sheridan⁵ were in the height of their glory.

¹ Viscount Horatio Nelson (1758-1805), Duke of Bronte in Sicily : the British naval hero.

² In "Essays" from the *Times* there is an interesting chapter upon Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton. In it, it is stated that the King of Naples was a fool, and his Queen very much the reverse. Sir William Hamilton, the minister at Naples in June, 1798, received letters from Nelson "requesting that the ambassador would procure him permission to enter with his fleet into Naples, or any of the Sicilian ports, to provision, water, etc., as otherwise he must run for Gibraltar, being in urgent want, and that consequently he would be obliged to give over all further pursuit of the French fleet, which he had missed at Egypt, on account of their having put into Malta." At that very time Naples was at peace with France, a French ambassador was resident in the Neapolitan capital, and Ferdinand had stipulated with France that no more than two English ships of war should enter into any of the Neapolitan or Sicilian ports. Behind the backs of the King and his Council, Lady Hamilton dictated and the Queen directed "all governors of the two Sicilies to receive with hospitality the British fleet, to water, victual, and aid them." Lady Hamilton enclosed that order to Nelson, and bade him commit the Queen no further than the glory and service of England required. Nelson answered that if he gained a battle it should be called hers and the Queen's, for to them alone could his country be indebted for the victory. He did gain a battle and it was that of the memorable Nile.

³ William Pitt (1759-1806), the second son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. He was appointed Prime Minister of England in December, 1783 : his first administration lasted from 1784 to 1801, and his second from May 12th, 1804, until his death on January 23rd, 1806.

⁴ Charles James Fox (1749-1806), the third son of Henry Fox, first Lord Holland. His political career among British statesmen of the first rank was unique : for, it was passed almost wholly in opposition. Except for a few months in 1782 and 1783, and for a few months before his death in 1806, he was out of office.

⁵ Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816), dramatist and statesman. Entered Parliament for Stafford as the ally of Fox. When the Whigs came into power in 1806, appointed Treasurer of the Navy, and became a Member of the Privy Council. After the death of Fox, he succeeded him in the representation of Westminster from 1806 to 1807, when he was defeated : but, returned for Ilchester.

When the French were making preparations for the invasion of England from Flushing, Ostend, and Boulogne, and after His Majesty's¹ declaration against France, dated May 18th, 1803, Sir Sidney hoisted his broad pennant as commodore on board the "Antelope," a ship of 50 guns, then at Sheerness, with the command of a squadron to be employed on the French coast. His appointment to this ship bears the date, March 12th, 1803. At the beginning of 1804, he was promoted to the appointment of Colonel of Royal Marines, and on November 9th, 1805, he was advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue Squadron.

In the following month, he was ordered to Plymouth to take command of the "Pompée," of eighty-four guns, and on January 15th, 1806, he hoisted his flag, and received orders to proceed to the Mediterranean, there to place himself under the Command of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood.

Private instructions, at the suggestion of Lord Nelson, were communicated to Sir Sidney Smith personally by Mr. Pitt, the particular service with which he was entrusted being the fulfilment of the promise made by Great Britain to Austria, at the time of the renewal of their alliance, that a British naval force should be appropriated, and employed, to act offensively on the coasts of Italy, in such a manner as to operate as a powerful diversion in that quarter, and so as to prevent the occurrence of events similar to those which had driven King Ferdinand, the King of the two Sicilies, from Naples in the previous war; or, at any rate, to secure the island of Sicily to that Sovereign. It was explained to him by Mr. Pitt, that the object of the expedition was to restore to King Ferdinand the sovereignty of the two Sicilies, and especially of the territories of the Kingdom

¹ George III. (birth, 1738; accession, 1760; death, 1820).

of Naples, of which he had been dispossessed by Bonaparte, whose armies were over-running a great part of Europe, including the coasts and islands of Italy.

Bonaparte had concluded a treaty with Ferdinand on October 8th, 1805, agreeing to the withdrawal of the French troops from Naples and from Neapolitan territory, on condition that Ferdinand would remain neutral in the war between France and the Allies, and that he would not afford assistance to the troops of any of the allied powers with which France was at war, or allow their ships to enter any of his ports ; and that he would not confide the command of his armies, or strong places, to any Russian or Austrian officers, or to any French émigré, as an old French noble, a refugee from the Revolution which began in 1789, was called.

Ferdinand was quite unable to fulfil these conditions, and hardly six weeks had elapsed when every one of the stipulations of the treaty had been violated. Both British and Russian ships of war entered the ports of Sicily and Naples, and Ferdinand could not prevent them.

On November 20th, an English and Russian fleet appeared in the Bay of Naples, and landed a body of forces. The French ambassador immediately demanded his passport. The Russians, about 14,000, under General Lacey, landed at Naples, and the English, about 10,000, under Sir James Craig and Sir John Stuart,¹ landed at Castellammare di Stabia. The Neapolitans openly abetted these operations. Thereupon, Bonaparte

¹ Sir John Stuart (1759-1815), Count of Maida, British Lieutenant-General, born in Georgia : Major-General in Alexandria, 1801. Went with Sir James Craig to the Mediterranean. When in temporary command, realizing the weakness of the French in Calabria, disembarked all his force, and won the victory of Maida. A year later, as Lieutenant-General, received the Mediterranean command, which he held till 1810 : his operations confined to South Italy, where Murat, King of Naples, held the mainland, and the British and the Neapolitans held Sicily for the Bourbons. Besides being Count of Maida, he was also Count of Palermo : received the thanks of Parliament, an annuity of £1,000, a K.C.B., and, before he died, a G.C.B.

issued a proclamation declaring that the Neapolitan Dynasty had ceased to reign, and vowed vengeance upon them.

Upon the withdrawal of the Russian and English troops, the King of Naples, with his Court, was forced to fly a second time to Palermo, and, while he was in Sicily, Joseph Bonaparte was crowned, in his stead, at Naples. An English army was landed in Italy, where on July 4th, 1806, under Major-General Sir John Stuart, on the plains of Maida, a village of Calabria, it gained a great victory; and, in order to restore Ferdinand to the possession of his legitimate dominion of the Neapolitan territories, an expedition was sent out under Sir Sidney Smith. Upon arrival at Palermo on April 21st, 1806, Sir Sidney collected his Squadron of five line-of-battle ships, the "Pompée," the "Excellent," the "Athénienne," the "Intrepid," and the "Eagle." Then, he disembarked his forces on the Coast of Calabria, to co-operate with the inhabitants in the expulsion of King Joseph and the French.

After providing the Governor of Gaëta,¹ his serene Highness the Prince of Hesse, with supplies, and further means of defence, he left for Naples, thus drawing some of the enemy away from Gaëta. Not a gun, however, was fired at Naples, for Sir Sidney Smith turned his attention instead to the island of Capri.

Referring to the taking of the island of Capri, Sir Sidney Smith wrote to Lord Collingwood² as follows:—

¹ Gaëta, a promontory, town, and fortress to the north of the Bay of Gaëta, which is north of Naples.

² Baron Cuthbert Collingwood (1750-1810), a great naval commander. At the battle of Trafalgar (October 21st, 1805) the French and Spanish fleet was attacked by the British fleet, drawn up in two lines, one led by Nelson in the "Victory," and the other by Collingwood in the "Royal Sovereign": the latter was the first ship engaged. On the death of Nelson, Collingwood assumed the command.

“Pompée,” at anchor off Scalea,¹

May 24th, 1806.

“My Lord,

“The island of Capri, which from its situation, protecting the coasting communication southward, was a great object for the enemy to keep, and, by so much more, one for me to wrest from him. I, accordingly, summoned the French commandant to surrender: on his non-acquiescence, . . . I directed Captain Rowley, in His Majesty’s ship ‘Eagle,’ to cover the landing of marines and boats’ crews, and caused an attack to be made under his orders. That brave officer placed his ship judiciously, nor did he open his fire till she was secured, and his distance marked by the effect of the enemy’s musketry on his quarter-deck, where the first lieutenant, James Crawley, fell wounded, and a seaman was killed: Captain Rowley regretted much the services of that meritorious officer in such a critical moment. He has since recovered.

“The short duration of an hour’s fire from both decks of the ‘Eagle’ (between nine and ten o’clock), with that of two Neapolitan mortar-boats, under an active officer, Lieutenant Rivera, drove the enemy from the vineyards within their walls. The marines were landed, and gallantly led by Captain Bunce; the seamen in like manner, under Lieutenant Morrell, of the ‘Eagle,’ and Lieutenant Redding of the ‘Pompée,’ mounted the steps, for such was their road, headed by the officers nearest to the narrow pass, by which alone they could ascend. Lieutenant Carrol had thus an opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself. Captain Stannus, commanding the ‘Athénienne’s’ marines, gallantly pressing forward, gained the heights; and the French commandant fell by his hand: this event being

¹ Scalea, in the Bay of Policastro, on the east of the Province of Calabria.

known, the enemy beat a parley ; a letter from the second in command claimed the terms offered ; but, being dated on the 12th, after midnight, some difficulty occurred, my limitation as to time being precise ; but, on the assurance that the drum beat before twelve, the capitulation annexed was signed, and the garrison allowed to march out, and pass over to Naples with every honour of war, after the interment of their former brave commander with due respect.¹

“ We thus became masters of this important post. The enemy not having been allowed time to bring two pieces of heavy cannon with their ammunition to Capri, the boat containing them, together with a boat loaded with timber for the construction of gun-boats at Castellammare di Stabia,² took refuge at Massa,³ on the mainland opposite to the island, where the guard had hauled the whole upon the beach. I detached the two mortar-boats and a Gaëta privateer, under the orders of Lieutenants Falivane and Rivera, to bring them off, sending only Mr. Williams, midshipman of the ‘ *Pompée*,’ from the squadron, on purpose to let the Neapolitans have the credit of the action, which they fairly obtained ; for, after dislodging the enemy from a strong tower, they not only brought off the boats and two 35-pounders, but the powder (twenty barrels) from the magazine of the tower, before the enemy assembled in force.

“ The projected sorties took place on the 13th and 15th, in the morning, in a manner to reflect the highest credit on the part of the garrison and naval force employed. The covering fire from the fleet was

¹ The French had no artillery : they were driven from the Marina Grande, and the English landed and captured the Castle, which dominated the town of Capri. Captain Chervet attacked at daybreak, when he was killed at almost the first fire. He was buried in the parish-church of Capri ; there is no monument, and the actual site is not known. The French soldiers who fell with him were buried on the site of the fight, near the Castiglions, or Castle Hill.

² Castellammare lies in the east angle of the Bay of Naples, at the beginning of the Peninsula of Sorrento.

³ Massa, or Massa Lubrense, on the north point of the Peninsula of Sorrento.

judiciously directed by Captains Richardson and Vicuna, whose conduct on this whole service merits my warmest approbation. I enclose Captain Richardson's two letters, as best detailing these affairs, and a list of the killed and wounded on the 12th.

“ On the 19th ult., the boats of the ‘Pompée,’ under Lieutenant Beecroft, brought out a merchant-vessel from Scalavitra, near Salerno, although protected by a heavy fire of musketry. That officer, and Mr. Sterling, distinguished themselves much. The enemy are endeavouring to establish a land-carriage thence to Naples.

“ On the 23rd, obtaining intelligence that the enemy had two 36-pounders in a small vessel on the beach at Scalea, I sent the ‘Pompée’s’ boats in for them. But the French troops were too well posted in the houses of the town for them to succeed without the cover of the ship. I accordingly stood in with the ‘Pompée,’ sent a message to the inhabitants to withdraw, which being done, a few of the ‘Pompée’s’ lower-deck guns cleared the town and neighbouring hills, while the launch, commanded by Lieutenant Mouraylion, with Lieutenant Oats of the marines, and Mr. Williams, drove the French, with their armed adherents, from the guns, and took possession of the castle and of them. Finding, on my landing, that the tower was tenable against any force the enemy could bring against me from the nearest garrison in a given time, I took post with the marines, and under cover of their position, by the extreme exertions of Lieutenant Carrol, Mr. Ives, master, and the petty officers and boats’ crews, the guns were conveyed to the ‘Pompée,’ with twenty-two barrels of powder.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.,

“ (Signed) W. Sidney Smith.”

The following summons was addressed to the commandant of Capri, and the capitulation took place as follows :—

TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE FRENCH
TROOPS AT CAPRI.

“ On board His Majesty’s Ship ‘ La Pompée,’
“ May 11, 1806.

“ Sir,

“ Before I make a regular attack, which must necessarily reduce an insulated and irregular fortress without works, I have thought proper, according to the custom of war, to summon you to evacuate the post which you occupy. If you refuse, I inform you that you will be forced to yield upon terms more or less favourable, according to the degree of force and time which you may oblige me to employ to reduce you to this extremity. Thus, sir, you see that the terms of the surrender of the post depend upon yourself to-day. In the hope of an answer which will spare blood on both sides,

“ I have the honour to be, &c.,

“ (Signed) W. Sidney Smith.”

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THE COMMANDANT OF CAPRI TO REAR-
ADMIRAL SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

“ Capri, May 11, 1806.

“ I received, sir, your letter dated this day, and for answer I have to observe to you, that a true soldier does not surrender till he has tried his force with that which attacks him. You are, sir, too good and brave a soldier to blame me, if I do not accept your polite invitation.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.,

“ (Signed) Chervet, Capt. 101st Regt.”

CAPTAIN L'ÉTANG, COMMANDING THE
FRENCH TROOPS, TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH,
REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE ENGLISH
SQUADRON.

“ Island of Capri,

“ May 12, 1806.

“ Good fortune having favoured you, together with the advantage you had in landing, oblige me to make you the following proposals :—

“ To give up to you the town of Capri and all the island, reserving to myself, for my honour and that of the troops I command, the liberty of returning to Naples, with arms and baggage, at the time which it shall please you to grant me. I expect this generosity from your hands, to avoid bloodshed on both sides ; in default of which, I shall be obliged to continue operations.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.,

“ (Signed) L'Étang.”

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CAPITULATION.

“ Capri, at midnight, June 11-12th, 1806.

“ In consequence of the good conduct of the officers and troops of the garrison of Capri, the English commanders have granted the following articles, to wit :—

“ Art. 1. The officers, subalterns, and soldiers shall embark as soon as possible, with the arms and baggage belonging to them.

“ Art. 2. They shall be conveyed to Pozzuoli.

“ Art. 3. The English officers engage to cause the French troops to be respected as much as possible during the time they shall be in their power.

“ Art. 4. The French officers make the same engagement towards the troops and vessels which shall transport them to their destination.

“ This present treaty was concluded at midnight of the 11-12th of May, 1806, between Captain Charles Rowley, captain of the ship, and M. L'Étang, captain of the 22nd Regiment of Light Infantry, commanding in the island of Capri.

“ To which have signed :

“ L'Étang,

“ Charles Rowley.”

“ N.B.—The commandant since, wishing to disembark with his troops at Massa, invites the English admiral to grant it him.

“ Approved.

“ (Signed) W. Sidney Smith.”

“ List of Killed and Wounded in taking Capri, May 12, 1806. ‘ Eagle ’—Lieutenant James Crawley, first lieutenant, slightly wounded ; one seaman and one marine killed ; four seamen and six marines wounded.

“ List of Killed and Wounded in the sortie of Gaëta, May 15, 1806. Divisions of the boats detached from the ‘ Juno.’—Four seamen killed, and five seamen wounded.

“ (Signed) W. Sidney Smith.”

After August, 1806, the command of Sir Sidney Smith in Sicily and Calabria ceased, and he left Palermo, and, on January 25th, 1807, he received orders to proceed to Malta.

On July 31st, 1810, Sir Sidney was made a Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and on July 18th, 1812, he was despatched as second in command under Sir Edward

Pellew (afterwards Viscount Exmouth) to the Mediterranean ; but, the expedition was uneventful. His term of active service practically closed in 1814. He was made K.C.B. in 1815, and Admiral in 1821. His later years he spent in Paris, where he had spent more than twenty years of his life, and there he died on May 26th, 1840. His countrymen erected, at Père la Chaise, a white marble tomb and monument, with a profile bust, and the following inscriptions :—

In the upper compartment, on the right hand of the bust :—

“ Sir William Sidney Smith, G.C.B.,
Admiral of the Red,
Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath,
Grand Cross of several Foreign Orders, &c.
Born 21st July, 1764.
Died 26th May, 1840.”¹

In the upper compartment, on the left of the bust :—

“ Caroline Mary,
Wife of
Admiral Sir Sidney Smith,
Born 10th May, 1760.
Died 16th May, 1826.”

¹ Since the recent occupation by the British, it is of interest to note that it is stated in his Memoirs, that Sir Sidney Smith was the first Christian who was ever permitted to enter Jerusalem armed, or even in the customary dress of a Frank.

Some of the works consulted for Chapter I. :—

- “ Memoirs of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, K.C.B.,” etc. By Edward Howard, the author of “ Rattlin the Reefer,” etc.
- “ The Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith, G.C.B.” By John Barrow, Esq., F.R.S.
- “ L'Expédition de Bonaparte en Égypte.” By L. A. Thiers, edited by C. Fahregou.
- “ Napoleon in Exile ; or, A Voice from St. Helena.” By Barry O'Meara.

CHAPTER II

JOACHIM MURAT

JOACHIM MURAT, born on March 25th, 1767, was a younger son of a French innkeeper of the village of La Bastide, now known as Bastide Murat, in the Department of Lot, and a few miles to the north of Cahors, and its cathedral, where he began his studies for the Church, which he continued later at the Archi-episcopal Seminary of Toulouse. But, he changed his mind, and, leaving the Seminary suddenly, on February 23rd, 1787, he joined a cavalry regiment. Murat soon came under the notice of Napoleon and he was promoted, in Paris, on October 5th, 1795, Colonel of the 21st Chasseurs. In 1796 to 1798, he was appointed Chef-de-brigade and Aide-de-camp to Napoleon during the campaign in Italy.

In 1798 to 1799, he went to Egypt and Syria, and, at the battle of Aboukir, on March 8th, 1801, he was wounded. The victory was due chiefly to Murat, and, in his report to the Directory, Napoleon asked them to grant him the rank of a general of division, adding "his cavalry-brigade has achieved the impossible." The appointment, made by Napoleon provisionally, was confirmed by the minister of war in Paris.

In January, 1800, Murat married Caroline Bonaparte, the sister of Napoleon. Then followed rapidly the passage of the Alps, the entry of Milan, the fall of Genoa, and the battle of Marengo, in which Napoleon in command of the French defeated the Austrians on June 14th, 1800, becoming in effect the master of Italy.



JOACHIM MURAT.
King of Naples.

In 1801, Murat was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the "Army of Italy," with headquarters at Milan, where he remained until 1803, when he was appointed Military Governor of Paris. Hitherto, Napoleon had been the First Consul. Now, the Empire was proclaimed by a *plébiscite* and a vote of the Senate, on May 18th, 1804, and the Marshalate was inaugurated, with Murat placed on the list second only to Marshal Berthier.¹ He was given also the decoration of the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, and the honorary title of Grand Admiral of France.

In 1805, Napoleon entered upon the campaign of Ulm and Austerlitz. A great battle was fought between the French under Marshal Ney, who defeated General Mack and the flower of the Austrian army, and Ulm was surrendered on October 17th, 1805. It was before Ulm that Murat, in a fit of temper with Ney, refused to look at a map, saying "I understand nothing of your plans : it is my way to make mine in the presence of the enemy." Later, Ney, after receiving instructions from Napoleon, exclaimed to Murat, "Come, prince, come with me, and make your plans in the presence of the enemy."

From Ulm, Murat advanced into Austria, occupied Vienna on November 13th, and, by a stratagem, seized the bridge over the Danube. The Battle of Austerlitz followed, when the French again defeated the Austrians. Three emperors commanded in this battle, Alexander of Russia, Francis of Austria, and Napoleon of France. The allies lost 40,000 killed and wounded, 40 standards, 150 pieces of cannon, and many thousands of prisoners. The decisive victory of the French at Austerlitz on

¹ Louis-Alexandre Berthier (1753-1815), Prince of Wagram, Prince of Neuchâtel, a Marshal of France : he signed, however, the Act of deposition of Napoleon in 1814 : supposed to have committed suicide.

December 2nd, 1805, led to the Treaty of Presburg, made between France and Austria, on terms dictated by France, signed on January 1st, 1806.

Napoleon lost the command of the sea at the battle of Trafalgar on October 21st, 1805 ; but, he won the command of the land at Austerlitz. The House of Hapsburg¹ had reigned hitherto supreme on the Continent.

Now, however, the Emperor Francis the Second ceased to be the German Emperor ; and, he became, instead, the Emperor Francis the First of Austria, acknowledging Napoleon the First, Emperor of the French, as his equal.

The Bourbons of Naples had joined Austria. Naples was seized by the French, and Napoleon proclaimed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples. At the same time, after the defeat of Austria at Austerlitz, Prussia arranged by the Treaty of Schœnbrunn, made between France and Prussia, on December 15th, 1805, a remodelling of Germany. Certain minor states in South and West Germany were grouped under Napoleon's protectorate as the "Confederation of the Rhine"—a league of Southern and Western Germanic states by which the minor German princes collectively engaged to raise 258,000 troops to serve in case of war—and certain territories in the Rhineland were ceded to his nominees. Napoleon, in speaking at the camp at Schœnbrunn, said, "Soldiers, during ten past years I have done all in my power to preserve the King of Naples, and he has done his utmost towards his own ruin. . . . Shall we again confide in a court without faith, without honour,

¹ The House of Hapsburg was one of the most illustrious families in Europe. Hapsburg was an ancient castle of Switzerland, on a lofty eminence near Schintznach. This castle was the cradle of the House of Austria, whose ancestors may be traced to the beginning of the thirteenth century, when Rodolph, Count of Hapsburg, born in 1218, was elevated to the Empire of Germany and Archduchy of Austria, A.D. 1273 to 1291.

without prudence ? No ! No ! The House of Naples has ceased to reign : its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe, and with the honour of my crown.

. . . Soldiers, my brother is with you ; he is the repository of my thoughts and authority ; I confide in him ; do you confide in him likewise ? ”

Murat, as a reward for his services at Ulm and Austerlitz, now became a sovereign. Prussia had ceded to France the Duchy of Cleves, including the Fortress of Wesel on the lower Rhine, and the principality of Anhalt in the North of Bavaria. The Elector of Bavaria, whom Napoleon had made a King, agreed to take Anhalt and to give in exchange for it the Duchy of Berg, which was situated near Duesseldorf. Cleves and Berg were then united into the “ Grand Duchy of Berg,” a new state, a buffer between France and Prussia, and Murat became the Grand Duke of Berg, with the official title, as sovereign, of “ Prince Joachim, Grand Admiral of France, and Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves.”

The defeat of the Prussians at Jena and Auerstadt, October 14th, 1806, followed. Prussia had been living on the fame of Frederick the Great, and now Murat destroyed what fragments were left of it, in one of the most marvellous pursuits recorded in military history, with the result that on October 25th, 1806, Napoleon rode into Berlin.

Prince Jérôme Bonaparte, the youngest brother of Napoleon, was entrusted with the conquest of Silesia, and Murat with the conquest of Poland. Murat foresaw that the march into Poland, and the occupation of Warsaw, might end in the creation of a kingdom, and that he might be offered the crown. He was met at Warsaw by Prince Poniatowski, the brother of the last Polish king, who told him that he himself did not

aspire to the crown, and he gave Murat the sword of one of the most valiant sovereigns of Poland, Stephen Bathori,¹ King of Poland in 1576. The campaign in East Prussia succeeded with the battle of Eylau, fought between the French and the Prussians on February 8th, 1807, Napoleon commanding in person. It was during this fight that, following a remark of Napoleon—"are you going to let these fellows swallow us up?" "*Nous laisseras tu dévorer par ces gens-là?*"—the French Cavalry, 18,000 strong, made a famous and successful charge against the centre of the Russians, Murat leading the first of three successive lines of cavalry with two divisions of light horse, Grouchy² the second with three divisions of dragoons, and D'Hautpoul³ the third with his cuirassiers. The enemy retired to Königsberg, and surrendered. The victory of Friedland on June 14th, 1807, which terminated the war, was followed by the Treaty of Tilsit, made between France and Russia, signed on January 20th, 1808, by which Napoleon became the dictator of the Continent. The Prussian army being entirely defeated, the Russian army discomfited, and Königsberg taken, King Frederick William was driven out of his states, and the Emperor Alexander was forced to fall back upon Moscow. By the Treaty of Tilsit, the kingdom of Westphalia was founded, the kingdom of Saxony was increased by the States of Russian Poland, and the kingdom of Holland was increased by the lordship of Trèves. The Confederation of the Rhine was recognised, and Napoleon's brothers

¹ Stephen Bathori was born in 1503; he was King of Poland from 1575 to 1586, elected after the flight of the Duke of Anjou, Henri III. The blade of the sword was inscribed, in Latin, to the following effect: "Presented by Joseph Poniatowski to Joachim, Grand-Duke of Berg. Stephen Bathori, King of Poland, A.D. 1575. With another hero, but still for the Fatherland, 1807."

² Emmanuel de Grouchy (1766-1847), Marshal of France. He failed to follow the Prussians after their defeat at Ligny, on the eve of Waterloo, allowing them to rejoin the British. For this, he was greatly blamed.

³ D'Hautpoul (1754-1807), a French general, born at Cahuzac (Tarn), mortally wounded at the battle of Eylau.

were established as kings, Joseph being acknowledged King of Naples, Louis King of Holland, and Jérôme King of Westphalia: no mention, however, was made of Sicily.

Murat had now great hopes of a throne. For the meeting with the Emperor, he put on his splendid Polish dress. Napoleon, seeing it and piqued, abruptly said to him "Go and put on a general's uniform. You look like a circus-rider." The Emperor, having founded kingdoms for his brothers—but not for Murat his brother-in-law—, returned to Paris, and Murat with him.

After the Treaty of Tilsit, England was the only enemy that checked Napoleon. Portugal clung to England. Napoleon, with the idea of adding the Peninsula to his dominions, and extending them from the Pyrenees to the ocean, made terms with Spain, and a French army, under Junot, marched through that country, invaded Portugal, and captured Lisbon. Strong French detachments were posted in the north of Spain, and Napoleon decided to appoint a commander-in-chief: so, Murat was appointed Lieutenant-General, and chosen to take over the command of all the French forces in the Spanish Peninsula. His principal duty was to occupy the citadel of Pampeluna.

Murat directed his movements from Bayonne. The French were admitted into Pampeluna, and, on March 3rd, 1808, Murat received orders to move his headquarters to Vittoria, where he was received most cordially. Two days later, he was told to move to Burgos. But, now the Spanish Court at Madrid was alarmed. Murat entered Madrid on March 23rd, and, after a bloody revolt on May 2nd, won Spain, informing Napoleon at the same time that everyone was resigned, and waiting only for the new king to be appointed by him. On that very day, however, Napoleon wrote to

Murat, from Bayonne, "I intend that the King of Naples shall reign at Madrid. I will give you the kingdom of Naples, or that of Portugal. Reply to me at once what you think, for all this must be arranged in one day. You will meanwhile remain as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. You will tell me that you would prefer to remain at my side, but this is impossible. You have several children, and, besides, with a wife like yours, you can come away, if war recalls you, to me : she is quite capable of being at the head of the regency. I may tell you, besides, that the kingdom of Naples is much finer than Portugal, for Sicily will be added to it, and you will then have six millions of subjects." Murat replied, "Sire, . . . using the permission you give me to choose between Portugal and Naples, I cannot hesitate. I give the preference to the country where I have already commanded, where I can more usefully serve your Majesty. I prefer Naples" It is said that Napoleon was determined to conduct King Joseph to the throne of Spain, because, being of the race of French kings, and passing from the throne of Naples to that of Spain, he might thus recall the splendid days of Louis XIV. le Grand, and of Charles III., and satisfy his own insane desire to imitate the Bourbons.

Murat became ill and obtained leave to return to recuperate in France, while Joseph Bonaparte was fighting his way from Bayonne to Madrid, his new Capital.

Murat was to take a new name, Gioachimo Napoleone.¹ His official title, in the decrees and treaty making him King, was : "Joachim Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution of the State, King of the two

¹ In *Notes and Queries*, for April 14th, 1917, page 284, in reference to the name Jacob or James, it is stated that in many European languages there are two different forms which seem to have existed at the same time : in Italian, Giacomo and Giacomo ; in French, Jacout and Jaume ; in English, Jacob and James.

Sicilies, Grand Admiral of the Empire"—“*Joachim Napoléon, par la grâce de Dieu et par la constitution de l'État, Roi des Deux Siciles, Grand Amiral de l'Empire.*” Only the continental territory of the “Two Sicilies” was to be his: the real Sicily—the island—being in the hands of the Bourbons, and the English. As King of Naples, with the name of Napoleon, he was a kind of tributary-King, little more than a crowned prefect of the French Empire.

King Joachim Napoleon dated his reign from August 1st, 1808. He made his first public appearance in Naples on September 6th, and Caroline joined him on September 25th, 1808.

King Joseph had left King Joachim a difficult task. The army had been depleted of its Frenchmen, who had gone to Spain, the navy consisted of the frigate “*Cerere*,” a corvette or armed yacht, and a few gun-boats. The treasury was empty: there were debts everywhere.

Murat appointed the Marquis de Pérignon¹ as commander-in-chief of his army, and, as commanders, the French generals Cavaignac, Campredon, La Marque, and Manhès. La Marque became later of fame at Capri. He appointed also Saliceti,² a Corsican and a friend of Napoleon since their early days at Ajaccio, chief of the police, and to his old college-friend and fellow-countryman, Agar, he gave in charge his finance. The rest of the ministers were Neapolitans.

Murat had hardly arrived when he was busy with military projects. Notwithstanding his limited resources, he effected his first conquest in October, 1808. All through Joseph's reign the Bourbon flag had been

¹ Dominique-Catherine de Pérignon (1754-1818), Marshal of France, born at Grenade (Haute-Garonne); distinguished himself against the Spaniards.

² Various spelt: Saliceti, Salicetti.

kept flying on the island of Capri, at the very entrance of the Bay of Naples. Sir Hudson Lowe, the future gaoler of Napoleon, was in command of a mixed garrison of 1,800 English and Sicilians, holding the fortified town on the island, which was supposed to be a centre for conspiracies and brigandage. The King communicated the plan of attack only to the minister of war, that he might prepare the necessary supply of arms and provisions, and to one officer of engineers, General Pietro Colletta, a Neapolitan, who was ordered to circumnavigate the island in a small vessel, the crew of which should be kept in ignorance of his object, and to determine the point of disembarkation, as well as other military details required to insure the success of the enterprise. This expedition had been twice attempted during the reign of Joseph, and as often failed from want of secrecy.

Saliceti's spies obtained information that Capri was not prepared for a siege, for the peaceful possession of the island during long years had made an attack seem improbable. Murat reviewed the garrison of Naples on October 2nd. The troops had hardly returned to barracks, when a brigade and some batteries of artillery were ordered to embark, and an embargo was laid on all shipping in the port. Escorted by the frigate "Cerere," the corvette "Renommée," and twenty-six gunboats, the expedition was crowded on board a fleet of requisitioned transports. General La Marque and the Neapolitan general, Pignatelli Strongoli, were in command. They landed on the island, and besieged the town on the land-side, while the flotilla blockaded and bombarded the sea-front. On October 16th, the garrison surrendered for want of food, just as a relief expedition was ready to start from Sicily.¹ Murat

¹ This short outline of the capture of Capri is expanded in later chapters.

announced his success to Napoleon by a dispatch from his minister, San Gallo, to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Champagny.¹

So far as Murat is concerned, his subsequent life does not directly affect Capri. An excellent account of it may be found in "Joachim Murat, Marshal of France and King of Naples," by A. Hilliard Atteridge.

After a peaceful reign of four years, he was called upon by Napoleon to accompany him to Russia, as commander of all his cavalry, when, after the defeat at Smolensko, August 17th, 1812, he acted as Napoleon had acted in Egypt, and as he acted subsequently at Waterloo, by deserting the army and leaving it to its fate, while he returned to Naples.

He fought, however, once more for Napoleon in the fatal campaign of Germany : then, after the battle of Leipzig, on October 16th-18th, 1813, when the French army under Napoleon was defeated by the allied Austrian, Russian, and Prussian armies, he withdrew, and, recognizing that Napoleon was falling from his high estate, he went so far as actually to conclude an alliance against him.

In 1815, he took up arms again, having formed a plan to make himself master of Italy as far as the Po, at the very time that Austria and the Allies, upon his repeated assurance of loyalty to them, had determined to recognize him as King of Naples. It was too late ! Austria took the field against him, and Murat was driven a fugitive into France.

After the downfall of Napoleon, Murat escaped to Corsica, whence he set sail with a few adherents, to recover his lost throne. A gale, off the coast of Calabria, dispersed his five small vessels : but, he landed. He was captured, however, on landing, and imprisoned at

¹ Jean-Baptiste Nompère (1756-1834), Comte de Champagny, Duc de Cadore; born at Roaune.

Pizzo, an Italian port on the Mediterranean, in the province of Cantanzaro, where he was tried by court-martial and condemned to death. He was shot on October 13th, 1815. A man of spirit and activity, with few mental qualifications, and noted for his personal elegance, he met his fate with the undaunted courage for which he was ever famous.

Some of the books consulted for Chapter II. :—

- "Interesting facts relating to the fall and death of Joachim Murat, King of Naples." By Francis Macirone (sic). Published in 1817.
- "Memoirs of the life and adventures of Colonel Maceroni (sic), late aide-de-camp to Joachim Murat, King of Naples," etc. Published in 1838.
- "History of the Kingdom of Naples, 1734-1825." By General Pietro Colletta; translated from the Italian by S. Horner. Published in 1858.
- "Joachim Murat, Marshal of France and King of Naples." By A. Hilliard Atteridge.



SIR RICHARD CHURCH

CHAPTER III

SIR RICHARD CHURCH

THIS chapter contains an account of the defence of Capri, 1806-1808, from "The life of Sir Richard Church, C.B., G.C.H., Commander-in-Chief of the Greeks in the War of Independence," by Professor Stanley Lane-Poole, and "Sir Richard Church in Italy and Greece," by Mrs. E. M. Church, supplemented by letters lent, and information given, kindly by her son Colonel A. B. Church, a great-nephew of Sir Richard Church.

Richard Church was born in 1784. He was the second son of Matthew Church, a merchant of the City of Cork. His mother was a daughter of John Dearman, of Braithwaite, Yorkshire. His parents were members of the Society of Friends, and he was brought up in their persuasion. Before he was sixteen years of age, he ran away from school, and enlisted: but, his father bought a commission for him in the 13th Foot, with which Regiment he went through the Campaign in Egypt in 1801, being present at the capture of Cairo and Alexandria. Although his family forgave him, the "Connection" did not: for, he was disowned by them in 1800, the year in which he was gazetted Ensign.

His first service was in Egypt, whence he wrote to his mother in February, 1801:—

"We are about two or three days from Alexandria, where the French have their chief army, and where we

expect his greatest resistance. . . . We have here 'Le Tigre' and Sir Sidney Smith; he is to command a battalion of marines and seamen, and act on shore: with him there must be success."

He adds:—

"We, the army, certainly go through more than any people, in fatigue, hardship, dreadful living, and storms; living on salt-pork towed three days astern of the ship, and still so full of salt you cut it with the greatest difficulty, foul water, maggoty biscuits: such living is common to us, and happened no less than four times riding at anchor, twice before enemy's towns—Vigo and Cadiz—and twice in Tetuan Bay. I felt that I never knew the real sweets of home; and how many dangers, hardships, and fatigues would I now go through, and smile at, for the happiness of a return home . . . !"

In a later letter, he writes:—

Egypt,

Sept. 7th, 1801.

The two letters I wrote from Rosetta must have long ere this arrived. We then were preparing to march to the siege of Alexandria, which was to be stormed on all sides and would undoubtedly have been taken but with a tremendous loss to both parties. Fate ordained it should be otherwise. General Menou, having often tried the valour of the British troops in the field, and dreading the dreadful slaughter which would be made by the Turks on every armed, as well as unarmed, person—more particularly the latter—the evening previous to the assault sent into our camp his aide-de-camp with a flag of truce, to ask for a cessation of arms for six and thirty hours, to consider the terms we had offered. Our Commander-in-Chief agreed to an armistice, in the course of which time General Menou thought fit to capitulate,

to the great joy of both French and English. Thus has the campaign in Egypt finished to the great glory of the British arms. The second of September, 1801, was the memorable day when the Grenadiers of the whole British Army, under the command of Major-General Craddock, took possession of the heights and fortifications of Alexandria, and hoisted the British flag in room of that of the French Republic. The terms are the most honourable on our part. The French are allowed six pieces of cannon—6-pounders—, and their private property and small arms, only things of no value to us, and not worth sacrificing one soldier. We have possession of the whole of the transports which brought out the whole of Bonaparte's army, besides six new frigates, two sixty-fours, and a vast number of vessels of different sizes; upwards of 600 pieces of ordnance, principally brass, besides stores of all descriptions, granaries full of wheat and rice. The taking of Rosetta, Aboukir, Cairo and Alexandria, with a number of small forts and castles all through the country, which afforded a vast deal of trouble, is expected to yield some prize-money. We landed in this country 14,000 men, to attack 22,000 French bayonets (from the French return for embarkation); and, before the arrival of any troops from Europe, three battles were fought between us, in everyone of which we were victorious. The landing on the 8th March gave us a footing in the country; the action of the 13th insured that footing to us, by driving the enemy from the heights they occupied and possessed ourselves of them, and the glorious battle of the 21st, sealed with the death of our noble and ever lamented C.-in-C. the entire possession of the country to our arms. Menou shut himself up in Alexandria, and Belliard retreated to Cairo in the greatest precipitation. We followed up the blow, leaving

a sufficient force to preserve the heights in front of Alexandria : the remainder of the army marched for Cairo, and, on their march, reduced Fort Julien, a strong fort at the mouth of the Nile, took Rosetta, Raminieh—a fort on the bank—, and encamped before Gizeh, a town at the opposite side of the river from Cairo.

We were hardly arrived ere the French sent in an offer to surrender on terms which they should propose : with some alteration we agreed to them. Their private property and some pieces of cannon were no object to us. Our numbers at the greatest calculation amounted to about 5,000 ; theirs, at the smallest, 9,500 Frenchmen. A few days were allowed them to get ready. They marched to Rosetta to embark, French in one column, English in another ; they embarked at Aboukir to the amount of 20,000 persons of every description. The French embarked under Belliard : the General lost no time. We proceeded to Alexandria and invested it on all sides. General Coote, with a division of the army, landed to the westward. We on the eastward made a false attack, which deceived the enemy : they turned their attention to us. In the meantime General Coote surprised the Castle of Marabout, and landed his army to the westward, without the loss of a man : on our side we were equally fortunate. It was the dead of night and so dark, we got, without being perceived, within the range of the guns on the batteries. The guns had no effect ; their whole line appeared one blaze, and one continued roar of thunder, to no purpose. We gained our own lines with the trifling loss of a few horses. The next night we cut off the whole of their picquets, took 7 (?) officers and 120 men : our loss was trifling. Our works to the eastward approached every day. From our trenches we picked off their artillery-men from the guns. Our friends the Turks were excellent at that:

they would lie the whole day behind anything that would conceal them, purposely to pick off the men in the French lines.

: : : :

Richard Church exchanged into the 39th Foot, and as a Lieutenant in that regiment he was selected for the position of adjutant of the Light Infantry Battalion, then being formed under Colonel Kempt from the light companies of various regiments stationed in Malta in 1805, and, the same year, he was with the advance-guard of the British Army in the abortive campaign on the Neapolitan frontier.

In writing home, he says :—

Dominican Convent,
near Citta Vecchia, Malta,
Oct. 20th, 1805.

I am now six months from England, and have not received a single line from any one of the family, though several ships have arrived at Malta from England, and brought letters for different officers of our army. This I think is rather hard, as I have not missed a single opportunity from any place we have been at of writing home . . . This letter may afford you a little more information respecting our transactions in this part of the world than my others could do, as several material changes have taken place, which affect me as well as others. In the first place, we have left Valetta and moved into the country—that is, *not* the 39th Regiment, for they do not go on the Expedition. The several light companies (Chasseurs) are embodied and made, for the time being, one regiment, to act when on service as sharp-shooters, riflemen, etc., and to invariably form the advance guard of the army; being in the light company of our regiment, consequently I form one of the officers of this battalion, as our company is with it.

We consist of 850 select men from all the British regiments in the island, and placed under the command of Colonel Kempt, a very excellent officer and who was military secretary to Sir R. Abercromby in Egypt, and in all his campaigns elsewhere, and with him we are at present in the Convent of St. Dominic near Citta Vecchia ; but, as the Expedition is nearly ready, I think we shall not long remain in our present quarter.

Now, . . . to tell you some news that may probably please you ! I am not going to tell you that I am promoted ; but, that I am certainly in a fairer way for it, than I have ever been. From various recommendations which I obtained from different quarters here, Sir James Craig has appointed me to a situation the most arduous, difficult, and trying of any that is in the Army, which requires more attention and fatigue than any other. I am placed on the Staff as adjutant to the Light Infantry Battalion, from the nature of whose services, being always the advanced corps, must require every exertion that can possibly be made. Believe me, I am sensible that there are many officers whose abilities make them more fit for the situation, for which there were no less than fifteen applications made by different officers, and all strongly recommended by their commanding officers ; and, I am really astonished to find that I have succeeded in obtaining what I so little deserved, or expected. It is, of all others, the most advantageous situation an officer of my rank could obtain, and to me the most flattering, as the requisites you are supposed to be in possession of are a complete knowledge of your profession, not only as a battalion officer, but also of those of riflemen, light infantry, and service of every description in the field, and before an enemy. You must have an accurate knowledge of every sort of duty that can possibly be required in actual warfare. You are

introduced to all the superior officers of the Army as an officer selected by the Commander-in-Chief in one of the most trying situations he has to dispose of ; and there is but little doubt of promotion attending the officers who in this situation merit the approbation of the general officer commanding. You must not confuse this situation with that of the adjutant of a battalion, or regiment, at home, a situation not anything I know of could persuade me to accept of. I am obliged to have two horses, to be always mounted in the field : the communication of all orders, the regulation of the soldiers in every respect, depends on me. I must see every duty performed : find the officers and men for parade, guards, picquet, etc., drill the men in light-infantry movements, and, whenever in action, carry the orders to different parts of the regiment engaged. I have also to reconnoitre the country, report in writing the nature of the ground, and take the situation of the encampment of the column, and frequently the duty of the whole brigade of three regiments on my hands on service, always once in three days. In fact, from four o'clock in the morning until midnight, I am kept constantly employed. Every day I am obliged to be at the General's who commands the brigade, for his orders : he is an excellent man, and has more than once assured me of his interest on every occasion it may be wanting. His name is Broderick, and he has the command of the reserve—our brigade. Once a week I have a personal audience of the C.-in-C. on duty : and, from them all, receive the greatest attention. I have a friend here who commands a regiment of *his own*, and also, for what reason I know not, is determined, if possible, to get me a company in his regiment, and has made frequent applications to Sir James on the subject, who has given him reason to imagine that he has some

intention of some time or other putting me into his regiment. My friend, who has no general to consult in England, will not approve of anyone coming into his regiment until I am appointed. You shall some day or other know the name of the officer I speak of. Our battalion and his will be together on service. The Grenadiers, the Light Infantry, and the Corsican Chasseurs form our brigade (the reserve) commanded by General Broderick, and are to land first, wherever we may go. I am allowed forage for two horses and a mule, pay for a servant—exclusive of my servant, who is a soldier—at the rate of 1/- per diem, and rations which are worth 1/- more. . . . I have pay 10/- a day : allowances, called in the Army, bats and forage, which may be in the year to me at the rate of 2/6 a day when on service : also, 1/- a day on stationery, and the usual allowance of coal, candles, lodging-money, etc. : it may make altogether in nett pay, taking everything, about £1 a day, for which I must have two horses and two servants at all times, and find stationery whenever it is wanted.

. . . . When wanting, I am certain of the interest of Col. Kempt, although, were it not with the hopes of promotion and rendering myself independent in my profession, not anything could induce me to take a situation of such responsibility, nor have I by any chance a moment to myself, as nothing can be done in the regiment without the adjutant. I can compare the situation to nothing but a clock which is constantly going, but, if neglected to be wound up, will stand still. In this manner is the duty of a regiment, if the adjutant is at any time out of the way.

The ships are gone to Corfu for the Russian troops, and, the moment intelligence is received that they are arrived at the place of *rendez-vous*, we shall leave Malta, which we expect every day. You know that I am

devoted to the life of a soldier and that I can relish no other, so I have at least that to urge in my favour ; at least, inclination will not be wanting in doing my duty, whatever may be the case with the ability. I fancy that I see before me the prospect of obtaining ultimately some little credit in my profession. There never was anything more ardently desired by me than to distinguish myself in the field in some manner or other ; I have at last stepped out of the common track of individuals, in the Army, and sincerely hope never to return into it again.

I feel almost certain that, if ever you see me again, I shall not be in the same situation as when I left my dear circle. A thousand different motives spur me on, and as an opportunity is likely to offer, how glorious would it be to obtain preferment from really meriting it ! Sir James Craig, in giving me my present appointment, I am convinced, wants to see how far worthy I am of promotion. I would rather suffer a thousand deaths than not merit his approbation whenever he pleased to inspect my military career in the field. The situation I wish for is kept open, and will be so until something pro or con takes place with respect to me. Conceive the friendship of an officer who, though in want of several officers, is determined not only not to apply for, but not to approve of, any officer to be captain in his regiment, without I am first appointed ! There are men in the Army whose friendship is worth millions to obtain. We are, I may say, a new regiment, as we form a battalion composed of light-companies from every British regiment in Malta : facings of every colour : men of every country : yet in my life I never saw such harmony as pervades the whole. Believe me, the flower of the British Army, the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, will not be the first to fly from the invincible legions of

Bonaparte. The Grenadier Companies of the whole army are embodied in the same manner as we are, and the command of them given to Colonel O'Callaghan of the 39th : a most flattering mark of distinction to him, who is in every respect qualified to be honoured in the manner he has been, by getting the command of 800 men such as even England at this moment could not collect together.

Into our charge is given the first onset with the enemy, and we must endeavour to give a good account of veterans who have for ten years been conquerors. The task is arduous. The C.-in-C., when he formed our battalion, made a most impressive speech to the officers and soldiers assembled for that purpose, when in the most solemn manner he told us that he had formed two battalions for the purpose of making all attacks upon the enemy : and who were never to think of anything but going forward, without regard to numbers or situation, when ordered to commence an engagement : and that, from the moment of opening the campaign to the finishing of it, they would be constantly engaged, and always, when the enemy will allow it, in close fight. "To die or conquer," says the General, must be the motto of the men he had chosen for that express purpose. So intent is the General upon the flank-companies being engaged, that he has caused a piece of martial music to be composed to play during the charge of the troops. It is called the 'British Charge.' He has in several instances altered our methods of fighting, and is the first of modern English generals to cause music to be played during a charge. Every soldier pants for action, and pines at the delay : everyone feels the glorious idea of the first tremendous charge of 1,700 men, the flower of England : their impetuosity will be the only thing to endanger their success . . . Be

assured one thing, that, at all events, I shall make every effort to obtain some degree of applause. Whether I shall succeed or not is another thing. If report speaks truth, we shall soon commence operations : in Italy it is said we are to act in conjunction with the Austrians and Russians. I am tired of Malta, and particularly of the part of the island where we are at present quartered

“ Harmony ” Transport,

2nd November.

At last we are on board. I was obliged to give up my letter, to communicate to the regiment the glorious order to embark, which we completed yesterday A soldier's fortune seems to smile on me. I go on a glorious campaign in a situation where the eyes of the Army will be turned, as the regiment of Light Infantry will always be to the front to commence an action, and, if unsuccessful, in the rear to cover the retreat. . . . I have made a resolution never to return home until promoted in my profession, and, you know that to the life of a soldier I am wholly devoted ; whatever irregularities and extravagance I may have been guilty of, never let me a moment lose sight of the duty of a soldier ; and to that I owe my present situation. We sail to-day, supposed for Naples, and it is believed we shall proceed 200 or 300 miles in Italy without having any affair with the French. A great many regiments who served in Egypt are with us, and, if we meet again the invincible Army of Italy, I hope Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the British will be able to give a good account of them

The last cannon for the fleet has fired.

They disembarked at Castellammare on November 20th, 1805. A grand review took place before the King of Naples, and volleys were fired in honour of the battle of Trafalgar. They then marched, and the advance guard, with which Church was present, had occupied the defile of Itri and Fondi, when the news of Austerlitz upset the allied plans. King Ferdinand abandoned his Capital, and retired to Palermo ; the British re-embarked, and sailed for Messina.

Kempt's Light Battalion was kept intact, and Church's time was fully occupied during the next months in welding the mixed elements of which it consisted into a homogeneous unit. How well the officers entrusted with the making of the Corps carried out their duty is shown by its conduct at Maida !

At the end of June, 1806, the Army again went on board, and sailed for an unknown destination. Next day they disembarked near St. Eufemia in Calabria, and occupied the little ridge of hills that runs up towards Nicastro. The French drew in to their entrenched camp near Maida, and for some days both sides lay watching one another. The French had decidedly the best of the game. They were comfortably housed, well supplied, and superior in numbers ; while the English, encamped in an unhealthy spot, were dependent on an open beach for their connection with the fleet, and with their base. It soon became evident that the French were not going to move. Our troops were attacked by fever : and, Sir John Stuart had to choose between retiring ignominiously, or assailing the enemy in his camp—a sufficiently desperate enterprise in the circumstances.

On 4th July, he set out with his little force. For four or five miles he marched along the beach, under the Italian sun, the men sinking into the sand at every pace, until the mouth of the Amato was nearly reached.

Then it was seen that the French were coming out of their entrenchments. Sir John Stuart wheeled, and advanced up the river in echelon, the Light Battalion¹ leading on the right. The French crossed the Amato and came down the stream, their left consisting of two battalions of the famous 1^{ère} Légère, supported by a Polish battalion, being opposed to Kempt's single unsupported battalion.

The French charged, with their accustomed gallantry, and in their accustomed column formation. The English halted, waited in line until the enemy were within half musket-shot, and poured in three deliberate volleys. The bayonet-charge that followed was hardly necessary. There was much hard fighting still to be done before we could claim a complete victory ; but, as regards this vital point, when failure might have meant the annihilation of the whole army, the enemy had ceased to exist.

For his conduct in the battle of Maida, Church was mentioned in dispatches ; but, he had been promoted already Captain in the Corsican Rangers, for his services in the earlier campaign, and his commission was on its way out from England. In October, 1806, he joined his new corps, commanded by Colonel Hudson Lowe, at Capri. He was appointed commandant of Anacapri, which position he continued to hold until September, 1808. His life in the island is described in the following series of letters :—

Anacapri,

Oct. 14th, 1806.

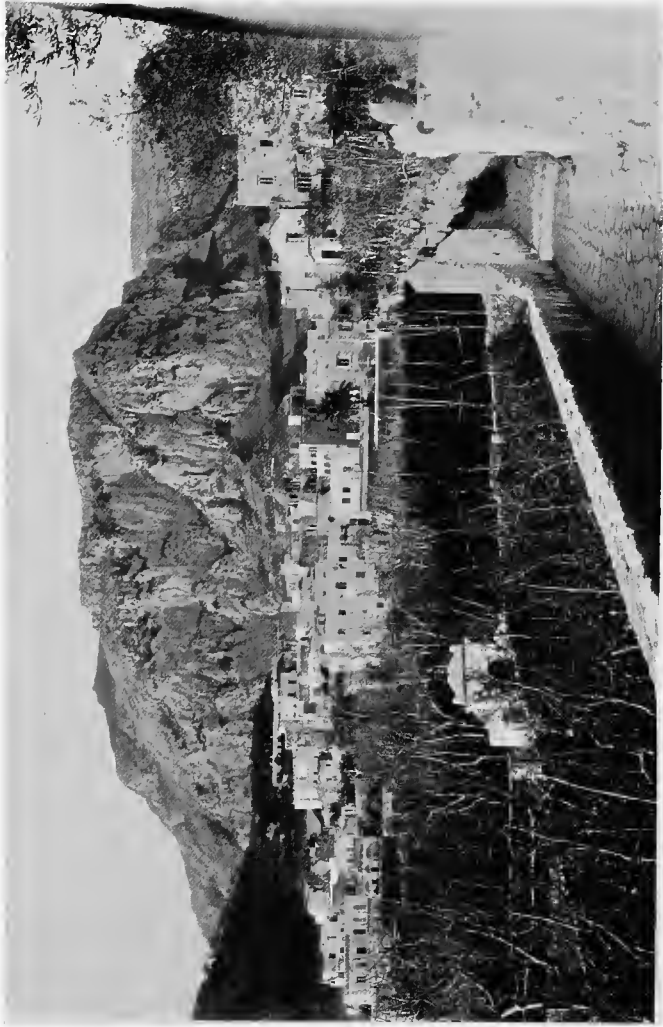
How fast is the scene changed which allows you to remain scarce a month in any one country. A twelve month has not yet passed, and I have written to you

¹ Three companies of the Corsican Rangers had been attached to it, and they were used for scouting along the bed of the Amato. It was called, therefore, a "Brigade": but for fighting purposes, it was identical with the Light Battalion.

from Malta, from various parts of Italy, from Sicily, from Calabria, from Sicily again, and from Capri. This is not all : I have been in the course of that time repeatedly changed (on duty) from one of these places to another ; served in an unsuccessful campaign, allied with the Russians against the French in Italy ; and been on a most glorious expedition against the same enemy in Calabria. I have been under arms three times to be reviewed by two crowned heads, namely, twice for the King of Naples, and once for the King of Sardinia. I have witnessed an earthquake, and have scarcely been even a week out of sight of Mount Etna, Vesuvius, or Stromboli. I formed a party with the army selected to besiege Scylla, and was at the taking of it ; have had the good luck to have been actually shipwrecked at Charybdis¹ ; and been no less than seven times embarked and as often disembarked ; besides having advanced and retreated through the principal towns in the kingdom of Naples, and being at the taking of the greatest part of those in Calabria, and alternately mixed with Russian and Neapolitan troops, Calabrese, Sicilians and French. To add to all this, I have served in the various capacities of lieutenant, lieutenant and adjutant, brigade-major, and captain, and have had no less than four different commanding officers in that space of time. To conclude this history, I am now, through the great favour and partiality of my present commanding officer, Colonel Lowe, duly installed Captain Commandant of Anacapri, of which situation I give the following account.

The island of Capri is in the Bay of Naples and directly opposite to that Capital : distance (across the bay) about 18 miles to Naples, of which town and of Vesuvius you see the most beautiful view imaginable.

¹ "*Incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.*" Ph. Gaultier, *Alexandreis*, V., 301.
("In hope Charybdis to escape, thou fallest upon Scylla.")



THE CLIFFS OF ANACAPRI ACROSS THE VALLEY.

On entering the Bay on the right of Capri, the mainland (the points of Campanella and Massa) is about two miles from the island. Now for the island itself : it is about five miles and a half in length and perhaps its greatest breadth is not above two ; it is divided into two parts, Capri and Anacapri, and has three towns, or rather villages, several convents and a bishop, and several remarkable ruins of palaces, etc. The whole island is a perfect garden covered with vines, olives, figs, etc. Capri is the chief town and port and has a castle ; it is the seat of Government and the headquarters of the regiment, and has about 3,000 inhabitants. The roads are very hilly, narrow and, in general, steps. Anacapri is above two thirds of the island, and, once up, a level country abounding in fruit, wine, and oil. It has no place of anchorage for shipping, but several creeks and small bays, where an enemy may attempt a landing. The only road from Capri here is up a rock cut into 600 or 650 perpendicular steps, and this is the only communication between the two places. On the top is a ruinous Greek castle of amazing strength. Now fancy me leading a high-spirited Arabian horse up these steps, which I have done ! He is the only horse in this part of the island. In Anacapri there are two villages, Anacapri and Caprile. My residence is in the Palazzo, a delightful house, one of those belonging to the many Neapolitan nobility who formerly spent a month or two each year here, previous to the French occupying Naples.

I am sole Governor here, civil and military. My military force consists in two companies and an officer's detachment of 40 men, making my regular troops about 200 men, and two four-pounders. Besides these, I have about 60 militia, and some few of the King of Naples's game-keepers, and am situated at the advance-post of

the island, and the first to be attacked when King Giuseppe shall be in that way inclined. I am totally independent of the commanding officer of the regiment—except what relates to the regiment—, and communicate with him by telegraphic and night-signals. The population consists of about 1,900 people, not one of whom can go, even to Capri, without my passport. My dominions are about three and a half miles in length, and above two in breadth. In spite of the precautions of the French, we daily receive from Naples itself, Sorrento, and Castellammare, supplies of provisions of all sorts, particularly fresh butter and veal from Sorrento. We receive also gazettes from Paris, Naples, Florence, Milan, London, and Amsterdam, almost every day, and always send the news to General Fox to Messina, perhaps a month before any account arrives to him from England. For instance, four days ago we received Paris papers of 28th September, in which we had news from England to this in twelve days. We knew of the taking of Buenos Ayres, and Mr. Fox's death, ten or twelve days ago, and also of Sir J. Stuart's despatches from Calabria being arrived in England.

I have given you a tedious account of this island ; but, it is more to show you how favoured I am by Colonel Lowe, being the junior captain in the regiment, and having the preference given me of a post which not a man in the regiment would not give almost anything to get. Here, unless some expedition takes place, I am fixed for the winter. My time is occupied in strengthening and fortifying my command, according to my own ideas, which you know I had always an itching for, and for which I have here ample scope. Exercising the men occupies a great part of my time, as, in my present situation, in the case of an attack, the whole credit or discredit in such an affair is on my

shoulders, and, as far as my poor abilities will permit, no pains or endeavours shall be spared to attempt gaining a little of the former. I have an excellent company of soldiers, chiefly hardy Corsicans, and I flatter myself in their attachment already to my person, as I occasionally spend both time and a little money to add to their comforts. My officers are the best in the regiment. One of them, Lieutenant the Count de St. Laurent is of one of the oldest noble families in Piedmont, and the French are at present in possession of his property. He is a captain in the King of Sardinia's service. The other, Lieutenant Hatzenbuhler, is in like manner of a noble German family, whose country is swallowed up by the perfidy of the French. He is also a nobleman, but does not—in consequence of so many assumed German barons—acknowledge the circumstance, except to his intimate friends. The officers of the other companies and detachments are Corsicans, besides which the paymaster is living with us, and an assistant surgeon, attached to my command : therefore, we are generally a little mess of eight persons.

: : : :

Church writes the following letter to his mother :—

Anacapri,

3rd Nov., 1806.

My time is at present occupied in entrenching this part of the island, making a harbour, building towers of defence, and making roads and throwing up any sort of wall or ditch, or anything whatsoever that renders my post so strong as to be able with a very few men to defend the place against whatever number of men King Joseph may think proper to attack me with, should he think it necessary that the island of Capri ought to

belong to his dominions. These works, and exercising the men, together with signing passes—from this to Capri—for the country-people, and now and then a ride or walk round my whole territory, or a game of racquets, fully occupy the morning, from daylight, at which hour I invariably rise, until dinner (5 o'clock). It is in the evening that *ennui* becomes a guest, for here is *no* society, except of the few officers composing the detachment—for instance, 1 German officer, 1 Piedmontese do., 1 Corsican do., 1 Neapolitan volunteer, and 1 Corsican do., with an English assistant-surgeon, form the officers under my command : and, every one has a different way of passing his time. There is here a young man named Edwards, an officer of the Navy, at a signal-station. He is also of my detachment, and a very gentleman-like man. I have given him a room in my house, and I find his society agreeable : he is a great favourite of Sir S. Smith, and belongs to his ship.

The only thing that militates against being commandant of a district is that it is too expensive, for there are expenses you cannot avoid in this situation. However, the preference shown by the C.O. in appointing me to a situation superior to that of the major of the regiment is a mark of confidence and favour I can never forget ; for, in this situation, I am perfectly my own master, and in the second situation in the island. Were there any English society in Capri, it would be a delightful residence, for the country is more beautiful than any I ever saw, and the views of Naples, etc., are superior almost to imagination : with a glass, you see the people walking in the streets of Naples.¹

I forgot . . . when mentioning my strange adventures . . . that the happiest day of my life I omitted to speak of—that of my saving the inhabi-

¹ This is prose with a poetical licence.

tants of a large and populous town from murder and devastation. Never shall I forget my emotion when in Nicastro, in Calabria, accompanied by only ten Neapolitan dragoons, above sixteen hundred armed banditti told me that they had entered the town for the avowed purpose of murdering every inhabitant, and plundering the town. Will you believe that, through the great mercy of the Almighty, I was enabled with these few men—but desperately brave men—to prevent by force, threats, and persuasion this sanguinary body from putting into execution their inhuman design, and to force them to leave the town, and march towards the French, who were only ten miles off, and whose arrival in Nicastro I hourly expected? At this time I was advanced towards the French, and distant from my own troops, thirty-two miles; and between me and them were above 500 more banditti. From eleven o'clock in the morning until six o'clock the next day, I remained almost constantly on horse-back, with my detachment, night and day patrolling the streets of that devoted town. I enclose for your amusement the report I made to General Cole, who had sent me to Nicastro to gain intelligence of the French, and to approach their camps as near as possible, by which you will see that the massa, or banditti, had commenced their attack on the town, and entered one house to the amount of over 300; from which, by means I can hardly think of at present and believe that I exist, through the assistance of the Almighty, I obliged them to leave the house, without even carrying away an article of value, nor injuring one of the family, to murder all of whom they had sworn. I never can sufficiently thank the God of Mercies, who chose that I should be the instrument of salvation to the lives and property of above 10,000 people; for, it was with reluctance General

Cole allowed me to go on this reconnaissance, which he conceived of the most dangerous nature from the proximity of the enemy. However, by teasing him all day, and assuring him that the only way to get exact intelligence of the real state of the enemy was to allow of my going, he at last consented : but, no sooner was I departed, than he repented of the leave granted, and I never saw a man express more satisfaction than he did on my return. This was the proudest and most satisfactory day of my life. In the situation I was placed, my mind was made up that I would either perish, or stop the bloody hands of this band of assassins. The report will give you an idea of the situation of things in the miserable country of Calabria. Certainly, I enjoyed feelings highly satisfactory, having been present in the glorious battle of Maida, where 4,700 British defeated 9,000 French, killed, wounded, and made prisoners in that battle above 3,800 men, and, in the subsequent successes in reducing towns, made altogether above 10,000 men lost to the enemy, with the loss on our side of one officer killed, and 285 killed and wounded.

Comparing the different events in Nicastro brings more delightful emotions to my breast than Maida, and I feel more real pleasure at being the sole instrument of the salvation of thousands of human beings, than in being an assistant in the destruction of thousands of our mortal and abominable, treacherous, and cowardly enemy.

The enclosed report . . .¹: I had the pleasure of

¹ The following is a copy of the report alluded to. Incidentally it throws a curious light on the military qualities of the "allies," with whom we were supposed to co-operate. "They could have done little harm to the French, but were deadly protectors to the Italians," as Sir Henry Bunbury says—in "Episodes of the great War," p. 219—of our other allies, the Albanians, who were brought over by the Russians to help us in the campaign of 1805.

Report of a party of Reconnaissance sent to Nicastro by order
of Brigadier-General the Hon. L. Cole.

Pizzo, 28th Aug., 1806.

Sir,

In obedience to your orders, I proceeded to Nicastro yesterday morning with a detachment of Neapolitan Dragoons, consisting of two cadets and ten private

receiving the thanks both of Sir J. Stuart and General Fox for the information, etc.

: : : : : :

Church wrote many and lengthy letters, and made translations from foreign papers. His copious notebooks, full of poetry and many extracts from books of history, bear witness to his love of reading.

Church writes the following letter to his brother :—

Anacapri,

17th April, 1807.

Since I last wrote to you, we have been on the point of attack, as our neighbours had embarked and sailed

soldiers, at which place I arrived about eleven o'clock, and found the town in a most dreadful state of confusion and dismay, in consequence of a threatened massacre and pillage by the Massa (Calabrian handitti).

Half an hour previous to my arrival, two of the inhabitants had been murdered in the streets, and the Syndic, Governor, and many others, had been repeatedly fired at.

From these circumstances, and the urgent solicitations of the inhabitants, I conceived it my most particular duty to remain, and, if possible, restore order.

During the whole of the day parties continued to arrive until they amounted to above 1,500—these were immediately provided with rations (provisions, wine, forage, etc.) of every description.

Towards evening, they attacked the house of Don Giuseppe Nicotera, with the avowed intention of massacring the family, and pillaging the house.

I am happy to state that, before they had found any of the family, or carried off anything of consequence, I arrived at the house, and, from the steady and intrepid conduct of the detachment of cavalry, I succeeded in forcing them out of the house.

I immediately ordered their chiefs to leave the town with their different divisions, and to march towards Scigliano. With this order a great number complied ; but, several parties still remained, and I found it necessary to patrol the town the whole of the night. About eleven o'clock (night) they had entirely left Nicaastro, and it was perfectly quiet. At six o'clock this morning, I marched thence, and it was perfectly quiet.

I beg leave to state that I am convinced, if a detachment of Regular troops is not immediately sent there, the Massa will return, and yet put in execution their barbarous designs.

I enclose the Governor's letters and certificate of the necessity of my remaining last night in Nicaastro.

The following information I have been able to obtain respecting the force, situation, etc., of the French army. It has been corroborated in every particular by persons arrived yesterday evening from the enemy's position.

The French army to the number of about 5,000 French and 2,000 Jacobins is commanded by General Régnier.

Their main body is encamped between Rogliano and Cosenza, eight miles from Cosenza, and two from Rogliano.

They have an advance guard posted on La Madonna Di Bon S. in Carvese, half a mile from Scigliano.

This advance guard is frequently changed, and the number varies with the change : it consists at present of 500 French and 400 Jacobins, with two pieces of mountain artillery.

for that purpose, and were within eight miles of my post. The following is the detail of their proceedings :—

On the 1st March, a division of about 2,500 or 3,000 French troops under the command of General Merlin embarked on board small boats at Pozzuoli, Baiæ, Ischia and Castellammare, for the purpose of attacking, in various points, the island of Capri. These troops were accompanied with 1 corvette, 2 brigs of war, 1 bomb-vessel, and 36 gunboats. The troops were picked men, such as the Voltigeurs, Chasseurs, and Grenadiers of the 100th and 102nd Regiments, a battalion of Poles, and the 62nd French Regiment of the Line, with a company of artillery : one general-officer and 4 colonels. They had pressed for this expedition every boat in the Bay of Naples.

The main body occupied their position ten days ago (when the Massa fled), and the advance guard has been eight days at Carvese.

Their cavalry is not above 250 ; but, they have attached to them about the same number of peasantry, mounted and dressed in French uniform.

They have not received any reinforcements from Naples. General Verdier, it is believed, is with Regnier : they have also a third general whose name is not known.

They have not erected any works, although they do not quarter in the town, but remain constantly encamped.

They are well supplied with provisions and money.

On the 26th (the day before yesterday)—I was at Nicasstro on the 27th, 28th—they sent a party of 25 Dragoons to forage, who were attacked by the Massa, but who did not succeed in preventing them driving away 40 or 50 oxen, and killing the peasants who guarded them. This affair took place at the village of Stocchi, eight miles from Nicasstro, which is the nearest approach they have as yet made to that town.

The position of La Madonna di Bon S. is not strong, particularly on the left, having a road leading from the village of Pascols to the French camp, and which commands it.

The following towns and villages, from St. Eufemia to Policastro, have roads leading from them to the enemy's main body encamped at Rogliano viz. :—

1 Castiglione.	6 Cetraio.
2 Amantea.	7 Capo di Bonifati.
3 Fiume Freddo.	8 Belvidere.
4 Paolo.	9 Scaleja.
5 Forscela.	10 Policastro.

The last affair the Massa have had with the French army was on the 21st of this month at the Fiume Savato. The enemy lost about 200 men, but chiefly peasants, Jacobins, etc.

A Massa, consisting of about 300 men, took post last night at the Aqua Bona, six miles from Nicasstro on the direct road to Scigliano

I have the honour to be, etc., etc.

R. Church, Capt. and B^{te} Major.

N.B.—The peasants have burnt the bodies of the slain in the Battle of Maida. Black trees (under which they burnt the killed) and ten skeletons in the river l'Amato, denote the field of battle.

On the night of the 2nd, the expedition sailed from Baiæ and were about half way across, when a tempest arose which obliged them to put back. They gained the Port of Baiæ with difficulty, and lost several boats with soldiers on board, amounting to 80 or 100 men drowned, besides two or three gunboats also lost. This expedition remained embarked until the 8th March, the weather continuing boisterous. On this day, a Neapolitan frigate and corvette arrived off Capri (by accident). The frigate, driven by stress of weather, anchored in Sorrento bay, which made the enemy conceive their design was discovered, and that she placed herself there to watch their motions. The expedition remained on board until the 12th, when they disembarked and returned into quarters. On the 9th, we received notice of their proceedings from Naples. So much for M. Merlin !¹

What do you think of this affair ? We should have been considerably annoyed and hard set with such a force ; but, I do not think we should have lost the island. We have only, at most, 700 men for its defence, and it requires 2,000, for the landing-places are without number.² We have worked night and day to increase our strength, and now I think we could resist 5,000 men ; I often wished for practice in fortification. I have now plenty of it, as Colonel Lowe has made me chief engineer and inspector of the coast, and I have the whole of the fortifications of Anacapri to design and complete, with my own resources and according to my own ideas. Since we heard of M. Merlin's intention, we have considerably increased our ammunition. I had only 22 rounds for

¹In *Petit Larousse illustré* is the following : "Merlin, surnommé l'Enchanteur, sorte de devin qui joue un grand rôle dans les romans de chevalerie" : a soothsayer of chivalry.

²This statement is not intelligible without some definition of a landing-place. The cliffs are very difficult.

the cannon—all that could be spared from Capri, as the ammunition in the island was very short. By offering rewards for the balls fired by the British ships into the island, when the place was taken, which were to be found in vineyards, etc., I recruited as far as 500 extra rounds, making ourselves grape, cannister, etc. Since that time, we have received from Messina a large supply of ammunition, provisions, etc., and now we only wish to see our friends.

This is a rascally island, as you will see in a copy of a report of mine to Colonel Lowe, which I enclose you. I have arrested some priests detected in correspondence with the French. This is a nuisance, for we are now obliged to fortify against the inhabitants on shore, as well as against the enemy by sea.

Enough of this vile island !

* * * * *

What an opportunity I have lost by French cowardice, being six months without a ship of war of any sort, our greatest distance from the enemy's headquarters being only 18 miles, and nearest 2 miles ! My detachment and myself have had in this island the hardest duty I ever experienced, watching and patrolling night after night, working in the day-time, both officers and men. An enemy without, and treason within, is enough to keep one on the alert, especially the person who has the responsibility for the island : for, should Anacapri be taken, Capri is in a bad way.

Government have been so pleased with Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, that they have made him full colonel, and augmented his regiment to the following establishment :—

1 Col.
 1 Lt. Col.
 2 Majors
 10 Captains
 12 Lieuts.
 8 Ensigns
 1 Surgeon
 2 Ass^t Surs.
 1 Paymr.
 1 Q^r M^r.
 1 Adj^t.
 1 Serg. Maj.
 1 Q.M.S.
 1 P.M.S.
 22 Drummers
 40 Sergs.
 40 Corps.
 760 Ptes.

This establishment in officers is nearly twice what it was ; and, it is a most singular thing that Lowe, a young lieutenant-colonel, should so soon be made colonel.

As there is now no hope of an attack, I wish to leave this island, and be a little more in a civilised place. I should like to try my chance for a majority on some expedition. I beg . . . that you will reinforce our Sicilian army immediately, or we can do nothing in Italy, which will be a pity. That country is quite ripe to shake off Joseph Bonaparte's shackles. *Entre nous*, Lowe manages so well, that we have almost daily communication with Naples, and are informed of everything going on there. His Majesty is very much afraid of an English expedition. I want to be revenged on him for keeping me four days in prison, and changing my guard every two hours. The report of my embassy to Naples I sent you a long time ago. Should we land in the Kingdom of Naples, our regiment is certain of being detached alone, and, in that case, don't be surprised to hear of my having the command of a column ! But troops must be sent from England.

Italy is like a barrel of gunpowder, and only wants a match to blow it all up. That match is an English army of 20,000 men, debarked in the Neapolitan States under Moore. The King of Naples has now nearly 20,000 regular soldiers in Sicily, newly organised, and the cavalry is excellent. All that is necessary is for the Russians to cross the Rhine.

Lord Hutchinson is a very proper man to be where he is! A short time must produce strange events. Bonaparte must be greater, or nothing. Should the English get possession of Leghorn, and bring with them the King of Sardinia—an excellent soldier—, all Piedmont would be in arms for him. In fact, all Italy is just in the disposition it ought to be.

We have lately had three new captains made in the regiment. Should you ever have occasion to know the date of my captain's commission, which the *Gazette* probably did not inform you of, it is the 7th January, 1806. It was gazetted, I fancy, in May. We are in daily expectation of the promotion of our major and the two senior captains. In that case, I shall be senior permanent captain, but the fourth captain in rotation. I have been now nearly seven months commandant of a district, and am nearly tired of it, as the chance of gaining a reputation by defending my post is over. However, one great satisfaction is to have put it in a formidable state of resistance, this is half the battle: and, the satisfaction expressed by Lowe at the various works I have erected has been very great. All these things *tell*.

: : : :

If the English at Capri watched keenly the enemy's movements, the English doings at Capri were equally keenly watched by the Court of Naples, and the intrigues of the French, and of Queen Caroline of Sicily, compelled the garrison to keep a strict watch on the inhabitants.

Church writes the following letter to his sister:—

Autumn, 1807.

Returned to the solitude of this melancholy rock, after the bustle I have lately experienced in being the

bearer of despatches proclaiming to the world England's mandate of defiance to the Emperor of Russia, I at length find time to reply.

* * * * *

I am but just returned from Sicily, where I have been sent with despatches to the Commander-in-Chief, announcing the Russian War. My stay in Messina was but short ; but, whilst there and just previous to my embarking for the Bay of Naples, the packet from England arrived which brought me your . . . letter . . . As soon as the General's despatches were ready, I returned to take charge of my post in the island of Capri, which I was afraid might have been attacked during my absence. I am now returned after a boisterous passage in the "Nile," King's cutter . . .

I will now endeavour to give you some idea of the scenes I am accustomed to witness in this land of romance.

The few adventures this (? island) gives birth to are neither interesting, nor diverting, at this season of the year. During the summer it possesses more advantage. I still remain, through the partiality of Colonel Lowe, commandant of the larger division of the island and the advance-post, having lately had an increase to my garrison of about eighty men. I fear our neighbours at Naples will not give me the opportunity of trying how I can acquit myself in an independent command. I can safely say that I never felt so much anxiety in my life as my present situation naturally gives rise to ; but, my gratitude to Colonel Lowe can never be expressed in words, and well am I convinced that time and reflection will strengthen, if possible, the sentiments I feel at the present moment.

Since the latter end of last summer, I have not been

able to annoy the enemy : during a considerable part of the summer, I had the direction of a flotilla of Neapolitan gunboats, and with them, in company with H.M.S. "Meteor," I was enabled to play the French a trick, as they lay at anchor under the fort of Massa. I refer you to . . . the *London Gazette* for an account of my maritime proceedings.

I am perfectly at a loss to imagine to whom I am indebted for the compliments in the newspaper respecting the Battle of Maida. The conviction of having done my duty will always be to me a recollection of the most heart-solacing nature.

I have the greatest satisfaction in knowing that I now possess the friendship of many officers of the highest rank, whose good services may be of the greatest advantage on a future occasion.

Should good fortune send me with a favouring gale to England, I should try to profit by the acquaintance I have made upon actual service : for, I consider it the soldier's particular duty to use every honourable endeavour to advance himself in the service of his country, thereby to have the greater means of showing his gratitude, by the more important services his higher rank place him in the situation of performing. Would to heaven that I could astonish you with some brilliant exploit, such as my heart pants after !

So long have I now been accustomed to foreigners that my native language seems of little use. Italian, or French, are our languages,—English is totally out of the question.

The order to leave this island of Tiberius would be to me like the recall of exiles from a long and melancholy banishment. Nothing could prevent us from sinking under the pressure of *ennui*, so dreadfully experienced in this island of despair, but the soldier's idea of a



EXTERIOR OF A FORT AT PUNTA CAMPETIELLO.

post of honour. So it has been ; but now that idea is fled. We have found, to every brave man's disappointment, that gasconading fills up the . . . of the vain threats of our insolent, spiritless adversaries.

How much would I prefer an island infested by harpies, whose continued encroachments afforded us amusement in repelling their various attacks, to one where jaundiced *ennui* devours and preys upon the spirits of the stoutest soldier. Often and often have I wished the island taken ! Yet, I daresay, were such a thing attempted, I should get into such a passion as to fight to the last, rather than let the Monsieurs have it, without paying for it more than it is worth.

I have lately lost,—in fact through my own means, in some measure—, my most intimate friend in the regiment, except the Colonel, the Count St. Laurent, a Piedmontese officer in my company, and one of those officers who, with the King of Sardinia, behaved so gallantly in the defence of Piedmont. St. Laurent has been called to Messina to be placed on the staff in a most advantageous situation ; therefore, although I lose his society, I must rejoice in his good fortune.

I . . . deplore the necessity of . . . and the destruction of our fellow creatures ; but, the fiend we have to deal with must not be allowed to bend to his yoke the whole world, for the purpose of aggrandising himself and the rest of his infamous family ; and, glorious is the idea that England is the only nation that, undaunted and alone, firm and collected in its native strength, holds out the crimson flag of defiance to the sanguinary despot of France, and his ferocious banditti. May the God of Justice and of Battles protect her cause of honour, and give victory to her arms by land, and upon the ocean !

I have not yet had an opportunity of storming Mount Etna, or to explore the caves of the Cyclops, although I have become intimately acquainted with the monsters Scylla and Charybdis, having had the good fortune to be concerned in the chastisement and taking of Scylla, but, on the other hand, the misfortune to be thrown into the jaws of Charybdis.

This to you will be perfect nonsense, and you will fancy I have believed myself one of the companions of the Hero of Ithaca ! Although not of the Grecian party, yet I had the pleasure to be of the British party, who, under the Hero of Maida, obliged the proud rock of Scylla to plant the British colours on its castle-walls, in room of the sanguinary banners of France.

Shortly after sailing from the Port of Messina towards the Pharo Tower, in the Straits of Messina, in a ship bound for the island of Capri, a gale of wind arose which drove us ashore on the ancient Charybdis,—where now the lofty lighthouse warns mariners of the dread approach—, and with the greatest difficulty we providentially escaped being shipwrecked.

I do not recollect anything further to say to you of an interesting nature. I believe I sent you my account and report of my embassy to Naples, and short imprisonment there, in consequence of a dispute with a French officer. This I am convinced I have sent you, as it was an interesting affair and the subject of an official report to General Fox in Sicily.

On reflection, I send merely a little statement of the drubbing we gave the French gunboats in the Port of Massa :—To prevent my packet of letters being of unwieldy bulk, the official account you shall have on another opportunity.

Church writes the following letter to his mother :—

Capri,

26th Sept., 1808.

* * * * *

Considerable changes have lately taken place in this island since my last letter : I no longer possess the command of that part of the island called Anacapri, and another regiment has arrived in Capri which at present remains under the command of Colonel Lowe. The arrival of this regiment has deprived me of my post, and naturally of my command, which I held,—although not without difficulty occasionally—, for the space of nearly two years.

On the 16th of this month, my detachment, consisting of three companies and four pieces of cannon, was relieved in form by Major Hamill¹ and the Royal Regiment of Malta.

It will be satisfactory to you to know that I am gaining fast a considerable reputation, and I may, without ostentation or boasting, safely allege that no officer of my own rank stands higher in the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, and the heads of the Army, than I do : this, I have had frequent information of.

Previous to my leaving Anacapri, the chief engineer of the army in Sicily paid us a visit to inspect the fortifications raised in the island, with the whole of which he was highly pleased, but particularly with those I had raised for the defence of my part, of which he has made to Sir John Stuart a report of the handsomest nature. On the first arrival from Messina, I expect a letter of approbation from the General for my conduct in the command, and the manner in which I have fortified

¹ See Chapter X.

Anacapri, as also for my services in a dangerous expedition from which I am just returned, a relation of which I will give you in as few words as possible.

An expedition had left Messina for the purpose of destroying a French flotilla in or near the Gulf of Policastro in Calabria: the troops embarked were convoyed only by two brigs of war, and some gunboats. The French had been for some time preparing a squadron consisting of a frigate, a sloop-of-war, and about thirty gunboats in the Port of Naples; and, it so happened that, on the morning we received intelligence of the expedition for the coast of Calabria, I reported to the Colonel the enemy's frigates and gunboats being ready for sea and at anchor outside the Mole of Naples. Colonel Lowe immediately conceived the French flotilla would put to sea and go in quest of ours which was of so inferior force, and not only prevent the expedition, but also take the troops that were embarked. As we had not even a boat with a deck to it in the island, he was at a great loss how to send to our squadron the information of the enemy's proceedings: he sent for me to consult on this affair. I immediately offered to place a four-pound cannon in one of the guard-boats of the island, and manning it with 20 well-armed men,—including three of my own soldiers—, to proceed along the enemy's coast until I fell in with our troops, hoping also to be in time for the attack. This voyage was one of the most dangerous nature, and the least evil I had to look out for was being made prisoner in some manner or other by the enemy, either being driven on shore by bad weather, or taken by some of the French armed ships, or privateers, on the Calabrian coast. After two days and nights, alternately rowing and sailing close in to the shore, and only seeing one enemy's vessel, I happily descried the English ships close in with the land

in the Bay of Policastro. At about eight o'clock in the evening, I arrived safe on board the "Halcyon," when I found that the expedition had already taken place in the happiest manner, as the troops had landed at the town of Diamente, destroyed the French flotilla, and made an immense booty of French Government property ; and, after being three days in possession of the place, re-imbarked with the loss of, I believe, one man. I had found the fleet near Cape Palinurus, at about eight o'clock in the evening, and I left it again at midnight to return to Capri. But now that it is past, I may venture to say that no Greek in returning from Troy ever had to contend with a more violent tempest for the whole of one night . . . , in returning to the famed Isle of Tiberius.

Of this affair Colonel Lowe has made a most favourable report in a letter written for that purpose to the Commander-in-Chief, an answer to which I await with some anxiety.

When I return to your society, I shall endeavour to convince you that, as a soldier serving from principles the cause of his country, my time has not been altogether misspent in foreign service. I came into the Army without a single military friend of any description : I can now boast of the friendship and protection of many of its most illustrious heads. My pride is, and will be, to exalt myself by my own exertions, and never will I accept of promotion in any other way . . . I have opened a road, I hope, towards advancement, and, sooner or later, I hope to obtain it, when it will be to you all tidings of the most pleasing import. You shall yet hear that your son is a good servant of his country. Variety, and a spirit of enterprise, might have been the original motives for my adopting a profession so very different to what I am well aware would have

been your choice. But eight years of service have shown me objects in a different light from that in which I first beheld them. I now serve from principle, and I hope that the day may yet arrive, when you may have reason to approve of the choice made by your son. I cannot regret the two years spent in this island, as I have received various new and profitable impressions ; and, from the opportunity my command gave of studying fortification by practice, as well as other military exercises, and the time, or leisure, the being my own master has given me for study, has had the effect of producing considerable improvements, not only as a soldier but also as a man : and, reflection has, in a great measure, superseded giddiness and want of thought.

* * * * *

Various are the staff-situations I can have, if I choose to accept them ; and, a short time ago, I procured for a friend a flattering situation which I might myself have had. At present I am quartered with the regiment ; but, I hold still a flattering situation, and the most enviable in the regiment,—I am chosen as Captain of the rifle company belonging to the regiment, the arms for which we received only yesterday. Should we have a campaign, I cannot fail of gaining honour, provided I do not act unworthily.

As I am destined to be, at least in Capri, an engineer, Colonel Lowe means to confide to me the direction of all the fortifications in the island, as soon as a fort, which I built in Anacapri, is quite finished.

We daily expect something in this quarter, and I believe our army will soon take the field in Italy, indeed this is almost a certainty. The unhappy kingdom of Naples, doomed to be governed by either fools, factions,

or tyrannical usurpers, can no longer groan under the load of its accumulated miseries. The inhuman villain that drenched the streets of Madrid with patriot-blood, is now the executioner of the wretched Neapolitans. The infernal Murat at present wears the crown of Naples. But may God speedily send avengers to that unhappy land, and the British arms annihilate for ever the host of banditti which at present overrun the continent of Italy! I can with difficulty suppress my feelings when I read of the glorious conduct of the Spaniards, and how much are our troops to be envied who serve in Spain. Hope, however, offers to us a bright prospect in Italy: should we chase the French ruffians from this devoted country, our laurels will be more splendid. As to the lot of our army, every attack on the enemy will naturally fall to it, and, from the inhabitants, we have no great exertion or courage to expect; whereas, in Spain, before an English soldier had arrived there, crowds of the enemy had been destroyed.

In the hope of service in Italy, I have not applied to go to Spain, for I might take a wrong step, and probably am of consequence enough to be refused permission to leave Sir John Stuart's army,—besides which, I don't like Sir Hew Dalrymple.

: : : : : :

So long as Church commanded at Anacapri, the rock was safe. But two events happened in the course of 1808 which materially affected the issues of the contest. Joseph Bonaparte was succeeded by Murat, who made his entry into Naples on September 6th, 1808, and those who knew the two men were aware that this meant a complete change in the conduct of the war—

a change from languor to masterly activity. The other event was the reinforcement of the garrison of Capri by the Royal Regiment of Malta—an increase merely in numbers, for the Maltese were not fit to stand in the shoes of the Corsicans, and the issue demonstrated the blunder of placing such troops at the post of danger.

One important effect of the change was to transfer the command of Anacapri to Major Hamill, who now occupied the advanced position with the Malta regiment, while Church and his Corsicans joined Hudson Lowe in Capri. The relief took place on September 16th, and the French were not slow to turn it to their own advantage.

Church had been longing for an attack, but now he had lost hope of a scrimmage. "There is no chance of our being attacked," he wrote, "as at present we have two regiments here : I kept the place for two years with one !" Only a week after this confident assertion, a large flotilla sailed from Naples with 3,000 men under La Marque. The French attacked the island on all sides, but were vigorously repulsed by Hudson Lowe from the lower town. Anacapri was less fortunate, and less well defended. Church, with three companies of Corsicans, was ordered up from Capri to support the Maltese, but these had already allowed the enemy to land, under cover of the guns of a considerable flotilla, including a frigate, sloop-of-war, mortar-boat, and twenty-four gun-boats, which kept up a perpetual cannonade against the heights, under which their men ascended to the summit.

: : : : : :

The story of how Anacapri was lost is told in the following dispatch which was subsequently published :—



INTERIOR OF A FORT AT PUNTA CAMPETIELLO.

REPORT of the proceedings of a detachment of the British regiment, the Royal Corsicans, in the action of the 4th October, 1808, in the island of Capri, commanded by Captain Richard Church.

Capri,

5th October, 1808.

Sir,

In pursuance to your directions on the morning of the 4th October ultimo, I proceeded with a detachment of three companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers to Anacapri, and placed myself under the orders of Major Hamill of the Royal Regiment of Malta.

On my arrival at the heights of Damacouta,¹ I found the enemy had already effected his debarkation under cover of the fire of a frigate, sloop-of-war, one mortar-boat, and about 30 gun-boats, besides various armed boats.

The position occupied by the Royal Regiment of Malta formed a crescent along the heights extending from those over Orico (where the enemy landed) to the lime-kiln on the road leading to the town. Farther on to the left, and considerably advanced towards the enemy, I detailed two companies of my detachment commanded by Captains Nicholson and Susini,² to occupy the little height called Orico. Between this post and the Royal Regiment of Malta, there appeared to me to be a considerable interval.

The right of the line was occupied by my own company, having a company of the Regiment of Malta and a field-piece to protect the landing-place of Gratula in

¹ Now spelt Damecuta.

² Variouslly spelt Nicolson and Susino.

my rear : this company and gun I had occasion to bring to reinforce the line during the action.

I joined the Regiment of Malta about two o'clock in the afternoon, a little after the enemy had landed and who were endeavouring to advance, whilst their men-of-war and gun-boats kept up an incessant fire upon the heights. We had, however, the satisfaction to repulse the enemy in four several attempts which he made to turn our right and left, and in which he suffered considerable loss.

At sunset, the enemy had completely retired and covered himself amongst the rocks at the place of his debarkation.

The action had now ceased, except with at intervals some loose firing between the enemy's sharpshooters and ours ; and, I occasionally annoyed him with some discharges of grape from a long four-pounder, but which was in want of ammunition.

During the action, a division of the enemy, which had been repulsed in an attempt to land at Capri, disembarked at Orico.

From the various repulses the enemy met with, I had reason to conceive his intention was to re-embark ; but, at about eight o'clock,—just as the moon arose—, we perceived the enemy in motion, and his skirmishers recommenced the action.

I now plainly perceived him formed in three considerable columns, covering the flank of his left column with his light troops, and advancing across the plain of Orico obliquely to his right in the direction of the town.

In conjunction with the companies of the Royal Regiment of Malta on my left, I kept up a brisk fire upon the enemy's flank, but could not follow him, as a reserve of the enemy threatened my right.

It soon became evident that the enemy had penetrated

our line, and his drums in the town now convinced me of it, the companies of the Royal Regiment of Malta had retired, and I found it necessary to provide for the safety of my detachment.

From the known ability, conduct and local knowledge, possessed by Captains Nicholson and Susini, I was persuaded those companies would effect their retreat although surrounded by the enemy in every direction.

Finding all hopes of, and even utility of, defending the post I occupied completely dissipated, I commenced my retreat by the left,—after throwing the field-piece into the sea—, through the vineyards and narrow roads leading from Damacouta to the Capo di Monte,—as the enemy were in possession of the town and the whole country around me as well as between me and it.

I had retreated about a quarter of a mile, when, to my infinite surprise, I fell in with a strong division of the enemy, by whom I was challenged.

There was no alternative, I answered the challenge in French, and said we were French troops pushing on to the town. By this means I extricated myself from the enemy, and passed him, until some soldiers of the Maltese Regiment, who had retired with me, discovered by their red coats that we were enemies. The enemy then opened a fire upon me, and followed me for near a mile. Local knowledge of the country at length enabled me to avoid him, after having lost several men. Having arrived at the Capo di Monte a short time before the enemy, I found, to my great satisfaction, that Captain Nicholson's company had arrived there.

I now determined to seize the redoubt on Monte Solaro, and to act afterwards as circumstances should direct.

On my march up the mountain, I had the pleasure to fall in with Captain Susini's company, which had also escaped the hands of the enemy.

After I had found that a sufficient number of men of the Royal Regiment of Malta had arrived to occupy the fort, I conceived it my duty to endeavour still to continue my retreat to Capri. At this moment, a letter from Colonel Lowe, directed to Major Hamill, or, in his absence, to me, decided my resolution ; and, as I knew that it was possible for a man to pass the face of the mountain which divides Anacapri from Capri, I resolved to attempt leading my detachment down it.

I am happy to say I succeeded in my attempt with the loss of only one man, killed by falling from the rocks into the valley underneath.

As it is not in my power to state the numbers of the enemy, I shall only observe that it was infinitely superior to ours, and that, when they had once landed, our line became so extensive as to render it almost impossible to occupy it.

I am convinced, from the opportunity I had of observing, that the enemy's loss was severe, and four officers carrying his advanced standards were killed by sharp-shooters of my detachment.

I beg leave to mention my high satisfaction at the gallantry and conduct displayed by the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men composing the detachment I had the honour to command, not only in action of nearly six hours, but also for the perseverance and cheerfulness with which they performed a retreat, the difficulties of which, Sir, it would be superfluous to mention to you.

I enclose a return of the loss I have sustained, which I am happy to say, is not long.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

R. Church,

Captain commanding detachment Royal Corsicans.
Lt.-Col. Com. Hudson Lowe, Com., Capri.

Church, in forwarding to his home this copy of his report, writes :—

“In my next letter, I will give you a detailed account of my retreat through the enemy’s column, and the conversation I had with the French officers by whom I was cheered as I passed, as I had succeeded in making them believe we were French, although we touched their men in passing them,—also how I got down the face of a rock 150 feet high (perpendicular height) with arms, ammunition, etc.”

The French had won the day by a surprise, largely due to the supineness of the Malta regiment, but Church and the Corsicans enjoyed the full measure of praise for their daring. “Captain Church’s exertions,” reported Hudson Lowe, “were peculiarly conspicuous. The orderly retreat of this detachment, through parties of the enemy, and down precipices heretofore deemed impracticable, forms the highest eulogium on the officers who guided it. They had been twenty hours under arms and in constant movement.”

For a fortnight the garrison in Capri held out against the slow siege of the French, who did not venture on an assault. For twelve days and nights the garrison was perpetually under arms. The reinforcements despatched by Sir John Stuart from Sicily were impeded by calms or dispersed by gales, and meanwhile ammunition ran short and a successful assault became imminent. When the enemy offered honourable terms of capitulation, Colonel Lowe had no alternative but to accept them, and to withdraw his force to Sicily. It was a severe blow to the British fame, and grievously weakened the effect of Maida. The French had enjoyed every advantage : an English frigate had retired before them, no sufficient succour had been attempted, the

weather had been unprecedentedly calm for the time of year, and had allowed a singularly easy disembarkation of troops and guns, and then changing to a gale prevented the arrival of British reinforcements ; while the regiment at the point of attack had proved unequal to its duties. Nevertheless, it was a calamity which the English burned to retrieve.

On October 15th, Church had been wounded in the head by a splinter from the last shot fired by the enemy, while he was leading the sharpshooters of Capri, and he was put on board ship in a disabled state. On his arrival in Sicily he became the hero of the hour, and was warmly welcomed by the Commander-in-Chief and recommended for the majority in the Malta Regiment, vacant by the death of Major Hamill. He never joined the regiment, however, for he was soon well enough to ride across the island to Messina, where he became assistant quartermaster-general under Colonel Bunbury.

: : : :

The following letters of Church, though subsequent to it, relate to his command in Capri. They are written to his mother, and to his brother :—

Messina,

12th April, 1809.

Should any motive of a political nature prevent Sir John Stuart's dispatches from being made public, I shall feel a mortification with which nothing shall make me put up. I have no manner of making you acquainted with the conduct of your son, as a servant of his country

in the arduous duty of a soldier—almost always in presence of the enemy—, but through the channel of the General under whom I serve. If my conduct is unworthy and base, the tidings are born on the wings of malice, or by the just reproach of my commanding officers to your ears ; and, my country disclaims me as her son. If, on the other hand, my humble efforts should gain me the applause of those whose duty it is to reward or reprove, and it should please him to signify such in his public dispatch, it is a hard case that you should be deprived of the satisfaction of reading such, because, in applauding those who did their duty, shame must overtake those who merit it, but whom interest may screen from the contempt and indignation of their country. But on this subject I write fully to John.¹ The truth must be told.

* * * * *

(Eruption of Etna). Duty has hitherto prevented my having that pleasure, as the situation I hold is of a most confidential nature, and I have therefore the more difficulty in being absent from the headquarters of the army. In my letter to John, I mentioned my being placed on the staff of the army, and in one of its most respectable situations,—assistant-quartermaster-general to the forces. The situation, after the first expenses are got over, will be a lucrative one, at least tolerably so ; but, in the first instance, requires a considerable expenditure for the purchase of horse and various other appointments. Colonel Bunbury, the quartermaster-general, is very much my friend, and a man of considerable military abilities as well as the most respectable connexions in England.

¹ The brother of Richard Church.

Messina,

13th April, 1809.

I am so mortified at the non-appearance of certain despatches in the public papers that I really am at a loss how to express myself on so provoking an affair. I hope my last letter has reached you in safety to give you at least some idea how the island of Capri was taken, where the fault lay, and the efforts that were made on the part of Colonel Lowe and his regiment to do at least their duty. I lose all patience when I think that as yet no official account of this business has been given to the public, as there you would have seen that my humble endeavours to do my duty met with the approval of both my immediate Commanding Officer and the General-in-Chief, in whose dispatches I have every reason to believe I was mentioned with distinction. If it gave you satisfaction to read a line or two mentioning my conduct at Maida, it would have given you still more to read a dispatch of my own, sent to England by the Commander-in-Chief, in whose official dispatches I have *good* reason to know that I was mentioned with considerable applause.

After having been the only officer who had a command entrusted to him,—engaged a force infinitely superior to my own, and repulsed them for several times—, at length, when abandoned and surrounded on every side, I made good my retreat through the heart of the enemy's troops (with all my people) whom I deceived by speaking to them in their own language, answering as French troops to every question they thought of putting to me, and, after having passed the enemy in this manner, I continued my retreat to Capri, and descended a precipice (a perpendicular rock of one hundred and eighty feet high) with my brave followers, one of whom

was unfortunately dashed to pieces by falling from the rocks into the valley underneath. Thus, after an action of about eight hours, and a retreat of a most perilous nature which took some ten hours to effect, I happily brought my three companies to take their share in the defence of the town, which was on the point of being attacked,—whilst every individual officer of a certain regiment, by some means or other, fell into the hands of the enemy. In the action, I lost one-third of the gallant soldiers I had the honour to command. From the moment the town of Capri was blockaded and attacked by the enemy's army for a space of fifteen perilous days, and an equal number of nights, my exertions were . . . to counteract the enemy's designs, as well as to inspire with courage the hearts of all concerned in the defence of the place, my highly respected friend Colonel Lowe giving me a *carte blanche* to do by day or night what appeared most advisable, as it was impossible, alert and attentive in everything as he was, that he could be present everywhere.

By night, by day, we fought the enemy. We toiled to increase our defences, to make the utmost of our small means to guard against surprise against assault. To the mines with which we were encompassed, we were obliged to pay the most extraordinary attention during the wet, dark, and dreary nights of the siege, to prevent the enemy from placing them in such a manner as to be able by one explosion to open the way for five thousand chosen troops to rush upon four hundred and fifty—the number of the brave defenders of the place. It fell to my particular lot to be chosen for the command of those picked men who, from the dawn of day until the obscurity of night, were constantly engaged with the enemy's light troops, as well as being exposed to the fire of their artillery in a much greater degree than the

rest of the troops. I commanded the riflemen of the regiment, and everyone knows the nature of that service. Night brought no relief to my toils and those of my companions, for the watch upon the walls required the vigilance of . . . to prevent the enemy from effecting by surprise, favoured by the impenetrable darkness of night, what his courage was not able to attempt during the day. At night we worked with our own hands to repair our many breaches, to remount our guns, which the enemy's fire had dismounted, and, in short, to do everything invention could suggest, and zeal, or the point of honour, dictate. In this manner did fifteen days and nights waste our strength, destroy our defences, and consume our ammunition, besides the slaughter of our people and those who died from sickness,—as the very men on the bed of sickness in the hospital filled with . . . enthusiasm forgot their maladies, and assisted their brother-soldiers in the defence of the place. At length, abandoned by our Navy,—who allowed reinforcements of men, provisions, and ammunition to arrive in the enemy's camp, whilst we, persecuted by tempestuous weather, were cut off from the possibility of succour—, Capri fell!—and the last, the very last cannon-shot from the enemy's batteries, which completed our ruin by knocking down our last points of defence, stretched your brother amongst the ruins of his post, on the ground,—at this instant, one of the officers of my company was also wounded, by a musket-ball, in the temple—, besides killing and wounding several men that were with us. Heaven saved our beloved Colonel, who had a rifle, which he held in his hands, shattered to pieces by a cannon-shot. Thus . . . ended the unfortunate affair of Capri, out of which place, and from falling into the enemy's hands, we were extricated by the



WALL IN THE TRACK OF THE DESCENT OF SIR RICHARD CHURCH,
built by the Commune of Anacapri for octroi reasons.

consummate talents and noble firmness of our Commanding Officer, whose capitulation was such as to gain the honour and applause of the whole army in Sicily, whilst his heroic conduct and the defence of the place was the admiration of the enemy. You will be proud when I tell you that the only officers wounded in this affair were your brother and all the officers of his company, and, what is more singular, we were all wounded in the head, in different parts.

In a short time I hope to send you home a detailed narrative of this business which is now finished. If by the next packet we find the whole of this affair is not given to the public, I shall feel a mortification of a nature hitherto unexperienced.

The affairs in Spain have certainly been most unfortunate. Bravery cannot, it is clear, continue against immense superiority of numbers. I regret extremely the death of Sir John Moore, but it is the fate of a soldier to die on the field of battle. Austria has a military aspect at the present moment, but I fear she will not come forward, although here we are very sanguine about it, and expect it will bring our little army into the field, which I sincerely hope may be the case, as I abhor our present state of inactivity. It is a pity Austria did not come forward when Sir John Moore landed in Spain. The Battle of Corunna probably in that case might not have taken place.

We have had some Austrian officers on missions to the Court at Palermo, and one has passed by Malta going to Cagliari, rumour says, to invite the King of Sardinia to take command of the Austrian army in Italy.

: : : :

The following account is a brief outline of the life of Richard Church from the date of his association with Capri until his death :—

Church was present in the campaign of Ischia and Procida in 1809. In 1810, he was sent as chief of the staff and assistant-quartermaster-general to the expedition under Sir J. Oswald, which captured the islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca and Cerigo from the French. He raised and commanded as Major,—commission dated January 25th, 1811—, a corps of Albanian Greeks, with which he took part in the capture of Santa Maura in 1811 : severely wounded and mentioned in dispatches. He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel of the same corps on November 11th, 1812, in which year he proceeded to England on leave. While at home he was employed on a special mission to the headquarters of the allied armies, in the course of which he visited Christiania, Stralsund, Berlin, Reichenbach and Vienna. At the last place he was attached as British Military Resident to the force under General Nugent which drove the French out of Styria, Istria, etc.

Embarking at Fiume, he rejoined his regiment in the Ionian Islands. On his arrival he raised a second regiment of the same nature—the Duke of York's Greek Light Infantry—to which he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel Commandant—commission dated May 25th, 1813—with which he captured the island of Paxo from the French, in February, 1814.

He was summoned to the Congress of Vienna to advise the British Ambassador on the subject of the Ionian Islands, and prepared a report, for which he received the thanks of Lord Clancarty. On the escape of Napoleon from Elba, he was appointed British Military Resident with the Austrian Army under Marshal Bianchi, and accompanied Nugent in his rapid march on Rome. There he raised a corps of Neapolitan refugees. He was present at the Battle of Tolentino, and he entered Naples with the Austrians after the

defeat of Murat. Subsequently, he accompanied Bianchi's army into the South of France in a similar capacity.

After the peace, Church took service as Major-General in the Neapolitan army, being appointed inspector of foreign troops. In 1817, he was sent on a mission to the Apulias, where brigandage had assumed intolerable proportions. As a result of his report, he was appointed Governor of those provinces with unlimited powers.¹ In a vigorous campaign of a few weeks, he captured and executed all the principal brigands, broke up their bands, and restored order. He retained his position, with modified powers, until 1820. The efficacy of his measures may be judged by their results. Before 1817, murders were taking place at the rate of from 20 to 30 weekly : during the last two years of his administration, no single case occurred.

In 1820, Church was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Sicily with the rank of Lieutenant-General ; but, on arrival at Palermo, he found the troops in revolt, and a revolution in progress. The officers were out of hand, and possessed no influence with their men. Failing to effect anything, he returned to Naples to report, and he was imprisoned there for some months by the revolutionary party without any charge being preferred against him. A Court of Enquiry eventually declared his conduct to have been highly honourable, and he was set at liberty, and re-instated in his rank.

In 1827, Church landed in Greece, having offered his services in the War of Liberation against the Turks.

¹ The phrase "unlimited powers" is to be taken literally. He could, for instance, order any individual to execution, without reason given. His title was "Commissario del Re, con l'Alter Ego."

It need not be said that Sir Richard Church did not exercise his full powers. Even the notorious *Ciro Annichiarico*, with over sixty murders and other infamies to his account, and taken in arms against his King, was tried before being shot. The expression "unlimited powers" is probably hardly conceivable to an Englishman of the present day.

He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Greek armies, and was induced, against his judgment, to take personal command of the force which was attempting to relieve the Acropolis. There he found himself committed to an impossible plan of campaign, with disloyal colleagues ; and, two months after his arrival in the country, he was confronted with the alternative of fighting a battle against an enemy superior in numbers, in discipline, and in armament, or of dissolving his own army. He chose the former, and his plan gave a chance to the beleagured Greeks to break out of Athens, and join hands with him. However, lack of discipline caused it to miscarry, and two thousand of his best troops were cut to pieces, while the remainder refused to move to their support. Church himself was surrounded, and barely escaped with his life.

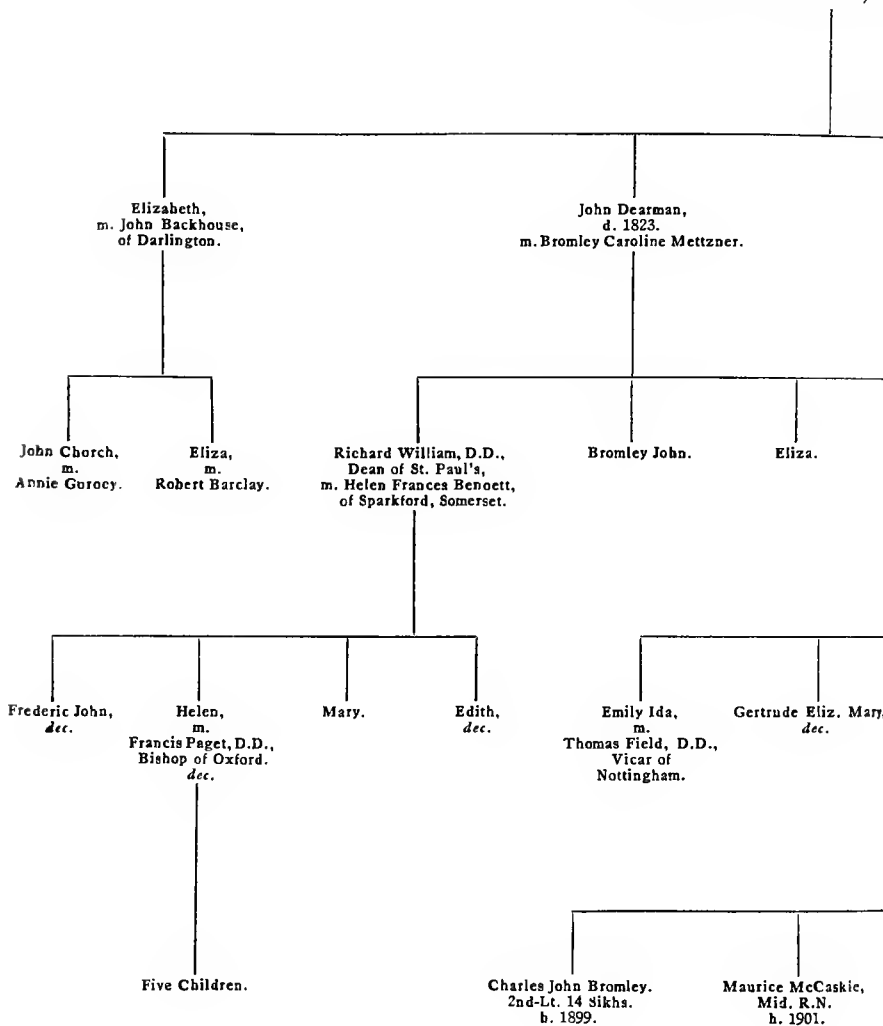
Rallying the remnants of his army, he occupied the barren rock of Munychium, and proceeded to re-organise. Desertion was frequent, and he made little effort to prevent it, preferring a few brave men to a mob of cowards. For three weeks he held his position, organising a supply-service of boats, which brought provisions nightly from Salamis, threatening the Turkish communications whenever they showed any disposition to advance on the Isthmus of Corinth, and skirmishing whenever he had an opportunity of doing so at an advantage. Then, having effectually restored the *morale* of his troops, he carried out a rapid and skilful evacuation, embarking all his supplies and guns, without a single casualty, in the face of a superior force. Then he occupied the passes of Mount Geraneion, safeguarding the Isthmus, and proceeded with his work of re-organisation.

The battle of Navarino made it possible for Greece to be free ; but, it was still necessary to fight for a frontier which should include more than the Peloponese.

Immediately on hearing of the battle, Church threw himself, with a tiny army of 1,000 men, across the Straits of Patras. He established and fortified a camp at Dragomestre in Acarnania, and called all patriotic Greeks to his standard. In the course of a two-years' campaign, he advanced to Vonitza, at the Western end of the Gulf of Arta. That fortress was captured, the Straits were forced, and the command of the Gulf was assured, by a flotilla of gun-boats. The main communication between Missolonghi and Lepanto and their base at Arta being thus interrupted, Church seized the passes of Macrinoros at the Eastern end of the Gulf, so completing the isolation of the Provinces of Aetolia and Acarnania, which, lightly held and cut off from supplies and re-inforcements, fell without difficulty into Greek hands.

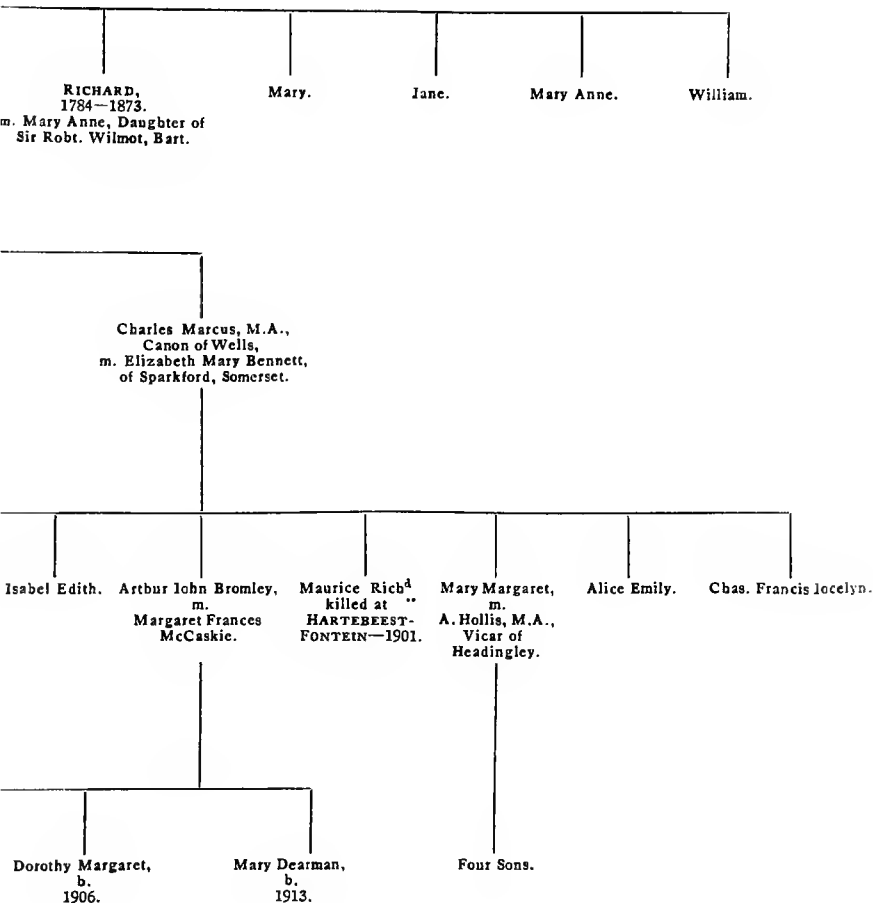
On the monument of Sir Richard Church at Athens, it is recorded that he gave himself, and all that he had, for the cause: and, the sentence is literally true. He was under no delusion as to the sacrifice entailed. While it seemed as if Greece might work out her own deliverance, he stood aloof. It was at her darkest hour, after it had become apparent that her own unaided efforts could not throw off the Turkish yoke, and before the Powers of Europe had shown any disposition to intervene, that he gave up his rank, his prospects and his fortune, on her behalf. He knew the Greeks well, and he had little hope of enhancing his military reputation in the service of a country where, whatever may have been their courage and patriotism, the virtues of discipline and subordination were not to be found. His wife, to whom he had been married but six months, encouraged him to go, and, in the event, it entailed a life-long separation. He asked for no rewards, and made no bargain with the Greek people. His little fortune

MATTHEW CHURCH,
m. ANNE DEARMAN,



OF CORK.

OF BRATHWAITE, YORKS.



was soon spent, and he freely pledged his credit in their cause ; so that when, forty years and more later, he died at Athens, his papers showed upwards of £10,000 to be still due to him from the Greek Government, not for any military-pay or emolument, but for sums spent by him in procuring supplies, arms, and ammunition for the men of their armies.

Sir Richard Church was a Companion of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Hanoverian Guelfic Order, Knight Commander of the Royal Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Neapolitan Order of St. George of the Reunion, and Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Saviour of Greece. He died in 1873 at the age of 89 years.

The foregoing pedigree, added to other information, has been supplied by Colonel Arthur John Bromley Church,¹ a great-nephew of Sir Richard Church, whose children are the only descendants in the latest generation who bear the name of Church. His father, who was Canon of Wells, died in 1915 at the age of 92, and his mother is still living at the Liberty Wells, curiously enough in the same house that she entered on her marriage, fifty-five years ago.

¹ Colonel A. J. B. Church joined the Connaught Rangers in 1889, and served in the campaign on the North-West Frontier of India in 1897. On his marriage in 1898, he joined the Army Pay Department, in which he has served ever since, holding now the rank of temporary Colonel and Chief Paymaster, his permanent rank being Lieutenant-Colonel and Staff Paymaster.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEAPOLITAN AND FRENCH ACCOUNTS OF THE CAPTURE OF CAPRI, BY GENERAL PIETRO COLLETTA AND COLONEL FRANCIS MACERONI

THE following account of the capture of the island of Capri is to be found in the history of the Kingdom of Naples, 1734-1825, by General Pietro Colletta, translated from the Italian by S. Horner, published in 1858.

First, however, it must be stated that General Colletta was a Neapolitan who fought with the French, and that to him was due the plan of attack carried out successfully by General La Marque. Disguised as a fisherman he had studied the island from the sea, and thus he had chosen the weak spots, where the French could land. He was wounded in the fight. It seems desirable that this account should be given so that the Neapolitan and French version, in which there are naturally many small discrepancies, may be contrasted with the English. Secondly, it must be noted that Colletta did not begin to write his history until 1825, finishing it in 1830, and that Maceroni did not publish his history before 1838 ; so that they cannot be described as written contemporaneously.

By way, too, of preface, it must be stated that everyone who studies the history of the island should read "Capri," by J. C. MacKowen. Colonel Dr. MacKowen was a great traveller : he lived for about thirty years

in the Island of Capri, where he settled in Anacapri in the house covered with ancient sculpture on the main road, Via Timpone. He had a daughter, by a Caprese¹ wife, called Mariucc', who married and lives with her family in the old home. When the war between the United States and Spain broke out, MacKowen left Capri to fight for his own country, for he was an American : but, he was killed soon afterwards in a tavern-brawl.

In a monograph entitled "The Lost Literature of Capri," printed by Luigi Pierro, 402 Via Roma, Naples, is the following statement :—

"A box full of his MSS., some of which doubtless dealt with Capri, has been sent to America, and is now as good as lost. MacKowen's book on this island has been suggestive in various ways, and the following details of his life may be of interest to future writers. He was born in New Orleans, and distinguished himself in the Civil War. He studied medicine in Bavaria, and published his doctor's thesis on 'Atrophy of the Kidneys.' He came to Capri soon after 1876, and remained there till about two years before his death, which occurred in New Orleans in 1902, at the age of 59."

In referring to the Neapolitan and French version, MacKowen writes : "The account given by Colletta differs in many points from the English account ; but, such discrepancies always exist, and, in trying to get at the truth, it is necessary to judge of the credibility of the sources from which these two accounts are derived. The English is almost exclusively taken from facts related by the Capriotes to Mangoni,² and as the islanders

¹ The islanders are called Capriotes, and Capresi, or Anacapriotes, and Anacapresi.

² Mangoni was a Neapolitan priest, who published in 1834 a diffuse, though interesting history of Capri. His "Ricerca Storiche sull' isola di Capri" is interesting ; but, it is inaccurate. See "Three Monographs," of which 250 copies were printed in 1906, and published by Luigi Pierro, 402 Via Roma, Naples.



A STONE SENTRY-BOX, BUILT BY THE BRITISH.
Punta Campanella, opposite, is the nearest point on the mainland.

were very partial to the English, because under their rule an extensive contraband trade¹ was carried on with the mainland, it is natural that the sympathies of the Capriotes should have been contrary to the French, who put an end to this trade, and thus deprived the islanders of a large revenue. Colletta commenced his history in 1825, and finished it in 1830. Many of the minor details of this expedition had escaped his memory, but in the main he was mostly correct. A man of his high position would not purposely deceive, though it is possible that the bitterness of exile, and the persecution of the Bourbons, may have tempted him to exaggerate the gallantry of his friends, who were the enemies of the Bourbons. The English in England were not at all satisfied with the conduct of their countrymen, and, while most critics found fault with the fleet, yet it is most probable that the incapacity of Sir Hudson Lowe brought about the loss of the island."

General Colletta writes :—

"Capri, which is twenty-six miles² distant from Naples, and three from the promontory of Campanella, rises, in its whole circumference, in high rocks from the sea ; a narrow roadstead, called the Port, affords an insecure shelter to small ships ; in another place, a strip of sandy coast would allow the approach of light vessels, were they not kept at a distance by powerful batteries of cannon, fortifications, and entrenchments. The interior of the island is divided into two parts ; that towards the East of moderate elevation, while the other facing the West is extremely lofty. In the first is situated the city, properly called Capri, besides many

¹ A douane, or custom-house with its duties, exists, strange to say, between Capri and Anacapri, and custom examinations take place on the road between the two towns, which are little more than villages, on the island. Smuggling on a small scale has taken place not infrequently by the track of the retreat of Sir Richard Church, and in that track, here and there, erections have been made at times to prevent it.

² 19 miles is more accurate.

villas, the Port, and part of the beach called the Marina ; it contains the proud remains of Tiberian luxury, and possesses a fertile soil, covered with vines : on the opposite side, named Anacapri, the land is sterile and rugged, and the sky laden with clouds and agitated by winds ; a small village built there is connected with the other side of the island by a narrow road, cut into the rock in three hundred and eighty-one high steps,¹ most of which are worn with age or eroded by water. Four thousand inhabitants cultivate the island, and were at that time friendly to the English garrison, which consisted of eighteen hundred soldiers. Whoever ventured near was stopped by the ditch, the wall, or the guard ; the harbour, and the Marina, were fenced in by batteries of cannon ; five forts, one at Anacapri, and four at Capri, all well provided with arms, commanded the whole country, and the city was surrounded by a wall. The English, who believed this post impregnable, called it the 'Little Gibraltar' ; but, nothing could daunt the military ardour of Joachim, who considered it a disgrace that he should from his palace behold the enemy's colours flying, and that their garrison should remain careless and secure.

“ His scheme having been well matured, he fitted out a considerable number of boats, laden with French and Neapolitan soldiers, and he confided the supreme command to General La Marque. In the night of the 3rd October, the principal part of the expedition started from the port of Naples, while a smaller force sailed from Salerno. At midday on the 4th, the island was invested on three sides, on that of the Port, on the Marina, and on a high part of the shore of Anacapri.

¹ The number of steps of this old Phœnician stairway, formerly the only roadway from Capri to Anacapri, is variously estimated. Hadrava gives it as 552, Mangoni as 553. They are five to six feet in breadth, and zig-zag up the steep rocks.

Of the three attacks, the two first were feints, although by the number of vessels engaged, and by the impetuosity of the assault, they might be supposed in earnest, while Anacapri, which was invaded by so insignificant a force as almost to escape observation, was the real point of attack. Here upon a little rock covered by the waves, several officers disembarked, and leaning a wooden-ladder against the cliff ascended to the top, and scrambled for a considerable distance over the crags ; placing another ladder, and mounting it, they arrived at a spacious landing, crowned with great stones, disposed by nature in the form of an arch, the last impediment to be overcome before reaching the summit of what formed the back of the island.

“ The road was thus made ; one after the other followed the first who had disembarked, until upwards of eighty, amongst whom was our general, had set foot on the island. As a sign of triumph, our pennon was planted on the top of each ladder, but the defenders of the place were so negligent, that they had not yet perceived our approach. We were at length discovered. The enemy ran up the crest of the overhanging eminence, but were kept at bay by the shots fired at them from behind the masses of rock ; timid and irresolute, they waited for the succour they had sent for from Capri, and did not venture nearer. In the meantime, more of our soldiers were disembarked, and so rapidly, that five hundred of them were soon engaged in the fray.

“ A storm now arose, and our ships were obliged to put out to sea ; it was, therefore, impossible to approach the first rock, and the few who had the courage to attempt it were drowned ; the disembarkation was therefore stopped. The number who had already landed being insufficient for the enterprise,—as out of five hundred, seven had been killed, and a hundred and thirty-five

wounded—, they waited for night, which was now near, hoping it might conceal our inferiority from the enemy, and add to their terror. In the meantime, the battle raged on all sides of the island. Colonel Lowe, although an adept in police-strategy, was inexperienced in that of war ; he became confused, and confounded all the rules of generalship. With considerable difficulty he shifted the garrisons within the island from place to place without aim or object ; but, following the direction of our boats, which moved with facility out at sea, he meanwhile neglected to strengthen Anacapri, and to send succour to the little regiment of Maltese by which it was defended. The night arrived, and the appearance of war ceased, though not its anxieties.

“The heavens favoured us : after a short period of darkness, the moon rose clear and full upon the horizon, and illuminated the crest of that eminence which was guarded by the enemy. The English were exposed to our view, while we were concealed by the rocks and the shadow of the hill ; thus, killed or wounded, the remainder were forced to retreat, leaving some behind them as scouts, who soon afterwards fell, or made their escape, since they were seen and fired at by our men, and the place remained deserted. Our little army was then formed into two columns, and having surmounted the last obstacles the ground presented, without meeting with any opposition, we marched on in silence, one column moving to the right, and the other to the left of the rocks, behind which, in order to make a noise and thereby deceive the enemy, several soldiers were ensconced, who continued firing, whilst we, unobserved, reached the platform at the top of the hill, within a small distance of the enemy's troops. We attacked them with impetuosity, shouting, discharging our fire-arms, and beating our drums, and put them to the

roul: they all yielded themselves prisoners, except a few of the more quick and active, who escaped in the confusion of the night, and, amidst the intricacies of the paths and of the country, succeeded in shutting themselves up in the fort.

“That same night we, having gained the head of the long stair which leads to Capri, and occupied as much ground in Anacapri as we were able to reconnoitre, surrounded the fort. At daybreak, on the 5th, the garrison was summoned to surrender, and was menaced with being reduced to the last extremity if they attempted any resistance, which our messenger,—as is common in such cases—, assured them would be useless. After a brief consultation, the fort was given up, and three hundred more soldiers yielded themselves prisoners, who, with the four hundred already taken, were sent in triumph to Naples. They arrived just when the malice of some, the fears of others, and the loquacity usual with the common people, who love to spread tales of disaster, had reported our death or capture. Already masters of Anacapri, and therefore of the island, we were proud of having subjugated so strong a place, although we, the assailants, numbered only a fourth part of the enemy’s garrison, and of having taken prisoners double our own forces. The French soldiers among us gloried in fighting under the eyes of their old and valiant captain, and the Neapolitans rejoiced still more, in having gained the admiration of their new king, in their native city having been a witness of their prowess, and in having rivalled the French troops in skill and courage. That whole day, the king¹ had watched the assault and the defence from his palace, and sent orders and directions, which were only

¹ Joachim Murat, King of Naples. His occupied a house near the Monastery of the Annuziata at Massa Lubrense, above the Punta San Lorenzo.

suspended during the night ; the following day, before dawn, he resumed his labours, but soon afterwards growing impatient, he proceeded to Massa, the nearest point to Capri he could reach.

“ That day, having explored the promontory of Anacapri, we pitched our tents, and, although at the furthest point the guns could carry, erected batteries of cannon to attack the city which lay below ; after disposing of all the troops we had, we sent in haste for other squadrons, who were disembarked at the same place as the first, not being able to find, even after a deliberate survey, a less difficult landing than that selected amidst the turmoils and solicitude of war. Having waited for the night to descend into Capri, we expected at every step to meet the enemy, as from the houses, walls, and other impediments presented by the nature of the ground, it was well adapted for defence ; but Colonel Lowe, with more than a thousand soldiers, kept himself shut up in the city, which we therefore surrounded by our posts during the night, and the following day commenced the siege.

“ The English, who were in Ponza and Sicily, having received intimation of the dangers to which Capri was exposed, now hastened thither with a few ships of war ; and, on their arrival, corresponded by the port with the besieged city, and cut off our communications with Naples : they attempted or feigned an assault upon Anacapri, and by a well-sustained and copious fire of artillery, interrupted the siege. At that moment, we—French and Neapolitans—, attacked and attacking, while obliged to carry on a double warfare, which added to our fatigue as well as to our glory, formed a new battery—called in honour of the siege, ‘ the Breach,’—but which was three hundred metres¹ distant from the

¹ About 375 yards.



FORTIFICATIONS ON THE OLD PATHWAY FROM THE TOWN TO THE MARINA GRANDE.

city, so that when the fire opened, the guns being 6-pounders, the shot made holes in the walls without shaking them, and it became necessary to reduce the charge, in order to effect a breach. But Colonel Lowe, by nature timid, was still further discouraged by some Neapolitans now in Capri, who had fled in consequence of their crimes, or from having been engaged in conspiracies, and who feared to fall into the hands of the police of Naples; the flag of peace was therefore hoisted; the city, the fortress, the magazines, and all the materiel of war were given up on conditions which were fixed that day, the 18th October; and Colonel Lowe yielded himself prisoner, along with seven hundred and eighty English and Corsican soldiers, to be transported into Sicily, upon their parole not to fight against the Neapolitans or French, or the allies of France, for a year and a day. Those unhappy or guilty persons, who had taken refuge in Capri, received an asylum on board the English ships, before the capitulation was signed. The city was surrendered, and the prisoners departed within two days; and meanwhile, ships, soldiers, and fresh appliances of war arrived from Sicily: but, too late.

“Capri was garrisoned and better fortified by the French, for the late siege had discovered many errors in construction, and the island having from a hostile territory become part of the kingdom, its military relations were altered. The Government granted the islanders the profits arising from the customs during one year, but the grant was not equivalent to their previous gains resulting from English liberality, the opportunities for contraband trade, and the waste of public money amidst the solitudes of war. This enterprise, by the rapidity with which it was carried through, by the manner in which it was

conducted, and by its results, added to the glory of Joachim.”

: : : :

The following account of the capture of the island of Capri is to be found in the memoirs of the life and adventures of Colonel Maceroni,¹ who was aide-de-camp to Joachim Murat, King of Naples, a Knight of the Legion of Honour, and of St. George of the two Sicilies, &c., published in 1838 :—

“The island of Capri, within full view of Naples, from which the assassins in the service of the Queen of Sicily were continually being landed on the Neapolitan coast, had a strong garrison commanded by Sir Hudson Lowe, consisting of three regiments,—one British, one Corsican, and one that had been raised at Malta officered by English—; making together 1,800 men. Three years had this island been in possession of the British, who expended much money and labour in adding to the strength of its naturally almost inaccessible formation, so it was very appositely called “the little Gibraltar.” There is but one little track of beach or landing-place ; all the rest of its circumference is perpendicular rock, many hundred feet high. Two essential conditions were required to attack such a place with any chance of success,—a chosen band of experienced soldiers, and the blow being given by surprise. In the night of the 3rd of October, fifteen hundred picked men, French and Neapolitans, were silently assembled in the Arsenal at Naples. To prevent information being previously sent to Capri, instead of making ladders for the purpose, several hundred of those which served for lighting the street lamps, were suddenly collected. The expedition, commanded by Lieutenant-General La Marque, and

¹ In 1817, the name was spelt Macirone, in 1838, it was spelt Maceroni. See note at the end of Chapter II.

Brigadier-General Pignatelli Strongoli, sailed at about eleven o'clock at night,—I saw them depart. The weather was beautiful, but being liable to variation at that season, a considerable swell was found to break upon those rocks, up which the men must necessarily climb with ropes and ladders from the boats. Some delay was caused by this agitation of the sea, which gave time to the garrison for preparation. Nevertheless, such was the ardour of the attack, that one hundred men, headed by Colonel Livron, climbed from their gun-boats up the rocks and got footing on the top. Livron, the foremost of the assailants, carrying a flag, lost two fingers of his right hand ; but, continuing to fight like a lion, he captured the nearest battery, with the loss of twenty-two of his little band. Four hundred more of the attackers were speedily on shore, and, driving the defenders from post to post, made four hundred prisoners on the heights of Anacapri. Sir Hudson Lowe timidly collected his troops in the Forts of San Michele, San Costanzo, and Forte Maggiore, on the other half of the island, to gain which from Anacapri, it is necessary to descend a precipice above a thousand feet perpendicular. No more than five hundred of Murat's troops had been able to effect their landing ; the rest were sailing round the island, in search of another point of attack. Sir Hudson Lowe, more expert at conspiracies and intrigue, than in the art of war, kept marching his troops from place to place in great confusion and perplexity. The five hundred landed on Anacapri, during the second night, obtained possession of the head of the stair, consisting of six hundred steps cut in the solid rock,¹ the only communication as already stated between Capri and Anacapri. On the following morning the fort of Anacapri surrendered to General

¹ The Phœnician stairway, already mentioned.

La Marque, and three hundred prisoners more, being added to the first four hundred, were immediately sent off to Naples, where I saw them arrive on the 5th of October, and became personally acquainted with the officers who were all English. From the commencement of the attack, King Joachim had placed himself on the promontory of Massa, or Campanella, which is within less than three miles of the island, from whence he issued orders, and, in some measure, directed the operations. No other place could be found by the Neapolitans for the effecting of another landing ; in fact, I believe that the apparent search for one was merely intended to bewilder poor Sir Hudson Lowe. The rest of the expedition now joined the other in Anacapri, and during the night of the 6th October, the descent into Capri, by the celebrated stair, was effected, and,—greatly to the surprise of the Neapolitans—, without any resistance from the garrison, which, with their commander, had prudently shut themselves up in the town and castle.

“But now several British and Sicilian frigates, and other ships of war, arrived with succour from the island of Ponza, and from Messina. An attempt was made to land British marines and seamen on Anacapri, but failed. However, the squadron communicated freely with Sir Hudson and the town by the only beach upon the island ; and all communication between Naples and the attacking forces was intercepted.

“La Marque and Pignatelli Strongoli erected a breaching-battery against the town, and also several others, to return the tremendous fire kept up by the British and Sicilian ships of war. It may well be supposed that the effect of the Neapolitan guns upon the walls subjected to their fire was inadequate to the purpose intended, inasmuch as they were only 6-pounder field-pieces, and placed at four hundred yards distance,

so that the balls penetrated the masonry without shaking it. In vain was the charge of powder augmented,—so the formation of a practicable breach was despaired of. It was then resolved, by means of ladders, connected together, to make a desperate escalade. Some decisive step must be taken. The sea was open to the British, who might, from one minute to another, receive overwhelming reinforcements from Messina. The Neapolitans themselves were now in fact besieged, and had almost made up their minds to a visit to the English prisons at Dartmoor. But, fortunately for them, they had to deal with Sir Hudson Lowe, who, on the 18th of October, hoisted the white flag, and that same day capitulated. The island, forts, magazines, artillery, and everything else, were given up. The garrison (seven hundred and eighty), together with their doughty commander, were allowed to retire to Sicily, under an oath not to bear arms against France or any of her allies, for the space of one year and one day.

“It was said, and with *some* degree of assurance, that Sir Hudson Lowe was seconded in his anxiety to put an end to the contest, by the representations of many of his Sicilian and Neapolitan brigand auxiliaries, who dreaded falling into the hands of the police of Naples,—where many crimes of arson, murder, and devastation, would have been brought to their doors. This plea, however bad in itself, was also demolished by the fact of the British ships being already there to receive them, which indeed they did, pending the two days which intervened between the capitulation and the evacuation of Sir Hudson Lowe.

“Several hours previous to the sailing of Sir Hudson, with his yearling prisoners, a squadron arrived from Sicily, with troops and everything requisite to turn

the tables upon General La Marque. Great must have been their chagrin and disappointment at the disgraceful coincidence ; how such feelings were expressed to Sir Hudson Lowe I do not know,—anyhow, his Government held by him. He was then a Colonel, but soon after was made a General : and, then, chosen as the fittest possible personage to be the moral executioner of Napoleon at St. Helena. So much for Sir Hudson Lowe.”¹

¹ The damaged walls on the Western side of the Palazzo Inglese bear still the marks of the French battery, placed during the siege, at Citrella.



THE WEST WALL OF THE TERRACE OF THE PALAZZO INGLESE.

CHAPTER V

ATTACK ON THE ISLAND OF CAPRI. Preliminary observations

British Museum : Manuscript 20,179, folios 59-62

THE island of Capri was wrested from the enemy by the Marines and Seamen Squadron of His Majesty's vessels, under Sir Sidney Smith's command in the month of May, 1806. The conduct of this expedition was intrusted to Captain Rowley of His Majesty's Ship "Eagle," who landed his principal force of the marines and a small division in the Bay of Mulo.¹

The enemy's troops, who had been summoned previous to the landing, retired to the town and Castle Hill.²

¹ Mulo, or Mulo, at Marina Piccola, on the south side of the island. The name is derived from the Latin word *Moles*, for there existed here a Roman pier, or mole.

² This hill is situated on the south-east coast, half way between the Marina Piccola and Punta Tragara. On the top is a castle, which was built by the Saracens. The interior was used as a powder-magazine by the English and French. The following are the highest points on the island :—

TABLE OF HEIGHTS.

	Metres.	Feet.
Monte Solaro	585	1920
Hermitage (Santa Maria a Cetrella) . .	494	1620
Barbarossa	403	1334
Villa Jovis (The Statue)	340	1115
Capodimonte	310	1016
Anacapri (Piazza)	300	980
Salto di Tiberio	297	974
Telegrafo	273	895
Castello	250	820
San Michele	245	804
Windmill	230	754
Torre Guardia	200	656
Materita (Damecuta)	151	495
Capri (Piazza)	137	450
Due Golfi	130	426
Certosa	103	318

The latter was stormed, and the French Commander being killed by a shot from Captain Hannus of the Royal Marines, the Second in Command beat a parley, and the whole island was immediately ceded to the British. Captain Bunce, who commanded the Royal Marines on this occasion, distinguished himself, as did the whole of that Corps, by the courage and hardiness with which their attack was conducted, and Capri, where there was also a detachment of French troops which had not been attacked at all, was ceded by the same capitulation which gave up the rest of the island.

Sir Sidney Smith applied immediately to Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart to grant him a garrison of British troops for its defences, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, with five Companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers, was ordered to proceed thither and take the command—as it was supposed the enemy would make an attempt to recover possession of the island. He was ordered to act conjunctly with the naval force in endeavouring to expel the enemy from it.

On his arrival, he found the island in a state of little or no defence. There existed not any work, or post, whatever, where the troops, after an enemy had landed, could resist, or hold out against, a superior force, and the coast, about nine miles in extent,¹ required to be guarded almost in every point, as the landing-places, though difficult, were numerous and some of them, such as the Marina and Bay of Mulo, sufficiently extensive to admit a debarkation of any number whatever, without any difficulty. For the protection of these, some guns had been landed from the Squadron and judiciously placed in flanking-positions on each side of the spots most

¹ The extreme length of the island is four miles, between Lo Capo and Punta Carena, the extreme breadth is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, between Punta Vetereta and Punta Carena, and the distance between the Marina Grande and the Marina Piccola is $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of a mile.

exposed to debarkation. But, as the batteries in which they were placed were not inclosed, a sudden attack of the enemy might put them immediately into his possession, and the heights to which the troops must have instantly retired : the possessing all the advantages of a very strong and commanding position were not, however, proof against an assault conducted with any degree of vigour by an enemy with superior numbers.

Captain Pasley of the Royal Engineers, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe was informed, was to land and make a survey of the island ; in the meantime, however, he was authorised to raise any trifling work that appeared indispensably requisite. The remaining five companies of his regiment were at the same time ordered to join him.

To guard against a coup-de-main was, of course, his primary object ; the constant presence of ships of war, of which three two-deckers were then in the Bay of Naples, giving no apprehension of an enemy's continued attack.

The Castle Hill was scalped,¹ and the Castle itself repaired and formed into a depôt for stores and provisions. Every landing-place was examined and walls built on cliffs—scalped in every part that appeared practicable, whether along the coast of Capri, or along the sea-line of Anacapri.

The Marina Grande,² which, after an enemy had landed, presented three roads to him, one in each flank and one in the centre, was closed, and had barriers placed in each point, whilst all the open spaces between the houses were filled up and connected together with walls.

¹ Laid bare.

² On the north side of the island. To the west of it is a villa built on an old French fort, beyond which is the one large level field, formerly used as a drill-ground, and called the Campo Militare, probably Roman. This is the only ground on the island at all resembling a grass-field. The British used also, for drill-purposes, ground, now vineyards, at the junction of the paths leading to the Telegrafo and to the Arco Naturale.

The cliffs of Mulo were scalped and parapet-walls built above extent. The landing-places at the back of the island were secured in similar manner, and the Town had every aperture by which an enemy could attempt to force admission closed and barricaded, whilst a wall was built to connect the left flank with a parapet-wall that crowned the Castle Hill.

At Anacapri,¹ the principal attention was directed to strengthen the post of Limbo,² a rocky landing-place where an enemy might land with great facility ; but, where the lofty cliffs that rose above the landing-place presented a more serious obstacle to him, a wall of defence was built to connect these cliffs with the precipices that overhung the sea ; and, by the zeal of Captain Church, to whom the post had been intrusted, it was rendered, from being the most easy, now the most difficult of any of the landing-points of Anacapri. Walls were at the same time built at the Marina of Limbo and every accessible part of the coast of Anacapri, where a footing could be obtained, was either scalped, mined, or had walls built across them,—though the great ruggedness of the coast in general rendered it impossible to fill every interstice in such a manner as to prevent men from clambering up the rocks, if the boats approached them unperceived, and there was no person to oppose. At the commencement of these operations, the island was visited by Captain Pasley, of the Royal Engineers, who remained two days ashore. He considered the defence of the island, in the first instance, as to be undertaken in conjunction with the Navy ; but, reflecting on the probability of their force

¹ The west portion of the island, formerly called Ana Capri, and now Anacapri. Capri and Anacapri might be likened to the figure eight, lying east and west, the eastern circle being Capri, the western circle being Anacapri, with two landing-places, the Marina Grande to the north, and the Marina Piccola to the south of the centre : or, better still, to a cavalier's boot, the foot pointing north-east being Capri, and the leg being Anacapri.

² At the south-west corner of the island.

being withdrawn, added some further observations to his Report on the occasion which, with the remarks made by Captain Lefebvre, the Commanding Engineer in Sicily, were transmitted to Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, who was directed to fortify the island in pursuance of the system thus prescribed for him, with the information that an estimate would be furnished to him regarding the expenditure. Nothing scarcely was said in these Reports regarding Anacapri to place the guns on the heights, so as to prevent the enemy from landing in the valley,¹ and carrying on his approaches against the town appeared to be the principal and almost sole object.

There were at this time on the island four 32-pounder carronades,² and two 18-pounders, all mounted near the beach. Four mountain-guns were sent him from Messina, and four 36-pounders were landed by Sir Sidney Smith ; but, these being thought at first too unwieldy to move upon the cliffs, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe by one means or other obtained four brass 4-pounders, carriages rotten, which he was in such a case fain to have recourse to. These were all successively mounted on the cliffs, or on the Castle Hill, as well as also the 36-pounders. When it is considered that no road for wheel-carriages existed on the island, that the roads which did exist were cut in steps, and that from the town to the cliffs, where the guns were to be mounted, there existed no roads at all, the difficulty may be well imagined. The guns were moved on sledges with rollers, and the carriages were carried in the same manner. One of these 36-pounders, weighing the same

¹ The valley which divided Capri from Anacapri.

² A short piece of ordnance having a large calibre and a chamber for the powder, like a mortar. From Carron, in Scotland, where it was first made. The term pounder is applied to pieces of ordnance with the number to express the weight of shot they fire. So, a 32-pounder is a cannon firing balls weighing each 32-lbs.

as an English 42-pounder, was moved to a cliff near 1,200 feet perpendicular height above the level of the sea. On this occasion, roads, batteries, works, guard-houses, magazines, implements of labour and conveyance, in short everything which the creation of a military post of nine miles in extent, almost every part of which required labour and attention in some shape or another, was to be undertaken with no other means than what a newly-raised corps of foreigners could furnish. Whilst the want of an estimate, as none was sent by the engineer, tended to raise embarrassment on the score of expense, and recourse was frequently obliged to be had to the labour of the men. But, in so critical a post for a foreign corps, left entirely to itself, surrounded by the enemy, and exposed to his arts, as well as to his arm, caution was requisite not to push this resource too far, and to make it, as much as possible, the effect of their voluntary ardour for the defence of the post intrusted to them. In this, however, the zeal of both officers and men most fully seconded him. In the month of August, the island was visited by Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore,¹ who narrowly inspected every part of the position of Capri : Anacapri he had no leisure to visit.

In the month of March, 1807, the island had been left nearly three months without a vessel of war approaching it, both provisions and money were at the lowest ebb. The enemy, imagining the island destitute of the due means of protection, resolved on an attack. An expedition sailed from the Mole of Naples² on the night of

¹ Sir John Moore (1761-1809), born at Glasgow, November 13th, 1761. In 1792, he sailed with his Corps, the 51st, to the Mediterranean. He was too late to assist at Toulon; but, he was engaged in Corsica, and won particular distinction at the taking of Calvi, where he was wounded. Soon after, he became adjutant-general to Sir Charles Stuart. He is chiefly known for his opposition to the French troops and Napoleon in Spain, and for the glorious battle of Corunna, January 16th, 1809, in which he was mortally wounded.

² Capri is distant 19 miles from Naples, 9 miles from Sorrento, and, at Lo Capo, 3 miles from Punta Campanella, the nearest point on the mainland, where there is now a light-house, the channel between Capri and the mainland being called the Bocca Piccola.

2nd March ; but, a gale of wind arising, it was compelled to return, and some of the boats with soldiers on board were upset and sunk.

This event occasioned Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe to present a distinct Report on the defences of the island ; and, in reply to the considerate suggestions of General Fox, who required to know his wants, he addressed a letter to him stating what then appeared the most essential requisite for the safety of his post.

From this time until the month of October, 1808, the island was at various times menaced with an attack in cruisers scarcely . . . 'peared,'¹ or, if they did appear, were of such a force as not to venture into the Bay of Naples, except close to the island, and were certainly unable to cope with the naval force the enemy possessed, if the latter was conducted with any degree of vigour and resolution. Two brigs of war² occasionally cruised between Capri and Messina ;³ but, the enemy's gun-boats began now so little to regard them, that they attacked one while at anchor off Capri, and during the time the other was cruising in the offing.

During the interval, the temporary defences raised at the commencement were considerably strengthened and improved, and points d'appui⁴ formed on the heights of St. Michel,⁵ and at the ruins of Tiberius Palace⁶ at Capri, and at Monte Solaro⁷ at Anacapri.

¹ The manuscript is imperfect.

² A brig was a vessel with two masts square-rigged, nearly like a ship's mainmast and foremast. The name is a shortened form of brigantine.

³ Second town in Sicily, and the headquarters of the British forces in Sicily prior to the peace of 1814.

⁴ Bases, or fixed points at which troops form, and on which operations are based.

⁵ St. Michel, or San Michele, lies to the north-east of the town of Capri, surmounted by an old fort and the remains of a Roman villa. The property belonged recently to Prince Caracciolo, who lives on the island. He parted with it unfortunately to one of the forestieri, as foreigners are called, whose chief aim is the growth of grapes and the sale of wine, access to the antiquities being prohibited.

⁶ On the north-east promontory.

⁷ The highest point in the island, directly south of Capo di Monte, which is about the centre of the north side of the island, while Monte Solaro is about the centre of the south side.

In the month of August, about the time General Murat succeeded Joseph Bonaparte in the Kingdom of Naples, the French frigate¹ and corvette,² lying in the Mole of Naples, were armed and fitted out together with some additional gun-boats. Two brigs of war, said to be laden with the valuables of Joseph Bonaparte, had at this time sailed from the Bay of Toulon ; and, of the preparation of the enemy's vessels, notice was given to the respective commanders by sea and land, and more particularly to the Sicilian Squadron at Ponza,³ whose total inactivity had been a subject of frequent report. They appeared once off the Bay, but returned again immediately to Ponza.

In the month of September, 1808, the island received a re-inforcement in the Regiment of Malta. This Regiment was at the time deputed to be in a state of bad order ; but, the arrival of Major Hamill⁴ to take the command of it, had excited hopes of their being much improved both in their discipline and attachment to the service. The post of Anacapri was given in charge to him, and at the same time were withdrawn the three companies of Royal Corsican Rangers, who had been before stationed there, under Captain Church's command.

¹ A frigate, among ships of war of the old style, was a vessel larger than a sloop or a brig, and smaller than a ship of the line, usually carrying her guns (which varied in number from about thirty to fifty or sixty) on the main-deck and on a raised quarter-deck and fore-castle, or having two decks. Such ships were often fast sailers and were much used as cruisers. The name is derived from the Latin word *fabrica*, a construction. Originally, a frigate was a vessel of the Mediterranean, propelled by sails and oars. The name was transferred by the French in 1650 to larger vessels, and, by 1750, it had been appropriated for vessels intermediate between corvettes and ships of the line. Frigates, from 1750 to 1850, had one full battery-deck, and, often, a spar-deck with a lighter battery. The spar-deck was the upper deck, continued in a straight line from the quarter-deck to the fore-castle, on which spare spars were placed.

² A corvette was a wooden ship of war, flush-decked, frigate-rigged, and having only one tier of guns. The term was applied originally to vessels of burden, with reference to the corbita, or basket, carried at the mast-heads of Egyptian grain-ships. A war-vessel, ranking next below a frigate, and having usually only one tier of guns. Compare a sloop of war in the U.S.A. Navy.

³ The Ponza Islands lie to the north-west of Naples, outside the centre of the Bay of Gaëta.

⁴ See Chapter X.



PALAZZO INGLESE, WITH ITS TERRACE ON ARCHES. ABOUT THE CENTRE OF THE VALLEY.

The Campo Militare is in the extreme right-hand corner. The Phœnician steps are fairly visible in the vineyards to the right, crossing the centre of the final stretch of the main road, and passing the dark spot, and up the cleft in the cliffs.

With the Regiment of Malta arrived Lieutenant-Colonel Brice, Chief Engineer to the Army in Sicily. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe gladly availed himself of this occasion to show the works that had been erected for the defence of the island, and to point out such as he conceived still necessary. A tower at Tragara Hill,¹ and a species of bastion² at the left angle of the town, where the small tower stood, near which the breach was afterwards made, met Colonel Brice's consent, and, had time admitted their construction, it would have rendered the defences of the island as complete as possible, consistent with any plan of temporary fortification or repair of the works that had been before constructed. At Anacapri, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe pointed out to Lieutenant-Colonel Brice the advantages of having some guns placed in flanking-positions, along the most salient points of the rocks between the Towers of Limbo and Damicute,³ which he represented as a part of the coast much exposed to attack ; for, though the rocks were, in general, steep, perpendicular and rugged, they were not of such height as to be absolutely proof against an attack from men approaching them in boats during calm weather and clambering up from the yards and masts under cover of the fire from their armed vessels. To this proposal Lieutenant-Colonel Brice assented, as had done before him Lieutenant Crowley of the Royal Artillery, who had been sent to look at the artillery-defence of the island, and who had

¹ North of Punta di Tragara, the south-eastern promontory of Capri.

² A bastion is a mass of earth, faced with soda, bricks, or stones, standing out from a rampart, of which it is a principal part. It consists of two *flanks*, each commanding and defending the adjacent *curtain*, or that portion of the wall extending from one bastion to another, and two *faces* making with each other an acute angle called the *salient angle*, and commanding the outworks and ground before the fortification. The inner space between the two flanks is the *gorge*, or entrance into the bastion. The use of the bastion is to bring every point at the foot of the rampart as much as possible under the guns of the place. Formerly called *bulwork*. See the "Century Dictionary."

³ Now called Damecuta. There are ruins at Damecuta, and the name is probably derived from the Latin words *Domus Augusti*, or the house of Augustus.

fully agreed in the propriety of some addition to them. Nothing, however, had been done in consequence of this Report ; but, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe,—having obtained the consent of the Chief Engineer to this, as well as to all the essential improvements which he conceived requisite for the safety of the island, and, having made known his wants to him also in respect to various tools and materials of which he stood in need,—anticipated the gratification he should feel in thus carrying into effect the many objects of his anxious solicitude for the safety of the coast intrusted to him : when, whilst the various articles for the use of the island were preparing at Messina, the month of October arrived, and the events, which are the subject of the following Journal, occurred.

: : : : : :

This may not appear an improper occasion to speak of the importance of the possession of the island of Capri, in a naval, military, and political point of view.

Its advantages as a naval and military station present themselves sufficiently to view on inspection of the map.¹ Every boat that sailed out of the Bay of Naples might be counted, and all those which had the coast of Calabria, and any approach towards Sicily, for their object, obstructed in their passage. Upwards of a year elapsed before any boat attempted to push through the Campanella Passage,² and so apprehensive was the enemy of the means we possessed to obstruct them that this was recorded in the Naples Moniteurs as a kind of

¹ Capri rises abruptly from the sea at the south of the Gulf of Naples. It overlooks to the east the Sorrentine Peninsula, to the north the stretch of town and country from Castellammare to Pozzuoli, Naples lying in between, and to the west the islands of Ventotene and Ponza.

² The passage between the island of Capri and the mainland of Italy, called the Bocca piccola, or little channel.

triumph ; and, in fact, had a small force of gun-boats been constantly stationed at Capri instead of Ponza, as was the object of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's frequent suggestions, and had there been one or two efficient cruising-vessels to protect them, it is probable that, after the coast of Calabria had been once effectually disarmed, through the operations of Sir John Stuart and Sir Sidney Smith, who, in the capture of the fort at Cape Licosa,¹ left not a gun between Salerno and Scylla,² that the enemy would not have been able to convey any cannon along the shore for again arming it, nor for carrying on his approaches against Scylla,—and the same measure of precaution would have insured the present possession of Capri. When it is considered that Naples is almost the only port and arsenal in the kingdom whence naval preparations can be carried on to any extent against Sicily, how directly they menace the weakest though perhaps the most important part, the advantage of his possession will appear more obvious. It was in this point of view the enemy considered our occupation of the island, which urged his desperate resolve to expel us from it. But not in this view alone : for, Capri was calculated to give him anxiety on many other heads. Through its proximity to the coast, and by means of a printing-press, Naples, with its surrounding population of some millions of inhabitants, was regularly informed of every naval, military and political event which could tend to dispel the clouds of darkness in which the French Government strove to envelop it : and, this inconvenience became particularly felt, at the commencement of the Spanish Revolution, of every event which occurred on the Continent. The same

¹ Punta Licosa is the south horn of the Gulf of Salerno which lies to the south-east of Capri.

² Scylla, formerly called Scylla, is on the mainland to the east of the entrance of the Straits of Messina. Its castle was occupied by the British after the battle of Maida, and defended for eighteen months until 1808, against the French.

proximity to a capital (the third in extent in Europe) enabled Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe to obtain in general very accurate information, as well through the medium of the Paris and Italian journals, which were received every week with the same regularity, as if actually residing at Naples, as by private correspondence ; and, the respective naval and military commanders were by this means frequently in possession of information that, by the ordinary channel of the packets, could not have reached them in months afterwards. Capri was further the asylum of every one persecuted by the French Government. The Royalists at Naples looked to it as the place where in ultimate distress they could always retire to, and the source of such information as could correct the dangerous delusions in which the agents of their old Government frequently strove to involve them. At the epoch of the Spanish Revolution, the Patriots (or, as they were formerly called, the Jacobins), united with the Royalists, looked to Capri as an intermediary point, through which their applications might be addressed to the British Government, for assistance to liberate the whole country from the French yoke. The stream of their application had been diverted into a different channel than that in which it had been the object of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's endeavours to direct it. In the meantime, General Murat arrived at Naples, saw Capri, heard these effects of its proximity, and the expedition was undertaken.

CHAPTER VI

JOURNAL OF OCCURRENCES DURING THE ENEMY'S ATTACK ON THE ISLAND OF CAPRI

*British Museum : additional Manuscripts, 20,179,
folios 13-51b*

October 3rd, 1808.—Early this morning a boat arrived from Naples, bringing some letters, and foreign journals, to Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, with a verbal communication from the person who had sent them, that the enemy was preparing to make an attack on the island.

In the course of the day, another boat arrived from Massa,¹ confirming this intelligence, and, in the morning, an enemy's row-boat had been observed passing along the north side of the island, with the apparent view of reconnoitring it.

These indications were not disregarded. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe went to Anacapri, and made them known to Major Hamill, who commanded the Royal Regiment of Malta in that post, gave his directions for picquets being doubled, and for companies being ready to move to their posts at an instant's notice, and established a telegraphic communication with Major Hamill, in the event of the enemy's landing in the Valley, which divided this position from that of Anacapri.

In the town, and along the sea-line of Capri, the same precautions were taken. Part of each company went to

¹ Massa Lubrense, a harbour and village a short distance north of Punta Campanella, which is on the mainland, three miles from Capri.

their alarm-posts, and the guard-boats were directed to use an extraordinary vigilance in their patrolling round the coast : and, in the event of the enemy's approach, not to return to the island, but fire a few shots as a signal of alarm, divide, and proceed with the information, directly, to Messina, to Palermo,¹ and to Ponza.²

In the afternoon of this day, a 32-pounder carronade was moved from the Marina of Tragara to within the town-line. To embark the gun at one point, land it at another, and haul it on a sledge to the hill on which the town stands, was the work of a moment to men who were zealous and accustomed to such labour. In whatever part of the sea-line the enemy might therefore now attempt a disembarkation, no cannon could be found to assist his further operations. An anxious vigilance was maintained during the whole of this night ; but, nothing of moment occurred.

October 4th.—At day-break this morning no movement of the enemy's was apparent. The mist of the morning, however, had scarcely dispelled, before two large ships, with a collection of small vessels, were observed standing towards the island, directly from Naples. As they approached, their force was observed as follows : one frigate of 44 guns, one corvette of 22 guns, about thirty gun and mortar-boats, and forty, or upwards, small transport-vessels, with several row-boats, the whole or greater part of which appeared filled with troops.

A second division, consisting of forty small vessels, of which seven were gun-boats, and which had also troops on board, made towards the back of the island from the direction of Salerno.

¹ The town of Messina is on the Straits of that name, separating Sicily from Italy. Palermo is the capital of Sicily : to the south of Capri.

² The Ponza Islands lie to the north-west of Naples, outside the centre of the Bay of Gaëta : to the north-west of Capri.

Immediate orders were given for the companies to march to their alarm-posts, and batteries to be manned. A general joy and exultation was apparent in every countenance, as at the arrival of the long wished-for moment, which was to crown, with honour and success, the efforts and the labours of every individual for the defence of the post. The guard-boats were instantly dispatched with letters, and the information of the enemy's approach, to Messina, to Palermo, and to Ponza.

The first division from Naples bore directly down, with all sail, towards the Marina of Capri and Palazzo di Mare, near Point Vitara.

The Salerno Division menaced the Points of Grotto and Tragara in rear of the island.

The troops for the defence of the island were arranged as follows :—

CAPRI.

Marina Grande	3 companies, Royal Corsican Rangers.
Castle Hill	1 " " "
Town, and in reserve . .	3 " " "
Grotto	1 " " "
Tragara	1 " " "
Tragara Hill, in reserve	1 " " "

Total 10 companies.

From these companies were taken the additional gunners, and various guards for the defence of the landing places at Mulo Capo,¹ and to line the cliffs : Palazzo di Mare,² two companies Royal Regiment of Malta, of which one was afterwards removed to the Marina.

¹ Now called punta di Mulo, a promontory at the Marina Piccola, on the south side of the island.

² Now called Palazzo a Mare. It was a palace, or bathing-establishment, built in the time of the Emperor Tiberius, to the west of the Marina Grande on the north side of the island.

At Anacapri,¹ the arrangements ordered were as follows :—

Capo di Monte	1 comp. Royal Regt., of Malta.
Limbo Town Line, and Marina	3 " " "
Damicuto }	2 " " "
Gratula }	
Works Tower, in reserve	1 " " "
Windmill, do.	1 " " "

Total, with the comps. at
Palazzo di Mare 10 companies.

The companies at Limbo,² Damicuto,³ and in reserve between these posts, were directed to furnish small parties to reinforce the picquets that were stationed along the sea-line, on the intermediate points between Limbo and Damicuto ; but, it is presumed that, not perceiving the enemy's approach when the day broke, these picquets had withdrawn themselves, and that, on the companies assembling at their alarm-posts, it had been neglected to replace them ; for, in no other way can subsequent events be accounted for. The fatal consequences which afterwards ensued may be attributed in great part to this omission.

At about half-past ten o'clock, the Naples Division of the enemy's force had collected together, and became stationary within about two or three miles in front of the Marina and Palazzo di Mare, apparently occupied in different communications and arrangements. The Salerno Division remained stationary in similar manner near the Point of Campanella.⁴ Though it formed no part of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's original plan to make

¹ Capri is the first town of the island, in the eastern portion. Anacapri is the second town of the island, in the western portion, and near it is the village of Capriole.

² The south-west corner of the island.

³ Now called Damecuta : the north-west corner of the island.

⁴ The promontory on the mainland nearest to Capri.

the Marina the scene of his principal defence, yet the time afforded was employed in making several useful arrangements. A third company more than was at first intended, under the command of Captain Church, was sent to occupy the garden-walls in rear of the centre, and where an earth intrenchment was speedily thrown up by him so as to cover his men from the effect of the enemy's shot and grape. The whole of the boats on the Marina, which, from their position on the beach, might have afforded cover to the enemy from the fire of the guns on the heights, were launched and tied together stem-and-stern, so as to form a kind of chain or boom along almost its whole front, for nearly 700 yards in extent, and, some of them were scuttled to render this more compact and secure. The promontories of Grotto and Tragara¹ were also visited, and personally inspected, as to the men for their defence being posted on the lower fortified points nearest the water's edge, and as to the disposition of the reserves in the rear.

Major Hamill, to whom Lieutenant Colonel Lowe had written on the enemy's first appearance to make his arrangements, appears in the first instance to have been occupied with them; but, judging, from the demonstrations of the enemy, as well to the front as to the rear of Capri,² that this position alone would be the object of his first attack, he wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, that he had posted five companies between Limbo and Damicuto, and felt himself perfectly secure in these points,³ and that he had four companies ready to send below, if wanted.

He was replied to that if the enemy actually attempted a debarkation at the Marina,⁴ he might send down as

¹ These promontories of Grotto, or Grotta Forca, and Tragara are on the south-east corner of Capri.

² Demonstrations to the north and to the south of the island.

³ Points south and north, on the west of the island.

⁴ The Marina Grande on the north of the island.

far as three companies, including the detachment already stationed at Palazzo di Mare. He, however, detached first the two companies directed for Palazzo di Mare, and then, with an anxious desire to grant prompt succour, two more : writing to say it might be too late, if he delayed sending them until an attack was made.

Whether the enemy, observing the obstacles which were preparing for him at the Marina, or the reinforcements sent, which he must know would weaken our defence in other quarters, he was, from this or some other motive, soon observed to change the direction of his principal division, which at about twelve o'clock passed to the westward of the Marina and Palazzo di Mare,¹ leaving only a few vessels near the latter point.

The two last-arrived companies of the Malta Regiment, which had been halted outside the town gate, were remanded back, and, shortly afterwards, the two companies from the Marina : almost at which moment, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe received a note from Major Hamill, acquainting him that the enemy had sent two boats to reconnoitre the Point of Damicuto, but that two shots from a 4-pounder there had sent them away ; that this point, however, was still menaced, and that he had sent two companies there, proposing to go himself with a reinforcement ; but that, unless he was seriously attacked, he would recommend that the four companies should be kept below.

The demonstrations of the enemy appeared, however, at this time, so decided against Anacapri, that Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe detached the best part of three companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers, under the command of Captains Church, Nicolson, and Susini, to reinforce that post ; but, at the same time, sent his

¹ Passing towards Anacapri.

Adjutant, Lieutenant Lowen, to see what was passing, and to acquaint Major Hamill, if no real attack took place, that the three companies were to be immediately remanded back. They had scarcely marched, together with the companies of the Maltese from the Marina and Palazzo di Mare, before a division of the enemy's vessels again appeared off the latter point. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe sent a counter-order to one of the companies of the Royal Regiment of Malta to stop at that post : but, it had already marched. He detached the officer of the main guard, Ensign Cappon, to guard it—it now becoming of essential importance : as, a landing effected there would cut off all further communication between Capri and Anacapri.

The companies at the Marina were on this occasion withdrawn into the town, leaving a detachment only at each barrier, and an officer's guard at the centre. Whilst this was passing, a note was received from Mr. Banks, surgeon of the Malta Regiment, written by Major Hamill's order, acquainting Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe he thought the enemy inclined to attack him at Damicuto, and requesting what reinforcement could be spared. This request had been already complied with, by remanding back the companies of the Malta Regiment, and by sending up the three companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers. At this time, the enemy was standing towards the Promontories of Grotto and Tragara,¹ whilst a division of his boats still hovered near Palazzo di Mare.² The attack commenced on Tragara, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, from the back of the Castle Hill, was directing the fire of some guns on the boats that were attempting to cover the debarkation, when another note was received from the adjutant of the

¹ South-east of the island.

² North of the island.

Malta Regiment, written by Major Hamill's desire, dated three o'clock, acquainting Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe that the enemy had landed a division of about 350 men to the left of Damicuto and that the rest was standing in. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe augured the most unfavourable consequences from this report, the principal defence of Anacapri lying in the facility of defending the points of debarkation, which, being once forced, opened a wide field for an enemy's subsequent formation and movements. There was no other alternative than to march up with all the force that could be collected at Capri and abandon the defence of that position to chance, or to endeavour to secure that which was still firm in our possession, and which was now the only rallying point to which the troops, if beaten at Anacapri, could retire : but, this position was also now attacked.

An interval of near an hour had elapsed since the report was written. The same time must pass before any reinforcements could be sent. The enemy had probably, during this time, been either driven back, or secured his footing. The disposition of force for the defence of each post was already reversed : any operation which tended to diminish still more the force at Capri, whilst the result of the attack on that position remained uncertain, endangered the loss of the whole island. Whereas, should the troops at Anacapri, where the enemy had already so unexpectedly effected his landing, and thus overcome his principal difficulty, be beaten, a secure and obvious retreat presented itself to them within the town-line of Capri, whilst the accession of their force would give more than ample means for the preservation of that post, until naval or military succours might arrive. Matters, however, were still uncertain ; but, the bearer of Major Hamill's



CAPRI FROM CAPODIMONTE.

The top of the Phœnician steps at Anacapri. A bend of the new road is seen below, where it crosses the steps. The Palazzo di Tiberio is in the far distance.

report stated the Maltese had abandoned the Pass of Capo di Monte,¹ thus leaving themselves open to an attack in their rear, and to have their retreat cut off, should the enemy land any body of men, as he still constantly menaced, at Palazzo di Mare. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe dispatched an order to Major Hamill, directing him to maintain his communication by Capo di Monte,—as it was by that point he must retire to Capri, if overpowered by the enemy,—sending a detachment to the fort at Monte Solaro,² and an officer with a few men to the small towers of Limbo and Damicuto.

Whilst this order was dispatching, or shortly afterwards, Lieutenant Lowen, Adjutant of the Royal Corsican Rangers, returned from Anacapri, and confirmed the information of the enemy's successful landing, of his having debarked a considerable force (Lieutenant Lowen supposed near two thousand men), that Major Hamill was exerting himself to the utmost to animate and encourage his men, but that they were giving way on the left, that they were dispersed nearly a mile and a half in extent, scattered over the vineyards, whilst several of them were covering themselves from the enemy's fire behind the stone-walls, which served as a kind of line of defence along the position the troops occupied, but which, from Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's knowledge of the ground, was much too remote from the place of debarkation for any fire to be directed from it with effect. Lieutenant Lowen, observing that several of the enemy's boats left the point of Damicuto

¹ The old road from the Marina Grande to Anacapri was by a pathway from the Marina Grande, and zigzag old Phœnician steps cut in the rock, past the tiny chapel of San Antonio, to Capo di Monte, now called Capodimonte, overlooking Palazzo a Mare.

² Monte Solaro is the highest point in the island, directly south of Capo di Monte, which is about the centre of the north side of the island, while Monte Solaro is about the centre of the south side. It is about 1,920 feet in height, with cliffs 900 feet in height rising abruptly from the sea.

and steered towards Palazzo di Mare,¹ hastened his return, after seeing Ensign Misani of the Royal Regiment of Malta posted at Capo di Monte, to preserve this communication which now appeared menaced in its rear. He stated some complaints from want of ammunition, and, though a depôt of ten barrels must have been at this time untouched at Anacapri, thirteen additional barrels were sent up ; but, at the same time, the statements of Lieutenant Lowen were such that Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe renewed the suggestion to Major Hamill for the retreat of his corps, by writing to tell him that "if he felt himself pressed by the enemy and doubtful of the result, to save his regiment by retiring within the town-line of Capri, sending the detachment, as before directed, to Monte 'Solaro.'"

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's communications to Messina and Palermo had hitherto only specified the approaching attack of the enemy. He felt, now, that Anacapri was gone, and that the security of the island no longer depended on its intrinsic strength, nor on the resources he might still possess in the valour of his men. He dispatched an Officer, Ensign Corbara (who from extreme shortsightedness was not suited to be useful in any other capacity), with a letter to the Commander of the Forces in Sicily, acquainting him that Major Hamill was pressed by the enemy at Anacapri, and the military, as well as naval succours, might now be requisite to recover possession of the ground or advantages already lost.

Ensign Corbara received directions to proceed with the letter to Messina, where it was directed ; but that, if the wind did not permit, he was to touch at the first land he could reach and proceed with his letter to its address, dispatching information to Palermo at the same time, it having been said H.M.S. "Eagle" was

¹ Steering towards Capri.

expected there, and unlimited confidence being placed in the resources which in such case would be brought into action by Captain Rowley, by whom, under Sir Sidney Smith's orders, the island had been wrested from the enemy.

A third note was sent about the same time to Major Hamill, suggesting his retreat, but unfortunately not acted upon,—arising, as it is imagined, from his deception in respect to the enemy's designs, by their not advancing upon him in force until the night began to approach.

At this time, the enemy was pushing his attempts of debarkation at the points of Grotto and Tragara. His gun-boats kept up an incessant fire on the points where his troops (apparently about eight hundred men) endeavoured to land under protection of their fire, passing at one time to Tragara, and at others to Grotto, and Cala di Fico,¹ but were repulsed by volleys of musquetry, at all, from the small parties of men placed immediately at these points, while the reserves in rear were moved, so as to pour their fire in the boats, at whatever point was menaced. Two 4-pounders were the only guns that bore directly on these boats; but, a 36-pounder from the Castle Hill² was brought into fire as they approached near the point of Tragara, and had considerable effect. Major Schummelkettel, to whom had been intrusted the defence of these important points, conducted the reserves of the three companies on this occasion with the greatest judgment, whilst the officers, whose companies had their alarm-posts at them, and who had all personally contributed their labours and exertions in the fortification of these

¹ A cove between Punta Chiavica and Punta Tragara, now called Cala di Ficchi.

² This hill, known as il Castiglione, which is about 820 feet in height, is situated on the south-west coast, half way between the Marina Piccola and Punta Tragara.

posts, particularly Captain Guitiera, Lieutenant Zerbi, Ensign Agostini, and Ensign Bibra, most ably and gallantly executed their respective parts with the men under their orders, totally regardless of the fire of shot and grape, with which the enemy's gun-boats attempted to dislodge them. The enemy, baffled in his attempt to effect a debarkation in any point along this part of the coast, brought some boats round the point of Tragara, as if with the design of landing in the Bay of Mulo ; but, the fire of the guns from the Castle Hill kept him in check. This was, however, now the spot where a landing could have been accomplished with greater facility than anywhere else, and where he would have had only a distant fire from the company stationed at the Castle Hill, which, had he effected his landing, might have had to encounter an immediate assault from him.

At about six o'clock, the enemy began to move off altogether from the back of the island, and, a little after six, Major Schummelkettel arrived with the information of his having apparently given up all intentions of an attack on that quarter.

The information from Anacapri at this time was that a great deal of disorder and confusion prevailed, and that the soldiers had begun to retire towards the town. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, finding his rear, and the whole of the position of Capri, now secure, collected three companies to move to their assistance at Anacapri, —more, however, with the view of establishing some order in the retreat, than with any idea of making a successful resistance against an enemy who had overcome the principal difficulties in his debarkation, and who had, by this time, probably, landed the whole of his force. He had not reached the foot of the steps¹

¹ The old Phœneician steps leading from the direction of the Marina Grande in Capri, up to Capo di Monte in Anacapri.

before he met several soldiers of the Maltese Regiment, and their women, in full retreat, saying the enemy was driving everything before him. Soon afterwards he met a sergeant of the Royal Corsican Rangers detached to him by Captain Church, saying the Malta Regiment had been either all taken prisoners, or retired to Monte Solaro, to which point he had also retired. The sergeant added that the enemy was in possession of Capo di Monte. This information scarcely excited less surprise than that of the enemy's first landing. There was not only the commanding and extensive position of Anacapri, which had been regarded as a kind of citadel to the rest of the island, wholly lost, but the troops employed for its defence, to whom a secure and obvious retreat presented itself, had thrown themselves into the hands of the enemy,—for the fort at Monte Solaro would not have required more than eighty, or a hundred, men for its defence, and the only object in retaining it at all was to occupy the enemy, and compel him to bring cannon against it, which would have created a delay highly favourable to our further efforts.

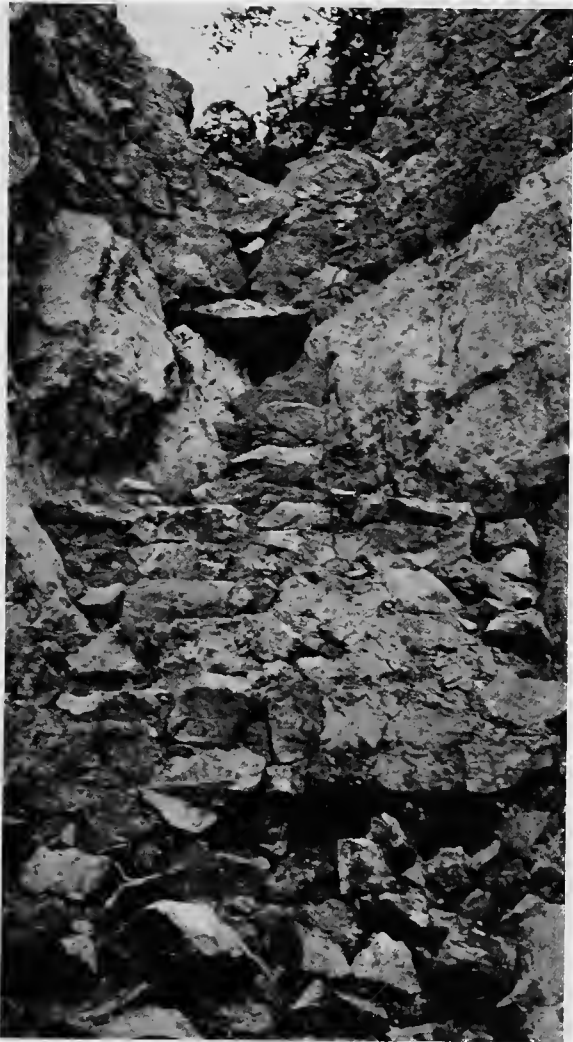
There was no passage by which communication could now be had with Anacapri, except by passing up the face of the most tremendous precipices, which few, even amongst the inhabitants who were accustomed to this species of climbing, could attempt. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe immediately sought one of them, and, with a promise of reward, induced him to make the trial. He sent a note by him to Major Hamill, or, to be delivered in his absence, to Captain Church, or to the Officer Commanding there, directing "every effort to be made for conveying water and provisions from the Hermitage,"¹ a house and chapel near Monte Solaro, which had served as a depôt for both, whilst the work was completing, by

¹ Santa Maria a Cetrella.

canteens, camp-kettles, barrels, &c. : that all supernumeraries beyond those necessary to man the fort, it had been advisable, had come below, and, that there was still a way, with which Captain Church and some of his men were acquainted, and, that circumstances might perhaps favour his attempt."

The greater part of the night was spent in anxious expectation of a reply, but with little hope of any men effecting a junction by this way. At about four o'clock in the morning, however, Captain Church, with the whole of his men, arrived. The precipice by which they descended was about eighty or a hundred feet perpendicularly high, with so few breaks and projections in the rock that nothing but the exact knowledge of the guide, the determined resolution and perseverance of Captains Church, Nicolson, and Susini, and the other officers and men of this detachment, and the zeal which impelled their efforts to join the rest of the regiment, could have enabled them to pass. One man alone was killed, and one hurt, by falling down the precipice. From Captain Church, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe learnt that about a hundred and fifty of the Maltese were at Monte Solaro, and the rest made prisoners, that, previous to this departure, he had employed his men, under the direction of Ensign Davis, in bringing water and biscuit from the Hermitage, to increase the stock at the fort, and had suggested the continuance of these exertions to the officers of the Malta Regiment.

No officer of the Malta Regiment arrived from Anacapri : no report could be obtained from any of them of the occurrences which befel that Corps ; but, a report was presented by Captain Church, which is annexed to this journal. This does not, however, state the principal cause of the defeat of that regiment and of the loss of Anacapri, namely, the total want of opposi-



WALL IN THE TRACK OF THE DESCENT OF SIR RICHARD CHURCH,
built by the Commune of Anacapri for octroi reasons.

tion, until the enemy had actually effected his landing, and thus overcome his greatest and almost sole difficulty, and the neglect of attacking him until force had accumulated. The gallantry, perseverance, and spirit of Captain Church's detachment, in the opposition which it presented to the enemy in his various attempts to advance after landing, was highly conspicuous, and much of the enemy's loss may be attributed to it.

The spot where the enemy effected his landing was a rocky cliff, shelving down towards the sea, until it broke off in an abrupt rugged precipice, about fifteen or twenty feet above the water's level. This was the general nature of the coast along the whole extent of about two miles from Damicuto to Limbo.¹ In those points, where the rock was broken and indented and appeared most accessible, walls of masonry² had been constructed, and picquets were always posted at them. Orico,³ where the enemy landed, was one of these. The rocks rose in rugged masses above it, and afforded good cover to any men stationed for its defence.

The enemy covered his landing in the first instance by the fire of all his gun-boats. The greater part of these speedily withdrew in the direction of Palazzo di Mare,⁴ leaving only six, and one mortar-boat, to protect the debarkation.

Nothing further occurred during the remainder of this night. The troops had now passed nearly forty-eight hours without rest or repose ; yet, nothing could surpass the spirit with which they were animated, and which had been so much raised by the success that had attended their resistance at the points of Grotto, and Tragara, by the almost miraculous retreat and junction of Captain

¹ From the north to the south of the west side of the island.

² See the picture of the Cala del Rio.

³ Now spelt Orrico. The spot is about seven hundred yards to the south of the north-west point of the island.

⁴ In the centre of the north side of the island.

Church's detachment, and by their confidence in the strength of their present position, that they had rather the appearance of the attacking and successful party than of that whose operations must now be wholly limited to the defensive.

October 5th.—At daylight this morning the enemy was observed assembled in clusters on the Heights of Anacapri, contemplating, as from a bird's-eye view, our position below. The valley was still unoccupied by him; and, it was conceived the fort at Monte Solaro would still give him some employment. At about ten o'clock, a flag of truce was observed approaching, and which brought to Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe a summons to surrender. The contents were as follows:—

Anacapri, le 5, 8b^{re}, 1808.

Monsieur Le Commandant,

Toute la garnison d'Anacapri, et celle du fort de S^{ta} Maria, s'est rendue prisonnière.

Je tiens des positions dominantes, et, quand mon artillerie sera placée, j'écraserai Capri, et il ne sera plus terres de parlementer.

Dans ce moment, je pourrai vous traiter avec moins de rigueur.

Je vous somme donc, monsieur, de vous rendre dans le moment avec les forts, et batteries, de Capri.

Agréez l'assurance de ma considération.

(Signé) M. La Marque,¹

Général de Division, Chef de l'État Major.²

¹ Maximilien La Marque (1770-1832), a French general and politician, born at Saint-Sever. He distinguished himself as an orator in opposition in the Chamber of Deputies. His funeral was the occasion of a great popular demonstration and a riot.

² Translation.—Anacapri, October 5th, 1808. Sir Commandant: The entire garrison of Anacapri, as well as that of Fort Santa Maria, are my prisoners. I hold the dominant positions, and, when my artillery is placed, I shall wipe out Capri, when there will be no use for discussion. At present, I can treat you with less severity. I call upon you to surrender at once the forts, and batteries, of Capri. Pray accept my respects.

(Signed) M. La Marque,
General of Division, Chief of the Staff.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, judging from the tenor of this letter that General La Marque placed a much higher importance on the possession of these heights, as affecting his immediate surrender, than he conceived they possessed, and, knowing this idea would lead to measures that would not fail by their delay to prove advantageous to him, returned the following answer :

Capri,

5th October, 1808.

Sir,

I acknowledge all the advantages which your present commanding positions afford you. Defence may, therefore, be the more difficult ; but, it is not the less incumbent on me. Your propositions of rigour, or favour, on such an occasion, must be alike indifferent to an officer whose conduct will never be influenced by any other considerations than those of his duty.

Believe me to be, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

(Signed) H. Lowe,

Lieut.-Col. Commd^t.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's position was at this time as follows : his troops occupied the town of Capri and the whole of what is called Capri proper, with the exception of the valley that runs between the ridge on which the town stands and the heights of Anacapri. The cliffs of St. Michel,¹ on which were mounted a 36-pounder, a 32-pounder carronade, and a 12-pounder, covered his right flank. The town, which extended from

¹ Capri is 450 feet above the level of the sea. The hill of San Michele lies to the north-east of the town surmounted by an old fort and the remains of a villa of the Emperor Tiberius. The Castiglione, or Castle Hill, which is the higher of the two hills, with the old Castello, or Castle, lies to the south-west of the town, its height is 820 feet.

the cliffs to a square tower on the left, covered an extent in front of six hundred paces, which space was entirely filled up, or barricaded. The terraces of the houses had a communication established along them, and loop-hole turrets with a parapet-wall had been constructed on the roofs, along the whole extent. The square tower on the left of the town was connected with the Castle Hill by a wall, about sixty feet in height, the approaches to which had been scalped, or ditches cut, in such a manner that it became extremely difficult (unless the walls were abandoned) for an enemy to plant his ladders against them. The Castle Hill, the ascent to which was full of obstacles, and the height of the rock, and of the walls, scarcely in any place less than twenty feet, terminated the town-line, which, from the cliffs of St. Michel to the walls constructed over Mulo, was about 1,080 paces in extent. Three field-pieces were placed along the town-line, and two 12-pounders and a 4-pounder on the Castle Hill. The town was perfectly open in the rear, having no other defence than what the difficulty of landing presented at Grotto, Tragara, and other parts at the back of the island.

This morning was employed in adding to the defence of the post : all the lower windows of the houses were not only barricaded, but built-up. All the ground lying between the town-line and a wall, which formed a kind of advanced line before it, was cleared, and the trees on it either pruned or cut down, so that no cover could be had for the enemy. Several empty barrels, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe had caused a constant depôt to be kept at the castle, were brought down and piled upon the tops of the houses, or of the most accessible parts of the walls, filled with stones to roll down in the event of an assault. Flour-sacks, of which a number had been reserved also in depôt at the Castle, were filled with

earth to line the embrasures¹ of the batteries, and to form breast-works for the security of the men employed in working them. And, as trucks for gun-carriages were an article of which we stood seriously in want, trees were cut down and sawed into pieces for this purpose. As the square near the gate-way was one of the open spaces into which the fire of shot and shells from Anacapri might be directed, the pavement of it was dug up, and a wall constructed with the stones behind the town-gate, so as to render any attempt to force that point wholly impracticable.

The greater part of the heavy baggage of the regiment was on this occasion moved to the Forts of St. Michel and of Santa Maria² (or, Tiberius Palace), and the men were directed to parade constantly with their packs, their canteens with water, and biscuit in their haversacks;³ for, from this time, it was scarcely prudent to quit the alarm-posts for an instant.

It being of the highest importance to maintain the means of communication by sea, some of the guard boat-men volunteered their services to descend to the Marina, which there was reason to suppose was at this time occupied by the enemy, and bring two boats round to Tragara, which service was under the direction of a sergeant of the Regiment, A. Schiano, who acted as Master of the Port, most ably performed. They carried off the boats under the enemy's fire.

In the course of this morning, the prisoners of the Malta Regiment were seen being conveyed away in boats to Naples, while market-boats, with succours of every

¹ An embrasure is an opening in a wall, or parapet, through which cannon are pointed, or fired: the indent, or crenelle of an embattlement. The word crenelle is derived through the French *créneau*, and *créneler*, from the Latin word *crena*, a notch.

² Santa Maria del Soccorso.

³ The name of these provision-bags is derived from the German *Hafersack*, meaning an oat-bag.

species, appeared pouring into Anacapri from the coast of Massa and Sorrento. At about one o'clock arrived a small vessel, sent by the Prince of Canosa¹ from Ventotene,² inquiring the cause of the firing which had been heard on the preceding day, and mentioning that, as he had been celebrating the birthday of the Hereditary Prince, he supposed our rejoicings had been for the same cause. To this mockery, addressed to the Civil Governor, a reply was sent, that it would have been advisable if he had dispatched the frigates of Ponza to inquire into the cause of it, as their presence was now wanting.

General La Marque had scarcely received the answer to his summons before an insignificant fire was commenced from the heights of two howitzers,³ and a 4-pounder, which produced no effect whatever; but, the whole of the enemy's gun-boats now ranged themselves in front of the town, and opened an incessant fire. The fire of the guns on the cliffs of St. Michel, however, kept them in check, and particularly that of a 36-pounder, where Lieutenant Boccheciampe, who had charge of the additional gunners, was posted. Two men were killed at this gun, Lieutenant Boccheciampe, the sergeant by name De Gregorio, and four men, badly hurt and wounded; but, the energy and resolution of Lieutenant Boccheciampe overcame every obstacle. He made his men dig an intrenchment behind the gun to cover themselves from the enemy's fire, the gun

¹ The Prince of Canosa was an agent of Queen Caroline, the wife of Ferdinand IV., King of Naples, who was a friend of Lord Nelson and the notorious Lady Hamilton. He was a friend of brigands, and an enemy to progress.

² Ventotene is a small island halfway between the islands of Ponza and Ischia.

³ From a Bohemian word meaning a sling, through the German *Haubitze*, and French *obus*: a short piece of ordnance, usually having the chamber for the powder narrower than the bore, especially designed for the horizontal firing of shells with small charges, combining in some degree the accuracy of the cannon with the calibre of the mortar, but much lighter than any gun of the same capacity.

being on barbet,¹ and, finally, with the aid of his sergeant, a most intelligent gunner, directed his fire of round and grape with such effect, that the enemy's boats found themselves compelled to retire.

Towards the evening, the enemy's troops began to descend the steps of Anacapri,² bringing scaling-ladders with them. A fire was opened on the troops, as they descended, from the guns on the cliffs of St. Michel, and induced such a degree of caution, that they afterwards scarcely ever descended, except by single men, or files, loosely scattered.

The whole of this night the troops were under arms, ranged on the tops of the houses, or in the windows, with reserves in the rear, whilst, at the same time, an anxious look-out was kept to the back of the island ; but, nothing except a few loose shot from the enemy's gun-boats, and from the guns on the heights of Anacapri, which produced no effect whatever, occurred.

October 6th.—The enemy's gun-boats resumed their firing this morning, whilst boats with supplies of every kind, and reinforcements of troops, were poured into the island. At Palazzo di Mare, the enemy appeared most busily employed, apparently forming a depôt there, as all the boats now came directed to this point.

Another flag of truce arrived, bringing a letter, of which the following is a copy :

Armée Française,
dans le Royaume de Naples,
Au Quartier Général à Anacapri,
État Major Général, le 6 Octobre, 1808.

Monsieur Le Commandant,

J'apprends que des habitants du pays de Capri ont pris les armes, et combattent avec nos soldats.

¹ Barbette, a French word, is a platform or breastwork of a fortification, from which the cannon may be fired over the parapet, instead of through an embrasure.

² The old Phœnician stone step-way between Capri and Anacapri.

Je vous déclare, Monsieur le Commandant, que je fais incendier toutes les maisons de la plaine, s'ils tirent un coup de fusil contre nous, et qu'ils ne doivent espérer aucun quartier.

J'ai cru de mon devoir de vous faire cette déclaration.
J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer.

(Signed) Le Général de Division,
M. La Marque.¹

The officer desired to have a conference with Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe ; but, this was refused.

The purport of this letter was such as indicated some apprehension on the part of General La Marque of our means of resistance. Though the inhabitants had not taken an active part ; yet, some of them were employed in the works, and in watching the back of the island, where stones were almost their only weapon ; but, it appeared a public duty on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe to support their right of defending themselves, if they judged expedient to do so, and the following answer was in consequence returned :—

Capri,

6th October, 1808.

Sir,

The inhabitants of Capri will be allowed by me to follow the dictates of their duty and of their principles, in the same manner as I do mine, in acquainting you that, as a British officer, and as a British subject, I shall never suffer myself to be regulated in my line of conduct

¹ Translation.—The French Army in the Kingdom of Naples, General Headquarters at Anacapri, October 6th, 1808. Sir Commandant : I understand that the natives of Capri have taken up arms against my troops. I warn you that I shall set fire to all the houses of the valley, if they fire a shot against us, and that they may expect no quarter. I think it only right to tell you this. I have the honour to be,

General of Division,
(Signed) M. La Marque.



THE GATEWAY OF CAPRI.

The Campanile of the Church before the building of the station of the Funiolare, or electric-railway, which runs straight down from the Piazza to the Marina Grande.

The new Terrace is carried by arches over the old steps, and it is on a level with the Piazza behind the wall on the right.

regarding the subjects of another Power, by any law which a French Commander may think proper to impose.

Believe me to be, Sir,
 Your obedient Servant,
 (Signed) H. Lowe,
 Lt.-Col. Commandant.

To General La Marque,
 &c., &c., &c.

By this officer Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe had the distress to learn the fate of Major Hamill, who, scorning to deliver up his sword to a French sergeant who demanded it, was put to death by him. The fate of this officer excited general concern and sympathy, and, from no one more than Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, who had long been in habits of intimate friendship with him, and who had been led to attribute his misfortune, in some degree, to his anxious and generous concern for granting prompt succour to the troops below, before their situation required it, which must have necessarily tended to distract his time and attention from points of greater importance to his own security. That Major Hamill was not ably and judiciously supported by his officers and men has been a subject of too much rumour not to have some foundation. It was the information of, and his conviction of, this want of support, or rather of this want of firmness and steadiness, on the part of the men, in a situation so novel (for Major Hamill was beloved by them), that induced Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's frequent suggestions for the retreat of the Corps, knowing that, under other circumstances, with the aid of several meritorious officers the Corps possessed, much might still be accomplished by their spirit and gallantry for retrieving the advantages they had lost on the first

day ; but, in this, as well as in too many other instances, his intentions, as well as his orders, were frustrated. Major Hamill's fate might afford a lesson to officers in any subordinate command, how they alter, or in any respect infringe on, the arrangements of their immediate superiors, particularly such as are of a permanent nature, and which, it ought to be presumed, had been duly weighed and considered :¹ for, had the Royal Regiment of Malta been stationed in the manner prescribed in the order for their alarm-posts, and had not Major Hamill, deceived with the appearance of a commanding but too extensive position on the heights, adopted that as the scene of his principal defence, instead of having his men posted near the spots of debarkation, where the difficulty of the ascents formed the best and almost the only security of the position of Anacapri, the misfortunes which befell him and his Corps would scarcely have occurred.

At about mid-day the Sicilian squadron from Ponza was observed in view at about thirty miles distance, standing towards Capri. On its first appearance, the Enemy's gun-boats ceased firing, and, after a pause, steered with all sail for Naples. In the afternoon, the squadron being hardly to be seen, the enemy's gun-boats were encouraged to return to the Marina of Capri, where they kept up an incessant fire on the town until ten o'clock at night—seconded by shot and shells from the heights, the whole night. The enemy pushed on his advanced-posts now close to the walls, and everything indicated that some desperate efforts, before the squadron arrived, would be made to take the town, and heights of the Castle Hill, by assault. To obviate the confusion which must arise, should any part of the

¹ From this lesson, it would appear that the loss of Capri by the English was due to disobedience : no credit being allowed for initiative. See notes, pages 193, 213, and 223.

line be forced, points of retreat were indicated to the commander at each post at the fortified heights of the Castle, St. Michel, and Tiberius Palace ; whilst, two guns, a 36-pounder and a 32-pounder, lying in the square dismounted, which might in such a sinister event be brought into use against us, were securely but unobservedly spiked, and double-shotted.

The spirit and vigilance of the officers and men, however, was such that nothing remained to be apprehended, but the fear that the enemy would not present them the opportunity they sought for. The fire from the heights continued the whole night, and the enemy's troops approached close under the walls. A fire of musquetry ensued, whilst round and grape were poured in every direction they could approach ; but, no actual attempt of an assault was made, or, if ordered, acted upon. The enemy also sent his boats to make a feigned, or real, attack on the points of Grotto and Tragara ; but, after firing a few shot, they retired.

October 7th.—Volleys of musquetry on both sides, and cannonading from the gun-boats, commenced the day. The enemy were now approached so close, that several of the officers and soldiers distinguished amongst their opponents—the advanced Corps being composed entirely of Corsicans—brothers, cousins, friends, and all countrymen. But, this singular, and almost unprecedented, situation for a foreign corps, without the admixture of any British, appeared only to animate the men of the Royal Corsican Rangers with a greater enthusiasm to evince their zeal and fidelity, or rather to show themselves on such an occasion purely and wholly British.

At seven o'clock in the morning, the Sicilian squadron appeared twenty miles off, and by its manœuvres, not appearing disposed to approach the island, the gun-boats remained on their station off the Marina.

At eight o'clock a.m., Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe dispatched Mr. Cleeve, the paymaster, in a boat from Tragara, in quest of the Sicilian squadron. On his return, he stated that at 12 o'clock he got on board the "Sirena" frigate, commanded by Captain Valguenera. The squadron consisted of two frigates¹ of forty-four guns each, two corvettes,² twelve gun-boats,³ and two large galliots,⁴ accompanied by two transports, for the purpose, it was said, of towing some bad-sailing gun-boats.

On Mr. Cleeve's inquiring of the Commodore if he had heard the firing at Capri, he was answered in the affirmative. And, on his remarking to him that the wind having been favourable for the approach of his squadron the day before, and he not having availed himself of it, that not having even sent a boat to enquire into the situation of the garrison, or made a demonstration of intention to communicate, and the enemy-boats had been thereby encouraged to resume the attack that his first appearance had made him relinquish, and continue it without intermission by sea and land ever since, and, consequently, that the appearance of the squadron had made our situation worse than it had been, he alleged, as the reason for his remaining in the offing, that he had been, and then was, waiting for two mortar-boats from Ponza, and, abruptly shifting the conversation, enquired where the French frigate was stationed.

Mr. Cleeve then delivered the message that had been entrusted to him by Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, namely,

¹ A frigate was larger than a sloop or brig, and less than a ship of the line, usually carrying from thirty to sixty guns on the main deck, and on a raised quarter-deck and forecastle, or having two decks: fast sailers employed as scouts and cruisers.

² A corvette was a flush-decked vessel, ship-rigged, but without a quarter-deck, and having only one tier of guns: a slow-sailing ship of burden.

³ A gun-boat was a boat or small vessel fitted to carry one or more guns of heavy calibre, and from its light draught capable of running close in shore.

⁴ A galliot was a vessel for cargo, with very rounded ribs and a flattish bottom.

that unless the squadron would approach the island immediately, it had better go off altogether.

It being nearly calm, very little progress was made that day towards Capri.

The whole of this day the enemy was busily employed in throwing up retrenchment, and in constructing batteries to cover and protect the depôt he was establishing at Palazzo di Mare. All the avenues leading from the Town were at the same time carried-up with walls and abatis,¹ to prevent his being molested by any sorties from the garrison : his provision-boats bringing supplies of every kind.

Firing on our side to obstruct his operations, and which dislodged him from most of the houses in which he had posted his men near the town.

October 8th.—Commenced with firing on both sides ; but, in order to save the ammunition, no firing of cannon was allowed, except on specific objects, such as at the enemy's boats when approaching within the distance of grape, and at the parties employed in constructing the roads and intrenchments, while the musquetry-firing was only permitted from the rifle-men in flanking positions, and which was now regularly conducted, as at a field-day, by the sound of the bugle, to commence, or to cease. Captain Susini, who was posted on the right flank, Captain Rossi on the centre, Captain Church on the left flank of the town, and Captain Arata on the Castle Hill, officers who gave themselves not an instant relaxation night or day, regulated the fire of their men on this occasion with the greatest judgment ; whilst Major Schummelkettel, with the companies which had so gallantly defended the points of Grotto and Tragara, watched over our security from the enemy's attacks in

¹ Abatis, or abattis, from the French word *abattre*, to beat down. A collection of felled trees from which the smaller branches have been cut off, laid side by side, with the branched ends towards the assailants, to obstruct their progress.

the rear, or, when that was not menaced, formed a reserve for the support of our front.

At daybreak this morning, the Sicilian squadron was at about ten miles distance, looking out for the French frigate, observing and repeating their manœuvres, as Mr. Cleeve observed. It continued calm ; but, the "Sirena" at last came opposite Anacapri, where she gave three broad-sides to a party of the enemy, at work at a breast-work and stage under Damicuto. At ten o'clock, the French squadron steered towards Naples ; but, the gun-boats still remained near the island. Captain Valguenera, having addressed the commander of the Sicilian gun-boats, Don Ignazio Caffieri, for instructions to Colonel Lowe, he gave immediate directions to him to attack the enemy's gun-boats which were assembled, and apparently conveying stores to the depôt at Palazzo di Mare. This service was performed in the most zealous, able, and gallant manner. An action took place for about two hours, until the enemy's boats retired to Naples, leaving three of them, which attempted to take refuge at Palazzo di Mare ; but, they were followed by Don Ignazio Caffieri, who with the two galliots stood in, until they were under the fire of grape and musquetry from the shore, but, wholly regardless of it, did not quit until they had completed the destruction of the enemy's boats. The sailors, as well as the commanders, were here on both sides native Neapolitans. The garrison beheld with admiration and anxiety the coolness, the gallantry, and resolution of this exploit, where Caffieri had at first a superior number of the enemy's boats opposed to him. The guns from the heights of Anacapri were pouring their fire into the town and positions of Capri, while the batteries from the cliffs of St. Michel, and the Castle Hill, were supporting the Sicilian gun-boats, by firing on the enemy's,



THE WEST WALL OF THE PALAZZO INGLESE.
Battered by the French.

the French and Sicilian frigates manœuvring in sight of each other at a short distance.

Affairs began now to wear a change. The enemy's advanced corps manifested evident signs of an inclination to communicate, and nothing appeared to restrain many of them from joining us, but the uncertainty they must be still in regarding the ultimate success of the contest.

The night passed as usual with much firing. The shells from the heights were poured into the town, but the roofs being of arched masonry, and the men posted upon them, the shells penetrated to the lower storeys, whilst the roofs, under which the shells burst, were a protection for the men from the effects of the splinters.

October 9th.—On this morning a British squadron was in sight, consisting of H.M.S. "Ambuscade," H.M.S. "Mercury," and the "Halcyon" Brig. Mr. Cleeve, who, after landing from the Sicilian frigate, had been sent with Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's instructions to the commander of the gun-boats, was dispatched again to the British ships, to make known the situation of the island.

Captain Durban, of H.M.S. "Ambuscade," landed in the afternoon, and, after every proffer of assistance, and hearing Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's idea respecting the necessity of using every effort to prevent the enemy's further intercourse with the shore, took his leave, and embarked at the Point of Capo,¹ where the violence of the wind, which now began to wear an appearance hostile to the attempts of the navy to render us assistance, prevented his joining his ship on that evening.

October 10th.—The enemy pushed forward his troops, and established them in the English Palace²—a house

¹ The north-east point of the island.

² Now called the Palazzo Inglese, or Canale. Built by Sir Nathaniel Thorold, of Harmenton, County Lincoln, who was created a Baronet, March 24th, 1740. It is said that Sir Nathaniel Thorold ran through his fortune at home, and then made another fortune in salt and dried fish at Genoa. He died, unmarried, at Naples in 1764, when his Palazzo passed to the family of Canale.

built by Sir Nathaniel Thorold—whence several volleys of musquetry were fired. The fire from the guns on the cliffs of St. Michel dislodged the greater number of the men, but, the sharp-shooters still remained established there, and, having loop-holed the walls, kept up an incessant fire from there, which was principally directed at the house where Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe was quartered, and where all the windows were speedily broken. The English frigates, as well as the Sicilian gun-boats, kept up a pretty constant fire on the troops and the enemy's works in the valley: the Sicilian frigates at too great distance to render any service.

On this morning, an hour before daylight, the enemy approached the walls with shouts of "*Montez à l'assaut,*"¹ bugles sounding, and drums beating. He was replied to with volleys of musquetry, and rounds of shot and grape. The fire of musquetry was returned, and lasted about a quarter of an hour, when he retired.

Captain Durban, having offered the assistance of his marines and seamen, this was accepted of, and, from his ship and the "Mercury," two officers and fifty-seven marines were landed, with a midshipman and ten seamen. These, it was pointed out, might always, in the worst of cases, be embarked again at the Point of Tragara,² if boats were prepared to receive them.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe wrote his first dispatches, and sent them by the "Halcyon" Brig,³ the subject of reinforcements being particularly dwelt upon in them. In the "Ambuscade" and "Mercury" had arrived Major McCombe, and Captain A'Court, aide-de-camp of Major-General Campbell. Major McCombe mentioned

¹ Advances to the attack.

² Punta Tragara, the most southern promontory on the east side of the island.

³ A brig, which is an abbreviation of brigantine, is a vessel with two masts, square-rigged nearly like a ship's mainmast and foremast.

his having suggested the sending of transports with troops at the same time the "Mercury" left Messina ; but, that some further intelligence was required, beyond what the first intimation, before the enemy had landed, had conveyed.

Captain Church was sent this evening with directions to Don Ignazio Caffieri as to the mode of directing his fire during the night-time, and he, in consequence, poured in shot and shell, so as to rake the valley in those directions where the enemy was most likely to be carrying on his approaches.

A signal flying all this day—the same as the English Blue Peter—¹ indicated the enemy being in want of succours of some kind, and which, from the slackness of the fire in every direction, was judged to be that of ammunition.

The communications with Captain Durban on this day were relating to the supplies of sundry articles of ammunition, rockets for signals, and to the means which he was to employ for the defence of the island in the event of a general assault. On this latter subject, detailed communications were made to him. The advantage of having a vessel stationed near the cliffs of St. Michel, to direct an enfilading-fire along the front of the town, levelling no higher than the English Palace, and the Governor's house, was particularly dwelt on, whilst it was suggested that some of the gun-boats might be ordered round in the direction of Mulo, to enfilade the foot of the Castle Hill.

The enemy had been collecting a considerable number of boats at Massa and Sorrento, and were either preparing to throw in succours, or to make an attack with another expedition of troops on the back of the

¹ A corruption of "Blue Repeater," one of the British signal-flags: a blue flag having a white square in the centre, used as a signal for sailing, to recall boats, &c.

island, whilst those already on shore attacked our position in front. There was at this time no vessel at the back of the island ; yet, the best, and almost only point, by which our communication with shipping was maintained, was from Tragara.¹ It became, therefore, of primary importance to maintain this side of the island free of insult ; and, it was therefore suggested that one of the Sicilian frigates should be stationed there, whilst some of the gun-boats were always to be left in the Cala of Tragara.²

October 11th.—An inconsiderable fire of musquetry was kept up. From the heights of Anacapri no fire at all : but, a gun was observed to be transporting from Palazzo di Mare towards the sloping ridge at the foot of the precipices of Anacapri. General La Marque must by this time have evidently perceived his fire from the heights had no effect in inducing our surrender of the place, and that it was necessary for him to construct his breaching-batteries in the valley. The Blue Peter was still flying. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe had some further communications with Captain Durban : suggested the expediency of having a vessel at anchor under the cliffs of St. Michel, and pointing out the collection of boats at Massa. Thirty thousand dollars of public money were this day sent on board the “ Ambuscade.”

October 12th.—About two hours before daybreak, the French *réveille*³ was sounded, and the troops heard to approach close to the foot of the walls, bugles sounding and drums beating. A fire was commenced by them, but not replied to : it having been Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe’s orders not to fire until the enemy had actually

¹ On the south side.

² Cala means a cove. Cala di Tragara is now called Porto di Tragara, or Port of Tragara.

³ The bugle-sound at daybreak for the soldiers to awake, and the sentinels to cease challenging.

penetrated beyond the first line, which was a drystone¹ terrace-wall, about fifty paces in front of the town.

The enemy, being already sufficiently apprized of the vigilance of the garrison, did not think proper to advance. The weather had been very unsettled for three days past : rain, thunder and lightning. The troops had suffered much, having been nine days and nights almost constantly under arms, and many of the officers perfect strangers to sleep or repose, except what few moments could be snatched during the cessation of the firing, which generally both by day and night was repeated at intervals of half-hours, whilst the enemy was heard burrowing under the walls, or making loop-holes in the houses opposite to them. The firing from Anacapri, where some heavy guns were got up, had now ceased. The Blue Peter still flying at Monte Solaro.

A carriage having been now made for the 32-pounder carronade, which had been spiked, it was removed to be mounted on the right flank of the town ; but, the spikes which had been used both for this and the 36-pounder were so well tempered, that no common means would remove them. The armourer made a fire under the vents,² until the guns were heated red-hot through, which reducing the temper, the spikes were thus easily withdrawn.

The same day, another 32-pounder carronade was brought down from the Castle to the Terrace below it, to be mounted so as to bear on the battery which the enemy was now evidently constructing under the cliffs of Anacapri.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe received on this day letters from Captain Durban, complaining of the unsettled state of the weather—which now, however, had become more moderate—and saying the Sicilian squadron was wishing to go away, and that he had difficulty to keep

¹ Composed of stones not cemented with mortar.

² A vent is the priming and firing-aperture of a gun.

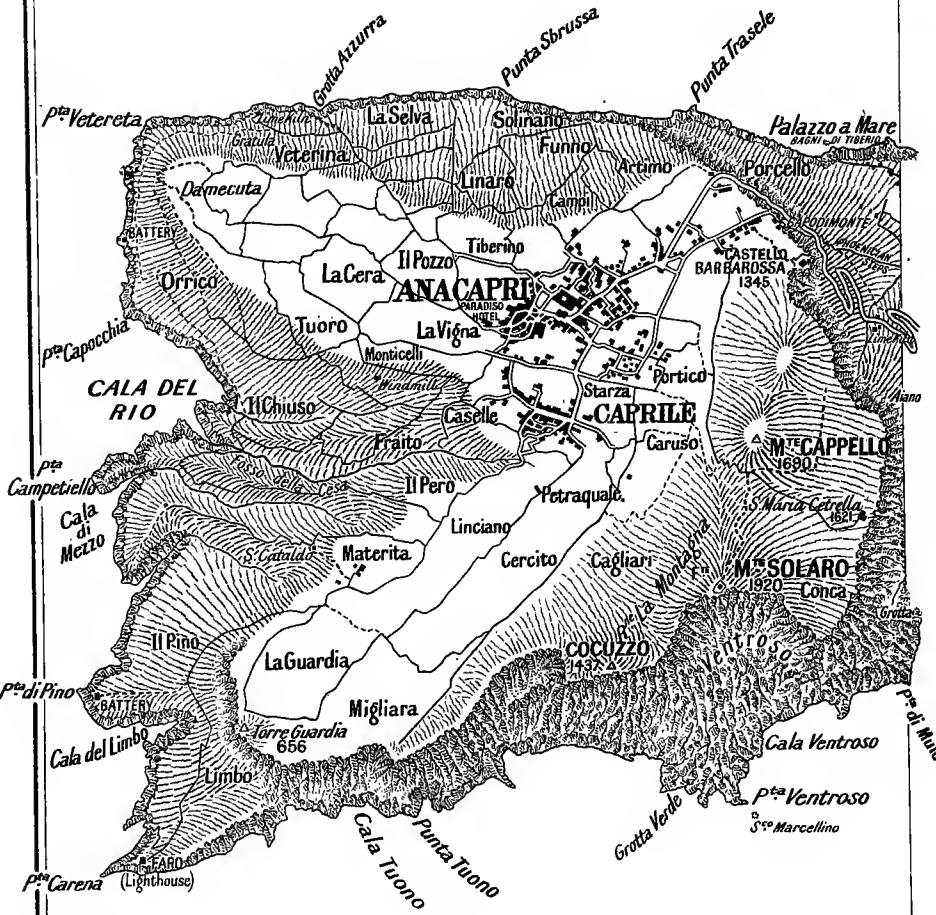
them. He said further, that he was expecting the "Weazle" Brig, and that she should come to an anchor, if the weather permitted.

During this and the preceding days, several skirmishes had taken place between the armed boats of the "Ambuscade" and "Mercury," under the command of Lieutenants King and Gordon, and the enemy's troops on shore at the Marina.

On this day, Mr. Cleeve, the paymaster, set out to go on board the "Ambuscade" with the regimental papers; but, as she was at too great a distance, he carried his box with them to the "Mercury," then off Tragara.¹ He, there, as afterwards related to Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, had a conversation with Captain Fowell, in which he stated it was earnestly urged to him that the fate of the island was drawing to a crisis, that the enemy was in the greatest want of succours, which their signals and almost cessation of firing sufficiently proved, that the swarm of boats, lately assembled in the neighbourhood of Sorrento, watched only the opportunity when the squadron should be a few miles off to take their stores to Capri, that the character of the man who commanded at Naples was such as to induce us to believe that he would not regret sacrificing both the fishermen and their boats, provided he relieved his suffering people in Capri, that, could this be prevented but for a few days, the happiest consequence must be the result; but, that this could only be prevented by a ship of war being actually between Capri and the enemy's port. Captain Fowell entered into these ideas with warmth; but, the next fatal morning, the "Mercury" was at a greater distance from Capri than the "Ambuscade."

¹ On the south side.

B A Y O F



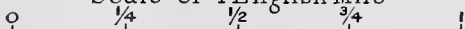
T Y R R H E N I A N
S E A

N A P L E S



THE ISLAND OF CAPRI

Scale of 1 English Mile



1 Kilometre

Heights in English Feet.



CHAPTER VII

JOURNAL DURING THE ATTACK (continued)

October 13th, 1808.—This morning commenced by a few shots from the riflemen.

The French signal of distress, a Blue Peter, continued flying for the fourth day at Monte Solaro.

The enemy's flotilla appeared assembled in considerable numbers near the Point of Campanella, from whence they rowed off in a body with the utmost vigour in the direction of Palazzo di Mare.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe directed a signal to be made to the "Ambuscade," at the time about two miles distance from the north end of the island, that no enemy's vessels, or boats were steering for the back of the island: which was correctly done by telegraph, and regularly answered. The enemy's frigate and corvette lay near the bottom of the Gulph. H.M.S. "Mercury" and the Sicilian squadron, consisting of two frigates, two corvettes, and two galliots, were in the offing between Capri and Ischia,¹ at about fifteen miles distance when first perceived.

The Sicilian gun and mortar-boats lay under the Point of Capo.

H.M.S. "Ambuscade" was nearly opposite Palazzo di Mare.

The enemy's flotilla, which was now observed to

¹ Ischia is the largest island near Naples: about 19 miles in circumference, with a population of 30,000.

consist of thirty gun-boats and armed paranzellas¹ with about sixty feluccas,² and large market-boats, pushed on past the Point of Capo. The Sicilian gun-boats, which lay off this point, were forced to retire before the superior force of the enemy, firing as they retreated towards the British squadron.

The French gun-boats lay on their oars off Capo, let the market-boats pass them, and fired a few shots at such boats as showed a reluctance to advance.

The Sicilian gun-boats, on getting under the protection of the "Ambuscade," veered about and gave the enemy their fire.

The armed boats of H.M. Ships "Ambuscade" and "Mercury," under the command of Lieutenants King and Gordon, did the same, standing towards the enemy's boats, and using every possible effort which British skill and intrepidity could suggest to impede their operations.

The "Ambuscade" had her boats out, and towed off in the direction of Damecuta, away from the enemy. The wind was at this time light, but to every person on shore appeared not unfavourable for her approach towards the enemy. The "Mercury" and Sicilian squadron had been closing nearer to her. The Sicilian gun-boats found themselves compelled to follow the movements of the "Ambuscade."

The enemy's gun-boats now, meeting no further obstacle from the squadrons, arrived in succession at

¹ A paranzella was a large Italian fishing-boat. The word is a diminutive of paranzo, a small kind of bastimento, or vessel with a lateen-sail, used for trading, and still more for fishing. These boats were generally in pairs, dragging the coast-line with large nets. A lateen-sail, derived from the Latin, *vela latina*, or, a Latin sail, was shaped like a right-angled triangle.

² A felucca is a long, narrow vessel, rigged with two lateen sails borne on masts which have an inclination forward, and capable of being propelled by oars, of which it carries from eight to twelve on each side. A felucca is seldom decked; but, in the stern it has an awning, or little house, for shelter. The outwater terminates in a long beak. Sometimes constructed so that the helm may be used at either end. They are used when great speed is required, as for carrying despatches. Once common in the Mediterranean.

Palazzo di Mare, were unladen by two and three at a time, and returned in succession to the post from whence they started. Time employed in disembarking their stores was upwards of half an hour.

The Blue Peter was lowered at its conclusion.

During this daring and effectual operation of the enemy, all the guns, that could be brought to bear on the flotilla from the garrison, were employed with some effect ; but, they did not enfilade the spot where the stores were landed, which could only be reached by shots fired with a great elevation.

The boats had scarcely landed their stores before the Sicilian squadron, with the gun-boats, bore down on the rearmost empty ones, as they were retiring, and followed them towards Sorrento. The "Ambuscade" also turned and followed them, but, shortly afterwards, with the "Mercury," made sail towards the frigate and corvette at the bottom of the Gulph, but could only approach within four or five miles of them.

An important opportunity was here lost of doing an injury to the enemy, by not standing in to the shore, and firing upon the spot where the stores had been hastily thrown out of the boats, and where the enemy's troops were now busily employed in saving and removing them, and particularly as three large boats, with artillery and ammunition lay there, not being able to unload in time to get off. The supplies must have been, in other respects, various and important. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe observed the fatigue-parties of the enemy, laden with barrels, boxes, sacks, coils of rope, tackle, tools, &c.

The occurrences of this day dissipated all those hopes we had fondly cherished of the effects that were to result from a rigorous and strict blockade by the squadrons in view, and which we flattered ourselves might lead to such a state of things as would ultimately compel the

enemy to the abandonment of his project for the conquest of the island, or rather to the surrender of the troops he had employed for the attack : for, such an event, even if succours did not arrive, was not without the reach of probability.

The intermediate position still held between the enemy and the coast, from which his succours must arrive, now lost its best advantage. In his possession, it might have been difficult to prevent his communication, as cross-batteries would have been erected ; but, with our command of the Campanella Passage,¹ aided by cruisers near it, the event, of which we had been witness, was subject of the severest mortification and surprise.

They were so decisive respecting our fate at Capri, that Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe wrote an immediate letter to the Commander of the Forces, stating the occurrence, and saying that reinforcements could not now too promptly arrive. This letter was scarcely sent to a boat, that was to convey it to Messina, before the Sicilian frigate was observed in pursuit of the enemy's boats, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe recalled his letter, on the supposition he had made an error in his statement regarding the " Ambuscade." He wrote another letter to the Commander of the Forces, and one also to Captain Durban, stating the proceedings of the Sicilian frigate, as he supposed it, and expressing it, as his opinion that, had she stood where she was, and not rowed away, or even made a demonstration of resistance, the enemy's boat would never have dared to approach. These letters were scarcely written before it was proved that the " Ambuscade " was the vessel, that she had not had her colours up, but that she had been signalled to, and recognized, by Major McCombe, on which the letters were again thrice written over.

¹ The sea-passage to the east, between Capri and the mainland.



VIEW FROM THE TERRACE.

The remains of a window of the Church, and the vastation of the houses, where the French made a breach. The rocks are part of San Michele.

At about two o'clock this day, the boat which took Ensign Corbara with Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's dispatch of the fourth, suggesting the expediency of reinforcements being sent, returned, and brought Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe a letter from the Commander of the Forces. This boat, instead of proceeding to Messina, had gone to Palermo.¹ The weather had been moderate ; but, the boat-men, who belonged to one of the Queen's dispatch-boats, feigned a pretext to take it thither, and Ensign Corbara, who had had former connexions with the Court of Palermo, appeared too readily to have acceded to them, and to have thus made a most improper use of the discretionary power,² which had been granted to him, of touching at the first land, should he find the wind contrary to his proceeding to Messina, on which occasion was mentioned to him Cefalù, or Melazzo.³ To this delay Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe attributed the most fatal consequences. The boat had arrived on the 7th, and left Palermo on the 9th. From thence, it proceeded to Ponza,⁴ instead of coming directly to Capri, where it, however, still arrived on the 13th. Had she, therefore, gone in the first instance to either Melazzo or Messina, a reply and reinforcements might have readily arrived about the 11th.

The disappointing reflections which this created, added to the events of the day, were increased on perusal of the letter from the Commander of the Forces, which gave no reply on the subject of military succours, but, spoke only of the naval ones that had been already sent, the inefficacy of whose assistance had just been so

¹ Messina is to the north-east, and Palermo to the north-west, of Sicily.

² Another lesson may be drawn here, namely, that discretionary power, or initiative, must not be entrusted to an individual who is injudicious. See notes, pages 178, 213 and 223.

³ Cefalù is on the coast east of Palermo, and Melazzo, or Milazzo, on the coast west of Messina, to the north of Sicily.

⁴ The islands of Ponza are north-west of Naples.

fully witnessed : a letter, however, in other respects flattering, and confidential.

In the course of this afternoon, Don Caffieri, commander of the gun-boats, came to the town, venting his expressions of sorrow, surprise, and indignation, at the occurrences of the day. He emphatically said "The English have a God who persecutes them, and the French a Devil who fights in their favour." Lieutenants King and Gordon also visited the town on this day, and expressed their grief and disappointment at what had occurred.

The whole of this night, the enemy's fatigue-parties were heard driving up cannon, making roads, &c. A constant fire was maintained upon them in the direction by which their artillery could alone be conveyed, and where the approach was so exposed they could not work during the day-time.

October 14th.—On this day, all attempts of a blockade, and all fear on the part of the enemy, appeared laid aside. Boats passed night and day between Capri and the coast of Sorrento, and Massa.¹

Early in the morning, the enemy opened a determined fire from the heights of one 24-pounder, two 12-pounders, two 9-pounders, and four howitzers. A 12-pounder had been brought during the night to a battery under the cliffs, within about 400 yards of the same spot. The enemy sharp-shooters established themselves close under the walls of the town, and a constant fire was kept between them and ours. In the course of this day and night, we moved two 32-pounder carronades into batteries that bore on the enemy approaches.

October 15th.—On this morning, the Sicilian gun-boats had left us, and their frigates were no longer in view.

¹ Massa Lubrense, a small town and harbour, north of the Punta Campanella and between it and Sorrento on the mainland.

The enemy's supply-boats continued to pass without interruption. Another 12-pounder had been brought during the night to the breaching-battery under the cliff. An 18-pounder was conducting to the same point, and a battery for two 24-pounders was constructing on an elevated spot in front of the town at about 600 yards distance. The battery under the cliffs had opened at seven o'clock in the morning on the left angle of the town, where the walls of an old chapel and house adjoining, with the outer windows filled-up and surmounted with a parapet line of masonry, formed the only line of defence.¹ The first shot penetrated, and, in a few hours' firing a narrow, but practicable, breach was made. Immediate means were taken for filling it up, forming a retrenchment² behind it, and insulating the small tower and house to the right of the breach, so as to form a separate post of it, should the breach be forced; but, the buildings were in so rotten a state, and the progress of the enemy's fire so rapid, that every attempt to fill up the breach would have been only furnishing the enemy with additional materials to render the slope of the ascent more accessible. Every exertion therefore, was made to raise a palisading behind, with an intrenchment above it. This was all that could now be done, for the tower to the right of the breach became so much battered, as to be in danger of falling and bringing the adjoining house with it, whilst the enemy's sharp-shooters had established themselves so close under our walls as to enfilade with their fire all the salient parts of them. The men began to fall, even before the breach was well opened, or any attack commenced. About twenty men were killed, or wounded, from the

¹ See illustration.

² A retrenchment is an interior rampart, or defensible line, cutting off a portion of a fortress from the rest, to which a garrison may retreat to prolong a defence, when the enemy has partly gained possession of the fortress.

effect of mere chance shot. Captain Church, who was posted with his company at the part where the breach was made, was wounded by the splinter of a shot, whilst working with his men to fill it up. Ensign Cappon, whom Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe had taken with him to examine the breach, was shot in the head by one of the enemy's marksmen. The enemy had now got a field-piece into the Governor's house¹ within thirty paces of the walls, from whence they enfiladed the principal passage along them, whilst our field-pieces along the town-line were either dismantled, or their carriage so shattered by constant firing as to be almost unserviceable. If the town-line should be forced, there were still the forts to retire to, but, the chain of them was incomplete, without a tower on the Hill of Tragara, by which point alone our communication could be ensured with the sea.

At half past eleven o'clock, the enemy's flotilla stood out again from Sorrento, approached towards the Campanella Point,² and left us in doubt respecting their designs on the back of the island. The "Ambuscade" and "Mercury" were at this time in the direction of Ischia,³ not in sight from our side of the island. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe sent off Mr. Cleeve in quest of the "Ambuscade," and desired him to make known the situation of the island, that the walls were breached, that the enemy was at the foot of them, that an attack was imminent, and that the near approach of the ships was desired to assist the garrison in its defence—by

¹ The governor's house stood on a site below the old gateway, on the left hand approaching it. On its foundations is now a cinema-theatre, close to the south-west corner of, and below, the new terrace, which hides the steps of the old pathway, and also part of the old gateway, formerly entered by a wooden drawbridge, with another drawbridge below. The garden slopes leading up to the old town wall have been removed in the construction of the existing new road.

² The point on the mainland nearest to Capri.

³ The island of Ischia to the north-west of the Bay of Naples.

firing upon the enemy's rear—and to send their boats to Tragara, should unfortunate circumstances compel any part of the garrison to seek a refuge on board them. Mr. Cleeve set out from Tragara ; but, in going round the point of Limbo,¹ fell in with two French boats, which prevented his reaching the " Ambuscade." He saw two transports and a brig lying to, at about ten miles to the south of Capri, and went on board them,—and, to this circumstance Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe was indebted to the arrival of the succours that afterwards reached him under Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley, as the vessels could not have otherwise communicated.

The exertions of the men were, during this time, unremittingly pursued in their works at the breach. The inhabitants, who had hitherto lent their labour, but who were intimidated by the constant fire, had all disappeared ; but, the soldiers furnished volunteers sufficient.

The ground was scalped, and an intrenchment formed above it. A house, to the left and rear of it, was loop-holed, and a communication opened between it and the retrenchment, whilst reserves were prepared for the defence of the principal passage in rear of the breach and of the town and house adjoining it, which, from its situation and extent, could only be partially barricaded. A constant fire was kept up during the whole of this day from the guns on the Castle Hill, where Corporal Black of the Royal Artillery and with six artillery-men and some sailors maintained their posts, in spite of every effort on the part of the enemy to drive them off by the fire of all the guns and mortars² he could bring to bear from the heights of Anacapri : but, the breaching

¹ Limbo is the south-west point of the island.

² A mortar is a short piece of ordnance, thick and wide, used for throwing bombs, shells, &c. It was so named from its resemblance to a bell, or trough, in which mortar is mixed.

battery, against which the fire from the Castle Hill was directed, was so buried in earth and fascines,¹ that the guns could scarcely be seen, except by the effect of their fire, and the want of grape-shot left us unable to dislodge the troops that were assembled near it. The fire of musquetry from the Castle Hill was now also unremitting, as the enemy had established his sharpshooters in the rocks immediately around it.

Such was the position of the garrison, when, at a little after six o'clock in the evening, the firing from the enemy wholly ceased, and a flag of truce was announced at the Gate. The officer with it was one of General La Marque's aides-de-camp, who had a letter for Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, of which a copy follows:—

Au Quartier Général à Capri,

le 16 Octobre, 1808.

Monsieur Le Commandant,

Je n'ai pas voulu vous sommer avant que la brèche ne fut ouverte. Vous voyez que toute résistance est inutile —épargnez l'horreur d'un assaut aux habitants de Capri.

Vous avez faite une défense qui honore votre courage, et vos talents.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer avec la considération la plus distinguée.

Le Général de Division

(Signé) M. La Marque.²

¹ A fascine, from the Latin *fascis*, a bundle, is a bundle of rods, or sticks, bound at both ends and in the middle, used in raising batteries, filling ditches, strengthening ramparts, and making parapets.

² Translation.—General Headquarters, Capri, October 16th, 1808. Sir Commandant: I made up my mind not to call upon you to surrender until a breach had been made. You see now that all resistance is useless. Spare the inhabitants of Capri from the horror of a general assault. You have made a defence worthy of your courage and ability.

With my greatest esteem,

General of Division,

(Signed) M. La Marque.

The bearer of this letter acquainted Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe with General La Marque's wish to have a personal interview. When this communication was made, the situation of his post was as follows :

The breach in itself was inconsiderable ; but, a few more hours' firing, even from the batteries already opened, would have rendered it broad, and practicable to any extent the enemy's purposes might require.

The walls of the house where the breach was made were destroyed for the space of twenty feet in breadth. An irregular ruined cross-wall lay in the rear of it, and formed a temporary obstacle ; but, the wall, which connected the house to the line of the Castle Hill, was much shattered, and the chapel, the square tower to the right of it, and house adjoining, were all so much battered, the buildings so old, and the fire of shot as well as musquetry so unremitting on them, that this point was scarcely any longer tenable. A small gun from the tower had been already removed, and there appeared, therefore, in a general assault—which would not have been directed solely to the breach, but to every other part of the line,—little hope of preventing the enemy from gaining a lodgment in the ruins of the tower and house to the right of it, by which the centre of our line would be broken, and the right, which formed the strongest part of our position, would thus be taken in flank.

An open space behind the breach would give the enemy at the same time access to the interior and compel the troops, if superior number poured in, to take refuge in the Castle. The best defence would have been a second line between the convent and a house which served as a quarter for one of the companies ;¹ but, time and materials were wanting. A rough kind of

¹ Presumably the line of what is now the Via Castello and the buildings on the lower side of Villa Alba.

palisading with poles and trees was begun behind it, but, insufficient for the object, and the fire, which now poured in from the heights of Anacapri, greatly incommoded the workmen, bearing directly on those points where retrenchments must have been formed, or troops ranged to oppose the enemy in his attack of the breach. There were no shot for several of the guns : nor shot nor ammunition, for any of them, beyond what might serve for one night's firing. The musquet-ammunition was equally low : grape, and canister,¹ of which there never had been a sufficient supply, was now exhausted : and, three out of four guns on the Castle Hill, from the state of the carriages and platforms, could be now no longer worked.

There were no intrenching-tools, sand-bags, planks for platforms, nor any implement nor material which had not been consumed in successive repairs, the soldiers' paillasses² having been cut up as sand-bags, and the doors of houses torn down for platforms, whilst the men's camp-kettles and havresacks served to carry the earth. The only artillery-force that had ever been in the island was a corporal and eight men ; but, this deficiency had been well supplied by the additional gunners of the Royal Corsican Rangers, whose labour, however, had nearly exhausted them. In the morning of this day, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe had received a letter from Captain Durban, acquainting him of his inability during light winds to keep within the curve of the island, so as to prevent the enemy's communication with the shore, for which a force of gun-boats was

¹ Canister, or case-shot, is a collection of small projectiles, such as musket-balls, grape-shot, &c., put in cases, to be discharged from cannon. The Latin word *canistrum* means a basket woven from reeds. Grape-shot were clusters, usually nine in number, of small iron-balls, put together by means of cast-iron circular plates at the top and bottom, with two rings, and a central connecting rod, in order to be used as a charge for cannon. Formerly, grape-shot were enclosed in canvas-bags.

² A paillasse, from the Latin *palea*, chaff, and the French *paille*, straw, is a soldier's bed, or pallet.

requisite ; and previous to the departure of the gun-boats, Don Ignazio Cafferi, their commander, had written to inform him of his inability to keep his station, unless assisted by men-of-war. There appeared, therefore, no impediment to the enemy's receiving succours of troops and store to any extent, as he was close to the headquarters of his army and to the grand depôt of all his military stores, whilst the boats had been passing almost without interruption.

To balance these considerations, two transport-ships and a brig, that had been descried in view, were approaching fast towards the island ; and, whilst General La Marque's aide-de-camp was with Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, a boat landed from one of the vessels, bringing a letter from Major-General McFarlane, acquainting him that it was a reinforcement of six hundred men composed of detachments of different corps, which he had sent from the garrison of Melazzo. They were directed to approach the island cautiously, until they met with vessels of war. This reinforcement did not, however, possess all the advantages that were at this time required. It had brought a supply of musquet-ammunition, but not accompanied by any artillery-men, or artillery and engineer-stores, of which the Island then stood almost more in need even than of troops ; but, its force was insufficient for the principal object now wanted, that of expelling the enemy from the valley ;¹ for even the propriety of its reception into the island, if not competent to such purpose, excited some doubt, as it might only tend to commit a greater number of men in a post which could not be considered as tenable against an enemy possessed of such superior resources, and such superior means of augmenting them. He was now in possession of the most commanding and

¹ The space between Capri and Anacapri.

extensive position of the island, and nothing short of a force, sufficient to raise his siege of the position we occupied and compel him, with the help of a strict naval blockade, to the abandonment of that which he held, could save the island. One regiment had already fallen into his hands, nearly two more were now likely to be committed : but, circumstances might change. The delay was favourable. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe sent an immediate order to the officer commanding the detachment, Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley of the 58th Regiment,¹ to land his troops without a moment's loss of time at Tragara, but to retain his boats, and wait with them there, until further orders ; and, he arranged with the aide-de-camp, that he would meet General La Marque at his advanced post on the ensuing morning, but that hostilities must cease during the night.

The weather proved so tempestuous that Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley could only land two hundred and twenty men : his boats were driven off from the landing-places, and in the morning the vessels themselves had disappeared.

In this posture of affairs, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe went to meet the French general, taking to accompany him Captain Arata of the Royal Corsican Rangers. General La Marque intimated an immediate surrender of the place. He proposed that Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, and five or six officers of his corps whom he might particularly select, should have free permission to return to Sicily ; but, that the rest of the officers and men must surrender as prisoners of war. He said he had more than ample means to force the place, and that three thousand grenadiers and voltigeurs,² the élite of

¹ The 58th Foot is now the 2nd Battalion of the Northamptonshire Regiment.

² Voltigeur, derived from the French word *voltige*, vaulting, means a light infantry-man. The name was given in France, before 1870, to soldiers of small height, who formed a picked company placed on the left of a battalion.

the French army in the Kingdom of Naples, were prepared for the assault of the breach, and that the batteries he was erecting would open other breaches on the ensuing day. He expressed his surprise at the effect his shot had already made, conceiving we had a regular rampart behind the wall he had battered, and said he was astonished we had not quitted the island, instead of persisting in maintaining a post which was not tenable when cannon was brought against it.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe told General La Marque that the troops were fully prepared to encounter any assault he could make, and had been long impatiently expecting him, that the adverse state of the weather, and other considerations which he did not think it necessary to state to him, had urged him to listen to the overture which his letter had contained, but that neither himself nor any officer of his corps, would, he felt, in any way permit that a distinction should be made between them and their men, in case the post they occupied was given up to him : the same fate must await both. He finally acquainted him, the word *prisoner of war* would be suffered in no convention, nor agreement, that could be framed.

General La Marque proposed various modifications, such as that of the whole regiment surrendering as prisoners, but being allowed to return to Sicily on their parole, of the regiment returning to Sicily, but not to serve against the French during the continuance of the war, or until regularly exchanged. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, however, objected to all, except that of being allowed to freely quit and evacuate the post he held with his arms and baggage, and then took his leave, and was returning to the town, when General La Marque sent to request he would come back, said his orders from the King, as he called him (General Murat), were positive

to make the garrison all prisoners, and that he dare not make any agreement of a different tenor ; but, that he would write to him, and endeavour to obtain his consent. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe left him to act as he thought proper in this case, as everything which created delay was necessarily in his favour.

In the interval, proposals for a convention, by which the island was to be evacuated, were drawn up by Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, which, with some modification, were consented to by General La Marque : the principal conditions of which were, that the town and forts should be delivered up to the French Army, but that the garrison should be suffered to embark unmolested with its arms and baggage, and that there should be an amnesty in favour of the inhabitants for all political, or military, offences.

During this conference, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe learnt that General Régnier had landed at Capri on the preceding evening, and that General Murat, impatient of the delay which had opposed the capture of a place, which, after the fall of Anacapri, it was supposed would not have resisted an attack of twenty-four hours, had come to Massa, within four miles of the island, to hasten the operations for its reduction.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, a flag of truce was again announced at the gate, bringing Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe the ratification of the convention by General La Marque, the weather not having permitted him to receive an answer from General Murat.

Preparations were made to receive his troops at the gate, when a demur ensued. General La Marque sent to request Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe would meet him at the outer barrier. He went, and found him accompanied by one of General Murat's aides-de-camp, with Generals Destrés and Thomas, and was there made

acquainted in terms of real or apparent regret, that the King (General Murat) had positively refused to accede to any convention by which the garrison was not made prisoners, and General La Marque, therefore, wished to have the ratification he had given again restored to him. This was, of course, refused. The weather had been pretty moderate during the middle of the day, but began now to lower, so as to give no hope of the remainder of the succours being landed. General Murat, who was from Massa an anxious spectator of the operations of our vessels, where he had been at the same time regulating those of his own flotilla, had of course, remarked this. He had been angry that the place was not assaulted, and had been with great difficulty prevented from not coming to Capri himself.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe told General La Marque that no alteration of the terms would be heard of, and that, if such had been the orders of his master, he might recommence hostilities. General La Marque proposed sending again to the King. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe told him he had to treat with him, and not with General Murat ; but, if he did again send for his directions, insisted, whatever might be the answer, no hostilities should again ensue before an hour's notice had been given after daylight on the ensuing morning. Having obtained this delay, so advantageous to the garrison in every point of view, they separated.

During the night, the men remained as usual at their alarm-posts, the violent state of weather still continuing to prevent the approach, or landing, of the reinforcements.

October 17th.—Early this morning landed Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Dalrymple, Major Gauntlet of the 62nd regiment,¹ and Lieutenant Packer of the Royal

¹ The 62nd Foot is now the 1st Battalion of the Wiltshire Regiment.

Engineers, who brought him information of their having arrived in the "Melpomene" Transport, with a detachment of a hundred and thirty men, and some artillery and artillery-stores, that they had spoken to the "Ronca" Brig, which had a detachment of the Royal Artillery on board, and which had announced to them, that a reinforcement of three battalions had sailed from Sicily, under the command of Major General McFarlane ; but, these succours, or rather the information of them, which on either of the two preceding days would have been of such high importance, was now too late, for the convention was announced to be ratified.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, having reference to what had passed on the preceding day, desired a formal notification of it. He received a letter from General La Marque, of which the following is a copy :—

Monsieur Le Commandant,

J'ai l'honneur de vous prévenir que la convention que nous avons faite hier est approuvée.

Je voyais avec peine que vous parussiez douter de la loyauté d'un militaire qui vous avoit donné quelques preuves de la franchise de son caractère.

Agréez Monsieur Le Commandant,
l'assurance de ma considération distinguée,
Le Général de Division,
(Signé) M. La Marque.¹

The person who brought it showed also General Murat's order to General La Marque for the ratification.

Neither the certainty which Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe had thus acquired of saving the troops, if he could not

¹ Translation.—Sir Commandant : I have the honour to inform you that the convention which you drafted yesterday has been approved. It gives me pain that you should appear to doubt the integrity of a soldier who has afforded you several proofs of his frankness. Pray accept my best respects.

General of Division,

(Signed) M. La Marque.



A CONTINUATION DOWNWARDS OF THE VIEW FROM THE TERRACE.

In the foreground is the mid-day steamer from Naples.

save the island, nor the doubt arising from the still unpropitious state of the weather whether the succours in view could be landed, nor his uncertainty when those which had sailed might arrive, nor the diminution of our naval force from the absence of the Sicilian squadron, whilst the enemy's flotilla still remained active, nor the forward state of the enemy approaches, which rendered it probable that an assault would be made, even before the remainder of Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley's detachment could be well landed, presented considerations to prevent Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe from desiring such a determination on the part of the enemy as might have afforded him a pretext for the recommencement of hostilities, for the confidence he had in the resources of his position, and in the spirit of his men was unabated : and, he had now obtained, that which was of more importance to him than the arrival of any partial succours, the information of efficient ones in every branch being on their way,—but, having secured conditions which appeared to him so favourable, and which could not now be infraacted without a breach of public faith—which, even could a pretext have been found for the infraction, might be productive of such serious results, in involving a considerable part of the British Army in Sicily in the contest for a spot which had been hitherto regarded as so unimportant, where the enemy's proximity to his army, and the means he had exemplified of being able to draw his succours from it, now rendered the ultimate issue so problematical, he felt there was no other alternative for his honour, or his duty, than to yield to his lot, and resign to the enemy the last post he had in an island, which, during a period of more than two years, had cost him and his men so many days of labour and nights of watchfulness,—surrounded constantly by the enemy,—left almost entirely to their

own resources, and where they found themselves abandoned at last to the perverseness of their fate, at the only moment that fortune had begun to wear a propitious aspect towards them. But, the pain of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe and his officers was extreme, when they subsequently learnt that the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley had been twenty hours off the island without being able to communicate,—from not meeting with any vessel to direct it where to land ; that this detachment, the tardy result of Ensign Corbara's injudicious proceeding,¹ had been further delayed twelve hours at Melazzo, from the neglect of a person who had received the order in the night, but not delivered it to Major General McFarlane till the morning ; that the "Melpomene" Transport had been off the island the two preceding days, without being able to communicate ; that two officers, Captain Reade and Lieutenant Count de St. Laurent, had left her, and gone on board the "Ambuscade" on the 15th, the same day on which Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe was summoned, but could not obtain a boat to come ashore, though they had such highly important and critical information to communicate ; that, returning to their vessel, they left her in a dark and tempestuous night to come on shore, but could not reach it, and narrowly escaped with their lives ; that a vessel with a hundred riflemen, with artillery and engineers on board, had left Melazzo before the preceding vessels, but, on some sudden change of weather, returned ; that the "Halcyon" Brig had also suffered delays, after having received Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's dispatches, in which the suggestion for reinforcements was renewed ; that these, with the various other unpropitious circumstances narrated in this journal should have, with such a kind of fatality,

¹ See notes, pages 178, 193, 213, and 223.

thwarted their best exertions for the security of the place, and rendered unavailing these delays which had kept the enemy so long before it,—and these reflections were much embittered by comparison with the good fortune that had favoured the enemy in the arrival of his succours, and his other hazardous communications with the shore, where his proximity to it, with all the advantages of personal observation, and the active means he possessed, was still not sufficient to secure the timely passage of his supplies, except by a desperate and determined effort of the person who had planned the enterprize, and whose anxious interest regarding its success had alone proved the safety of the troops employed on it,—for it was a case where the prompt arrival of succours, whether of stores, or troops, decided the fate of either, and, on whichever side the naval superiority lay, to that would the calculations naturally have leaned.

The force employed by the enemy in this enterprise was, according to his own account, as given by several of his officers, at least three thousand men, the greater part of which, grenadiers, voltigeurs, and carabiniers—or riflemen, were selected from a review of about ten thousand held at Naples by General Murat on the preceding day. From information, however, obtained by Captain Susini, who was left at Capri after the evacuation took place, and who saw several of the troops re-embarked for Naples, it is probable that a much larger force was employed, the number, as given to him by a French officer, amounting to upwards of four thousand, and the number of corps and generals gives much weight to this calculation.

The generals were six in number, namely :—General of Division La Marque, Chef de l'État, Major Generals of Brigade La Destrés, Montserras, Pignatelli Strongoli, Chevarden, and Thomas.

General Régnier, with two Colonels, Rochambeau and Manhes, aides-de-camp of General Murat, landed during the course of operations, but did not remain. A crowd of staff-officers in every department accompanied the above. Of the engineers' department, there was a colonel, four captains, and several other officers.

The whole of this force—six general-officers, and between three and four thousand men,—the actual élite of the French Army in the Kingdom of Naples, would have fallen into Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe's hands, had the enemy been repulsed along the sea-line of Anacapri, and landed at the Marina, as was his intention, and their only recourse ; or, after gaining possession of Anacapri, had his supplies been intercepted on the 13th, even had no military succours arrived from Sicily. Had the " Ambuscade " or " Mercury " been off the Campanella passage on the evening of the 15th, when the enemy's boats were passing on one side of the island, and Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley landing his detachment on the other, and communicated the information then on board, the same good fortune might perhaps still have awaited him, on Major General McFarlane's arrival. Other contingencies, equally affecting his situation, have been sufficiently narrated.

The corps were as follows :—

Guards	—a detachment. ¹		
10 ^{m^e}	Régiment de Ligne—a battalion.		
20 ^{m^e}	—a detachment.		
29 ^{m^e}	do.	Grenadiers and Voltigeurs.	
52 ^{m^e}	do.	do.	do.
62 ^{m^e}	do.	do.	do.
Légion d'Jsembourg	do.	do.	

¹ The detachments were picked men of different companies, and the French regiments, having three or four battalions, some of them had the grenadiers and voltigeurs of each.

Régiment Suisse	Grenadiers and Voltigeurs.		
1 ^{re} Napolitaine	do.	do.	
3 ^{me} Italienne	do.	do.	
Légion Corse—Grenadiers—Voltigeurs and Carabiniers of the several battalions.			
Artillery—a company of 100 men.			
Sapeurs Français—a detachment.			
Sapeurs Napolitains—a detachment.			
Marins de la Garde—a detachment.			
The Royal Corsican Rangers, whose effective force was at the time of the attack.. ¹
		Sergeants.	Rank and File.
		44	640
Royal Regiment of Malta	..	49	620
		—	—
Force on first day	..	93	1260
Deduct number of Maltese Regiment missing, or captured, on first day	..	44	558
		—	—
Remaining for duty, after the loss of first day	..	49	702
The force which Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe had to oppose to this, before Anacapri was taken, was his own regiment, the Royal Corsican Rangers, whose effective force was at the time of the attack	..	44	640
Royal Regiment of Malta	..	47	620

The services of the Malta regiment were lost from the first day, leaving almost the Corsicans alone as the force with which Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe had to defend from that day. The enemy had it in his power to augment his force indefinitely.

¹ These figures are given in another account.

The only artillery-force was a corporal and eight men. Of engineers and staff, there never had been any,—Capri never having been regarded in any other light than as an advanced post of the army, fortified only for the moment, and intrusted for its casual defence to a foreign light-corps, and the reinforcement it had recently received in the Royal Regiment of Malta, having resulted in great measure from some peculiar circumstances in the situation of that regiment, which had rendered it necessary to remove it from Sicily. This force, though somewhat inferior to that which had been stated as requisite for the defence of the island, in a detailed report which Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe had made regarding his posts, and though its composition was defective in several points, particularly in respect to the almost total absence of artillery, was still, however, such as inspired him with the fullest confidence of success against any attack which could be made, if his arrangements and dispositions were duly executed : for, had the enemy met a similar reception at Anacapri to that at Grotta and Tragara, where not a third of the force was ranged to oppose him, he would have had no other alternative than landing,—as was his original intention—, at Palazzo di Mare, and the Marina. His troops would have been thus confined solely to the valley, where the commanding fire from the clift of Anacapri on one side, and St. Michel on the other, might have effectually, even without naval aid, prevented his receiving succours of any species, and compelled him, however superior his numbers, to a surrender of his force, having no other alternative than what would probably have been an ineffectual one, an attempt to escalade¹ or mine the walls of Capri.

¹ To escalade, derived from the Latin word *scala*, a ladder, means to mount by means of ladders.

The loss of Anacapri not only deprived Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe of all the advantages resulting from the important position, but caused a diminution of his force to the extent of six hundred and fifty men. In his measures to remedy as far as able the disaster that had occurred, he was as singularly unfortunate as in his arrangements to obviate it. His suggestions, three times repeated, for the retreat of the Royal Regiment of Malta to the town-line of Capri if they found themselves unable to cope with the enemy, were productive of no effect whatever. His suggestion, a fourth time presented, for the retreat of such part of it as had retired to Monte Solaro beyond what was required to man the fort, proved equally ineffectual :¹ whilst, many of that corps appear almost to have preferred a voluntary surrender to the enemy to the obvious retreat, which presented itself to them by the Pass of Capo di Monte, before the enemy had obtained possession of it.

The number of Maltese which did descend by that way was a hundred and eighteen, but, without a single officer. This, added to the force now with Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, made his effective number as follows : sergeants 44, effective rank and file 714.

Had the Malta Regiment retreated to Capri, the force which Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe would have then had would have enabled him to maintain a line of posts outside the town, extending from the governor's house opposite the gate to the English Palace, and the white house,² under the cliffs of Anacapri, where the breaching battery was afterwards erected : but, the defensive

¹ See notes, pages 178, 193, and 223.

² It is doubtful to which house this refers ; but, probably, to a house under the cliffs of Anacapri, near the buildings now known as Quatro Venti, to the west of the ridge in the valley which runs east and west, and at the end of a wall joining the governor's house and the Palazzo Inglese, and continued onwards towards the east, from Capri towards Anacapri.

system to which he was reduced by their absence rendered such projects impossible.

Of his force as it now stood, about a hundred men were employed in the service of the guns. The defence of the back of the island, on the forts, occupied about a hundred and sixty more. The remainder, about four hundred and fifty, formed a secure and sufficiently numerous cordon for the line of the town and Castle Hill. The detachment of marines, fifty-five in number, which afterwards landed, furnished an important addition to the reserve, for the defence of the Castle Hill. With his force thus disposed, every moral certainty was left of his ability to resist the assault of the enemy—though his force had scarcely suffered any diminution—until succours might arrive, and particularly after the error committed by General La Marque—an error which occasioned him a delay of five or six days—in drawing his guns at such an immense labour to the heights of Anacapri, instead of establishing at once his batteries with them in the most elevated parts of the intermediate valley ; for, from this part alone could any approaches to breach the walls, slight as they were, be carried on : but, the enemy's good fortune in this instance corrected his errors, whilst the evil star which persecuted us rendered our endeavours to profit by them unavailing.

The loss of the enemy at his first debarcation was, by his own account, about a hundred and fifty men killed and wounded, of his loss during the subsequent operations no positive declaration could be obtained from him ; but, it is conjectured that the extent of his total loss in killed and wounded was between four and five hundred men, including what he lost on the first day. During the cessation of hostilities General La Marque particularly requested that the boats carrying

his wounded men to Naples might not be molested, stating their numbers to be such that he was anxious for their immediate removal. There was scarcely a spot in the valley where they had not been exposed to our fire, even of grape, and latterly they were established even within pistol-shot. The loss on our side was inconsiderable. From the Regiment of Malta no return of killed and wounded could be obtained. Two officers, Major Hamill and Ensign Brickell, were killed, Captain Lantzbourg wounded. The loss of the Royal Corsican Rangers was three officers wounded, Captain Church, Lieutenant Boccheciampe, and Ensign Cappon : Sergeants, buglers, rank and file, killed sixteen, wounded twenty-five, total forty-one : two marines, and two artillery-men also wounded.

As soon as the ratification of the convention had been received, a crowd of officers in different uniforms flocked at the outer barrier, urging for admission. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe went to see who they were. The first who spoke was an officer of the Engineers, who required to see the British officer of his department, and enquired for his plans, instruments, and stores : there had never been any, nor any paper, office, or store of that branch of the service. A captain of artillery next spoke, but was informed there was no officer of that department. Another came to take the inventory of the effects des casernes :¹ there never had been any except paillasses, which were now all cut up for sand-bags. An Officer of the *État-Major-Général*² then inquired for the Bureau du Major de la Place : no such thing existed, we had no staff officer of any kind in the island. The hospital-department then presented itself : the regimental-surgeon was the only person it could confer with.

¹ Barracks.

² General staff.

An Officer de la Marine then enquired for our naval stores and magazines : none had ever been deposited here. A branch of the police-department also offered : but, was replied, we had never anything of that kind, beyond what had been exercised by a sergeant of the regiment, who had assumed his military functions on their arrival. The commissary of provisions was the only one who could find his correspondent in a clerk of that department, and was, therefore, with the officer of the artillery, the only one who amongst this group was admitted. La caisse militaire¹ was also asked for by General La Marque himself ; but, this had already been embarked. Some commis² also wished to enter and take an inventory of English merchandise, but none existed.

Four companies of French grenadiers, of about eighty men each, now entered to occupy the gate, and the forts of the Castle, and St. Michel ; but, notwithstanding the stipulations expressed in the convention, they were followed by a considerable number of other troops, who spread over the town, till the British garrison that had evacuated it, had been so fully broken into, that Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe directed all the troops to withdraw from it and assemble in the Carthusian Convent³ at the back of the town, which was now the only place where they could be concentrated together.

During the course of the enemy's operations, several efforts were made to seduce the allegiance of the men. The enemy was established so close to the walls that there was no preventing his men from addressing ours.

¹ The military cash-box.

² Clerk.

³ This convent, in ruins, exists as a fine and extensive pile of buildings known as La Certosa, founded in 1371. It is built on Roman foundations, standing on a plateau between the hills of Castiglione and Telegrafo, on the south side of the island. It was founded by Giacomo Arcucci. When poor and disgraced, Count Arcucci, like Cardinal Wolsey, went there to end his days among his monks.



VIEW TOWARDS THE WEST, FROM THE HIGH GROUND EAST OF CAPRI.

The hill of San Michele to the right, and the Castiglione, or Castle Hill, to the left, in the middle distance. Monte Solaro is the highest point. The bays of the Marina Grande, and of the Marina Piccola, are to the right and left.

Proclamations were made known to them on the part of Saliceti,¹ offering them honours, and advancements, and to all a free return to their country if they would betray their trusts : but, from the commencement to the termination of hostilities, not a single instance of defection or impropriety of conduct was to be observed. But now that the enemy's troops began to enter the town,—and the first who entered, after the French grenadiers, were the Corsicans—, and began to mix with our men: partly from the ties of relationship and country, partly by force, and partly by menaces, several of them were prevailed on to conceal themselves in the town. Many of them had formerly been in the French service, and were impressed with the idea that they would be either taken by force, or be delivered up ; and, to avoid the dilemma of either, sought security for themselves by anticipating their surrender. The number of men lost during the confusion which this infraction of the treaty occasioned was, however, less considerable than might have been expected, being about sixty men, including six of Watteville's Regiment,² and three of the 58th. Officers who interfered in any way, either striving to restrain the men, or going in quest of such as had evaded, were menaced with the bayonets of the enemy, and some instances occurred where soldiers, who resisted his endeavours to keep them, were severely beaten.

General La Marque made on this day a formal demand to Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe for the restitution of such men to the French service as having been prisoners of war had entered the British service. He particularly required the restitution of the men of a detachment of the Regiment of Watteville. This was, however, peremptorily refused, and, with such evident signs of surprise

¹ See page 71.

² In "New Letters of Napoleon I.," by Lady Mary Lloyd, is a reference, in letter CCLXVII. by Napoleon, to his orderly officer, Watteville.

at the demand and determination to resist it, that no further application was offered.

The weather continued to blow so violently that no more than a hundred men could be embarked this day.

October 18th.—The weather more moderate. Several vessels appeared in sight at about thirty miles distance, proving to be the convoy with Major-General McFarlane's succours; but, learning the fate of the island, they did not approach.

Their appearance gave great disquietude to the French general. The Carthusian Convent (which touched on one side towards the sea) was completely invested, a cordon of troops, mixed French and Corsicans, extending round its whole circuit, and barring up every avenue to it.

An attempt was made to introduce a company of French grenadiers into the fort at Tiberius Palace; but, this was remonstrated against and prevented.

General La Marque's impatience was extreme. He conceived, as the boats were slow in approaching, that the embarkation was purposely delayed. "*Vous êtes établis dans votre petit fort carré* (alluding to the Convent), *et je ne sais pas ce que vous y méditez—Je me sens presque capable d'un coup de tête. Vos Corses sont des français, ils sont nos sujets,*"¹ and another expression indicating some turbulent designs. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe replied to them, by observing it was evidently not his fault the men were not embarked, but that of the weather. "You disembarked reinforcements in a storm, and you may embark your men in the same weather," he replied. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe suggested to him the aid of the French boats, which was only in part given. To create delay

¹ Translation.—You have taken up a position in your little square fort, and I do not know what you are up to. I feel almost like smashing you. Your French Corsicans are our subjects.

appeared to be now the enemy's object, where it was likely not to be productive of any danger to himself. It was near evening before any boats approached to take off the troops. The provisions were delayed to be given to the men till six o'clock in the evening ; but, the good will which the inhabitants bore our troops enabled Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe to supply, in some degree, the inconveniences which this was designed to produce. The boats came to the Bay of Mulo. General La Marque did not know whether there might not be still some latent mystery in their delay. "*F . . . z moi deux compagnies de voltigeurs, et deux pièces de six là bas.*"¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe went to see his men embark. The order had been executed almost as promptly as given. The cordon was established : voltigeurs two and two, with reserves in the rear, the pièces de six² in the road. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe was stopped. He returned and remonstrated : when he was escorted through the enemy's posts, and his men allowed to embark freely. Not more than a hundred could, however, be again embarked, and those who had marched down were compelled to pass the night on the rocks.

October 19:h.—Similar difficulties in regard to the embarkation as on the preceding days. The two Sicilian frigates had returned from Ponza, but were with great difficulty prevailed on to send their boats, conceiving the French would detain them.

General La Marque visited this day the fort at Tiberius Castle, where a French colour had been hoisted over the Sicilian one. He expressed great indignation at this display, and directed Captain Girolami, who had commanded at that post, to hoist an English one, saying

¹ Translation.—Chuck me two companies of voltigeurs, and two 6-pounders over there !

² The 6-pounders.

it was over the British his success had been gained, and not over Sicilians. Captain Girolami replied that he could receive no orders from him, that he was to recollect he was a British officer, and not a French one. General La Marque tore down the Sicilian colour with contempt, and left the French alone flying. General La Marque tried on this occasion every reasoning and persuasion to induce Captain Girolami and another officer, Lieutenant Manfredi, then at the fort, to leave the British service and enter their rank : rewards, a free return to their country or a perpetual expulsion from it if they declined, were what was held forth. Similar means were tried with various other officers, but spurned at by these with the greatest contempt and indignation. Some of the officers, it was conceived, from the ties of relationship, would have been more readily prevailed on than others ; and, particularly Lieutenant Boccheciampe, who was a relation of Saliceti. It was from him, however, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe first heard of the design and received a copy of Saliceti's proclamation. The reply of Volunteer Carabelli, son of a Captain of the regiment, deserves mention. He was assailed by his uncle, a captain of the French Corsican Rifle Company, who offered to immediately procure him a commission. The volunteer answered, " Your proposal is a dishonour to the name of our family : but, you must have better interest than I ; for, if you were to enter the British service, I do not think I could procure you the place of a sergeant."

The weather continuing still unsettled, the boats could scarcely approach one side of the island before the wind shifted and compelled them to seek shelter on the other. The soldiers, following their movements, marched from one landing-place to another, and, after having lain on the rocks for two and three nights together, left

almost without water or provisions, frequently found themselves compelled to embark in weather which menaced the destruction of the boats that took them ; but, even in such situation, resisted the inducements, as well as the menaces of the enemy, to prevail on them to stay, and, with the exception of what had occurred during the confusion of the first two or three days, they gave on such occasion the strongest proofs of their attachment and fidelity.

October 20th.—The weather being more moderate, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe having obtained the assistance of some French boats to embark his men at the Marina, he abandoned his posts at the convent, and the fort at Tiberius Palace, and, having collected as many men as he could, marched with them, with music, drums, and bugles playing, through the town to the place of embarkation. The enemy, who had not been prepared for this sign of independence, took to their arms on perceiving them, but offered no molestation. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe embarked on board the “ Ambuscade,” after having arranged for bringing off as many men as possible, and obtained at the same time the consent of General La Marque to his leaving an officer at Capri, to take charge of the sick, horses, and baggage, which the French commander politely acceded to.

October 21st.—Received some more troops on board the “ Ambuscade ” and “ Mercury.”

October 22nd.—Sailed for Melazzo.¹

October 23rd.—On the passage.

October 24th.—Arrived at Melazzo.

October 26th.—Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe sent off his dispatches to Sir John Stuart. They were enclosed in the first instance to Lieutenant-General Lord Forbes

¹ Now Milazzo : on the north-west coast of Sicily.

(Sir John Stuart being at Palermo), from whom the annexed reply was received.

November 1st.—Sent off abridged reports, as suggested by Sir John Stuart.

Some officers of the Regiment of Malta having been suffered to leave Naples on their parole, a report was presented by one of them, Captain Dudrenene, to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Dalrymple, by whom it was forwarded to Lord Forbes and Sir John Stuart. No communication was made to Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe on this occasion ; but, on speaking to Sir John Dalrymple on the subject, Captain Dudrenene presented to him a copy of it, which is annexed to this journal.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe having several explanations [to give which were not ? to in his official Reports,]¹ finding no notice was taken in the public orders of the Army respecting the late events, and the letter which he had received from the Commander of the Forces, however flattering to him and his corps in its general tenor, still speaking of the disaster which had occurred at Anacapri in such a manner as, to an uninformed reader, gave an explanation respecting the real cause of it, whilst the inference drawn from it was such as indicated no hope to exist, after that position had fallen, either to preserve the other part of the island, or to regain that which had been lost ; these, with other circumstances, induced him to seek an opportunity of presenting a full explanation to the Commander of the Forces, on the subject.

He remarked, in the first instance, that the orders he had given for the alarm-posts of the Royal Regiment of Malta had not been duly fulfilled, and, that to the non-execution of them must be attributed, in a greater

¹ The words in brackets are a rough pencil note in the manuscript.

part, the disaster that had occurred ;¹ that the want of artillery for the defence of this part of the Coast was much felt ; that he had frequently suggested the expediency of more being placed there ; that to an officer of the Royal Artillery, Lieutenant Crowley, who had visited the island, he had pointed out the necessity of it, and also to Colonel Brice, the chief engineer, who had recently visited Capri, and who had been struck with the apparent impregnability of the position of Anacapri, but to whom he had remarked the possibility of an enemy effecting a debarkation along the coast between Damicuto and Limbo, and how necessary it was to have some pieces of light artillery to place in flanking position on the most salient parts of the coast ; that Colonel Brice had assented to the propriety of this addition to the works of the island, but that delays had unfortunately occurred in transmitting the necessary artillery ; that this deficiency had, however, been endeavoured to be remedied, by sending an increased force of men to defend this part of the coast ; that the defence of the island was necessarily divided into two parts, one of which was intrusted to the Royal Corsican Rangers, and the other to the Regiment of Malta, but that, in his anxiety respecting the defence of the post intrusted to Major Hamill, he had detached to his aid the officers and the companies of his own regiment who were the most locally acquainted with the situation of the post, and had thus done everything which lay in his power to counteract the disaster that had occurred.

Sir John Stuart remarked that the want of guns ought not to have occasioned the misfortune, that the position of Anacapri was considered to be an absolutely impregnable one, that a few rifle-men posted among the rocks ought to have prevented any debarkation of men

¹ See notes, pages 178, 193, and 213.

whatever ; and, that he should have preferred our keeping possession of Anacapri to that of Capri, as the latter was not tenable after the enemy from his commanding position being able to shell us out of it.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe assented to the probability of the enemy having been prevented from landing, if men had been posted at the place of debarkation ; but, unfortunately, this very obvious and natural means of defence, which had been further prescribed by his order for the alarm-posts, had not been adopted, the troops having taken up a position on the heights which would rather have required a brigade, or an army, to have occupied it¹ ; that the opinion entertained, however, respecting the absolute impregnability of the position of Anacapri could not have been drawn from any report he had ever presented regarding the island, as, on the contrary, he had always stated it as a post of great delicacy, the coast being very extensive, and in general not so high or so steep but that boats might come alongside in calm weather and, protected by the fire of ships and gun-vessels, scale the rocks even from their yards and masts, unless the troops were vigilant to oppose them ; and that, for this reason, he had so frequently suggested the having some more artillery for its defence, to flank those parts where the boats might most easily approach ; that he by no means undervalued the position of Anacapri, but, on the contrary, his anxiety to preserve it had caused him to detach to its defence double the number of men that had ever been before thought necessary for such purpose, even though the

¹ Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who was killed at Corunna, in a letter dated November 24th and December 4th, 1806 (?), writing to Lieutenant-Colonel Hudson Lowe, says :—" I was with you but for a very short time, but my opinion on that short survey was, that your defence would only be safe from the heights, and if you have any apprehension of an attack, you had best consider this subject well, and do not lose sight that your troops are not Englishmen. Vessels of war appearing occasionally in the Bay (of Naples) gives you great security." And in a further letter written from Messina, dated May 25th, 1807, he expresses the wish that troops may be sent to Capri.

position of Capri was attacked at the same time ; that, after they had suffered the enemy not only to land, but secure this footing, there was no other alternative than to concentrate his force and endeavour to preserve that which still remained in his possession, as Anacapri, after the sea-line was forced, had not within its limits any circumscribed line of defence to which the troops could retire,—their going all up to Monte Solaro was as unaccountable to him as their suffering the enemy to land in the first instance ; that the effect of the fire from the heights of Anacapri was insignificant, and would never have induced the surrender of Capri, had not the enemy brought down his troops and established his batteries in the valley ; that had he been thus prevented from receiving his supplies, and had ours arrived in sufficient time and numbers, the island might have been still preserved ; that if we had been in possession of Anacapri, we should have found the same or greater difficulties in dislodging him, as he was then sufficiently near his own coast to have drawn any succours he pleased from it ; but that, at all events, it was not matter of choice, but of necessity, our endeavour to maintain the latter position.

Sir John Stuart assented in general to most of these observations, said he saw matters in a different light to what they had before appeared to him, respecting Anacapri ; that the utmost he, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, could do, or any person in a situation of independent command, was to make his arrangements and give his orders, and that he could not be responsible for the consequences that might arise from the disobedience, or neglect, of others.¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe requested leave to address a letter to him on the subject, which Sir J. Stuart assented to and said he would transmit it home.

¹ The loss of Capri is alleged here to have been caused by the disobedience, or neglect, of subordinates.

CHAPTER VIII

PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS RELATING TO THE CAPTURE OF THE ISLE OF CAPRI BY THE FRENCH FORCES

*Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed,
29th March, 1809*

LIST

- Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, dated 8th October, 1808.—Eight enclosures.
- Copy of Ditto . . . from Ditto to Ditto . . . dated 31st October, 1808.—Ten enclosures.
- Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart to Viscount Castlereagh.¹—Eight enclosures.

Palermo,
18th October, 1808.

My Lord,

On the 6th instant I received advice, dated the 4th, by an express from Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, that a formidable expedition had advanced from Naples that morning to the attack of Capri, consisting of a frigate

¹ Robert Stewart, 2nd Marquess of Londonderry (1769-1822). After Pitt was returned to power in July, 1805, he was promoted to be one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of State, taking the department of War and the Colonies. On the death of Pitt, he resigned his seat with the rest of the cabinet. Upon the formation of the Portland administration in April, 1807, Lord Castlereagh, by which title he is better known, was re-appointed. Difficulties arose, although he was supported by Canning at the Foreign Office. Later he resigned and remained out of office till February, 1812. He died a violent death, to which an interesting reference is made in the "Reminiscences" of Mrs. E. M. Ward.

of 44 guns, a corvette of 22 guns, a brig, a large armament of gun-boats, and about one hundred smaller craft, in which he supposed four or five thousand French troops to be embarked, and that, after having been repulsed in their attempts to force the landing-places of Capri proper, they had at length succeeded in effecting a debarkation on a point of land below part of the island called Ana Capri,¹ from whence they were pushing their approach towards the heights.

As Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe expressed a solicitude for succour both of ships and troops, I made an immediate application to Captain Durban, of His Majesty's ship "Ambuscade," then accidentally in this bay, to proceed to his assistance, which was promptly complied with by that officer; while I, at the same time, transmitted authorities to Lieutenant-General Lord Forbes at Messina, to make a similar requisition to any naval commanders that might be laying in that port, and also to expedite a reinforcement of troops without delay.

His Lordship, in consequence of his own intermediate information of the attack upon Capri, had anticipated my wish in respect to naval application previously to the arrival of the courier, and his Majesty's frigate "Mercury" and sloop-of-war the "Halcyon" had already proceeded to the assistance of the garrison. A detachment of 900 men were now further embarked in transports at Milazzo, under Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley of the 58th regiment, from whence they sailed on the evening of the 9th; and a second division has been reported to me to have been in readiness at the same place on the 13th, to proceed on the like destination.

Meanwhile I have the honour of enclosing to your Lordship a succession of details which I have received from Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, whose firmness and

¹ The modern form is Anacapri.

able resources under his first and most unexpected, and still unaccountable disaster, I am induced to trust in every event will meet with His Majesty's most gracious approbation ; and I venture also to entertain the hope that if he has been able to prolong his defence until the arrival even of the first reinforcement that has been sent to him, not only his own security will be confirmed, but the enemy may eventually become victims of their daring enterprize.

The value of Capri as a possession is perhaps of little moment, but it is the last appendage of the Kingdom of Naples which we continue to hold for its lawful Sovereign¹ against an unjust and iniquitous usurpation, and its loss at this period, without an endeavour to preserve it, might be productive of impressions upon his subjects in his neighbouring capital most unfavourable to our politics at the moment ; a proportionably reverse effect will, I am led to hope, be derived even from an exertion in its defence, and I presume to rely that in this point of view His Majesty will be most graciously pleased to approve my arrangements to support it.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
 The Right Honourable J. Stuart.
 Viscount Castlereagh, &c., &c., &c.

¹ Ferdinand IV. of Naples, afterwards styled Ferdinand I. of the United Kingdom of the two Sicilies, born January, 1751, was the son of Don Carlos of Bourbon, King of the two Sicilies, afterwards Charles III. of Spain. When he was about eight years of age, his father, being called to the throne of Spain by the death of his brother Ferdinand VI., made over to him the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, appointing a regency. In April, 1768, Ferdinand married Maria Carolina of Austria, daughter of Maria Theresa, who ruled her husband. She was a sister of Marie Antoinette. In 1798, the French having occupied the Papal state, the Court of Naples formed an alliance with Austria, England and Russia. The Neapolitan troops eventually being routed, Ferdinand and the royal family left Naples for Sicily on December 21st, 1798 : he returned to Naples, concluding a treaty with France, in 1801.

In 1805, while Napoleon was defeating the Austrians on the Danube, Russian and English troops were landed at Naples, to attack the French in the north of Italy. Consequently, after his victory at Austerlitz, Napoleon declared that "the Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign at Naples," and he sent a force to occupy the kingdom. Ferdinand and his court withdrew a second time to Sicily where, protected by English forces, they remained till 1815.

Ferdinand died suddenly on January 4th, 1825, aged 76, having been King for 65 years. He was succeeded by his son, Francis I.

NO. 1.

Copy of a Letter from Major Lowe to Sir J. Stuart ; dated 6th October, 1808 :—In Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart's to Lord Castlereagh, of the 18th October, 1808.

Capri,

6th October, 1808.

Sir,

Your Excellency will have been informed, by the letters I dispatched on the 4th instant, of the enemy having on that day commenced an attack on this island. It becomes a painful duty on me to relate the first unfortunate results of it. I have received some vague information of the enemy's designs on the preceding day, and had doubled my guards and picquets in consequence of it. The arrangements for defence in other respects were as follows :—

The Royal Corsican Rangers occupied the town and heights of Capri. The Royal Regiment of Malta, under the command of Major Hamill, the position of Anacapri. Three companies¹ of this corps were destined to co-operate with the same number from the Royal Corsican Rangers, for the defence of the sea-line lying between the two positions, should the enemy make that his principal point of debarkation. The point of retreat for the companies of Royal Malta was Anacapri.

At daylight in the morning of the 4th, we clearly perceived the enemy's force standing directly to us from Naples : it consisted of a 44-gun frigate, a corvette carrying 22 guns, thirty gun-boats, and about forty other small vessels of different descriptions ; the whole with troops on board. This division made towards the

¹ Letter of October 11th, 1808, page 249, states two companies.

Marina, and Palazzo di Mare, the principal landing-places along the sea-line before mentioned ; but, as they approached the island, manœuvred and stood off for some time. In this interval a second division, consisting of seven gun-boats and about thirty small vessels, with troops also on board, was observed coming from Salerno, and menaced the landing-place of Grotto and Tragara, at the back of Capri.

Major Hamill, judging from these appearances that the first efforts of the enemy would be against Capri, with an anxious concern to grant prompt succour, detached first two companies for the support of the sea-line, and afterwards two more companies in reserve to the town, writing to acquaint me he had posted five companies between the points of Limbo and Damecuta at Anacapri, where he considered himself as secure. It was not long however before the enemy was observed to change the direction of his first and principal division, which steered towards the station of Damecuta, leaving only a few vessels opposite Palazzo di Mare. The division from Salerno continued in its first course. Observing thus the enemy's intention fixed on his places of debarkation, I remanded back the companies of the Royal Malta to Anacapri ; and, as his design to make that part of the island his principal point of attack became more obvious, detached to Major Hamill's support three companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers, under the direction of Captain Church, who, having commanded in that station before the arrival of the regiment of Malta, possessed all that local knowledge which could render his services useful on such an occasion.

I was for a long time ignorant of the enemy's real movements in that quarter, until I received a note from Mr. Banks, Surgeon of the Royal Malta, dated two



CALA DEL RIO, ANACAPRI, WITH A VIEW OF MONTE SOLARO.
The military stonework prevented the use of this cove as a landing-place.

o'clock p.m., informing me, by Major Hamill's desire, that he thought the enemy inclined to attack him at Damecuta, and requesting, if I thought proper, that I would send him what reinforcement I could spare. Having previously detached the companies before-mentioned, this object was thus already fulfilled.

About an hour afterwards I received a note from the adjutant, dated three o'clock, acquainting me by Major Hamill's desire, that the enemy had landed a division of about 350 men at the left of Damecuta, and the rest was standing in. I augured the most unfavourable consequences from this report, as the principal defence of Anacapri consisted in the facility of defending the points of disembarkation, which however, being once forced, opened a wide field for an enemy's formation and subsequent movements.

At this moment the enemy was vigorously pushing his attempts of debarkation at the points Tragara and Grotto, the result of which remained at this time in suspense. Some gun-boats and small vessels still menaced debarkation at Palazzo di Mare. I felt on this occasion there was no other alternative than to march up with all the force I could collect in Capri to the support of the troops at Anacapri, and, leave the defence of the positions at Capri to chance alone, or to endeavour to secure that which was already in my possession. The force, however, that I could have marched up was so small, and the result of their assistance so doubtful against an enemy who had so successfully overcome the principal difficulty of his attack, and who had by that time probably landed the whole of his force, that I decided on the latter; and felt the more confirmed in the propriety of this decision, as any other operation would have menaced the loss of the whole island. I immediately dispatched an order to Major Hamill,

desiring him, if he felt himself pressed by the enemy, and doubtful of the result, to save his regiment by retiring within the town-line of Capri, sending a detachment to occupy the fort at Monte Solaro. This order was dispatched three several times, and received the first time, but I have reason to believe the last never reached him ; for I have since understood that it was received by an officer of the regiment who fell in the hands of the enemy.

Before six o'clock in the evening the attempt made by the enemy to effect a debarkation at Tragara and Grotto, had completely failed. The companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers who were charged with the defence of that part of the island, under the direction of Major Schummelkettel, having completely succeeded in repelling by heavy discharge of musquetry into his boats, though exposed the whole of the time to the fire of the gun-boats as well as to the enemy's musquetry. I was still uncertain respecting affairs at Anacapri ; but finding this part of the island now secured, I collected three companies to move to their assistance in the other quarter, more however with the hope of establishing some order in the retreat than with the expectation of making a successful resistance against an enemy of superior numbers, flushed with success at the advantages already gained. I had scarcely arrived at the foot of the mountain of Anacapri before I met several small detachments of the Royal Malta in retreat. A sergeant, detached to me from Captain Church, informed me, that the companies under his charge had taken the direction to Monte Solaro, and that the enemy was in possession of Capo di Monte (the only passage of communication between Capri and Anacapri). I immediately sought a peasant who was acquainted with a track up the precipices of the mountain, and dispatched

him with a letter to Major Hamill at Monte Solaro, to be delivered in his absence to Captain Church, directing him to use every means for joining me in Capri with the whole of his force, leaving only a sufficient number of men to occupy the fort at Monte Solaro : the peasant was to serve him as a guide. I had soon the satisfaction to find that my wishes in this respect had been fulfilled by Captain Church, who effected his passage down the precipices with his detachment. From him I learned, that, except about 150 men at Monte Solaro, and about 120 who had retired down the steps of Capo di Monte, the remainder of the regiment of Malta were made prisoners. Major Hamill's fate still remained unknown to me.

As no officer of the regiment Royal Malta returned to Capri, I could obtain no relation of the particular occurrences that befell that corps, and therefore had recourse for information on the subject to Captain Church, whose report to me is annexed.¹

The occurrences of such a day may appear to afford little occasion for the acknowledgment of particular services ; but it would be highly unjust on my part not to notice the manner in which I was supported by the officers and men in general under my immediate command, when I feel that I want words to express a due acknowledgment of it.

My warmest thanks are due to Major Schummelkettel, as well as to Captain Guitiera, Lieutenant Zerbi, Ensigns Agostini and Bibra, for the spirit and judgment with which they fulfilled their duty in repelling the enemy's attack at the Points of Grotto and Tragara, where the force opposed to them was so highly superior. I cannot more strongly appreciate the services of Major Schummelkettel and his detachment than by saying,

¹ (A.) See report annexed.

that the safety of this island depended on his and their exertions in the defence of this post. Captain Church's exertions were peculiarly conspicuous, and he was handsomely supported by Captains Nicholson¹ and Susini. The orderly retreat of this detachment through parties of the enemy without any loss of men, except the killed and wounded, but through absolute exhaustion, down precipices heretofore deemed impracticable, forms the highest eulogium on the officers who guided it. They had been twenty hours under arms, and in constant movement. The small detachment of British Artillery performed its duty in its usual gallant manner. Lieutenant Boccheciampe, who had charge of the additional gunners of the Royal Corsican Rangers, and to whom the artillery defence of the island I had principally entrusted, gave proofs with the whole of his detachment, of the most undaunted firmness, having been repeatedly attacked by an unceasing fire from the whole of the enemy's gun-vessels, and having as constantly repelled them. A wound received in his duty has deprived me of his present services.

It has been extremely difficult for me to form any exact calculation of the state of the enemy's force. The officers who were at Anacapri state, in general, that the division which first landed at Damecuta must have consisted of about 2,000 men. The division which menaced Palazzo di Mare (and our communication, had he landed there, with the other part of the island), I conceive must have afterwards proceeded thither also. The division which attacked Grotto and Tragara was about 800 men: this also I believe proceeded to Damecuta. His present force would therefore be at least 3,000 men; however, I can only speak from conjecture. Whatever it may be, we at present hold a

¹ The spelling is sometimes Nicolson.

strong position in the town, and all the heights on this part of the island, and the determination in general to preserve it.

Inclosed is a return of the killed, wounded, prisoners and missing, of which almost the entire loss sustained was in the action after the enemy's landing at Damecuta.

I have had no means to judge what loss the enemy sustained on this occasion, but understand he suffered considerably.

I have, &c.,
Hudson Lowe,
Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding.

:: :: ::

(A.)

Copy of a Letter from Captain Church to Major Lowe ;
dated Capri, 5th October, 1808.—One enclosure.

Capri,
5th October, 1808.

Sir,

In pursuance to your directions I proceeded, on the morning of the 4th ultimo, with a detachment of three companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers to Anacapri, when I placed myself under the orders of Major Hamill, commanding there.

On my arrival on the heights of Dama Couta,¹ I found the enemy had already effected their debarkation under the cover of a frigate, a sloop of war, a mortar-vessel, and about 24 gun-boats, besides various armed boats.

The position occupied by the Royal Regiment of Malta formed a *crescent* along the Heights, extending from those over Orico (where the enemy had landed) to the *lime kiln* near the road leading to the town of Anacapri ; farther on the left, and considerably advanced

¹ Damecuta.

towards the enemy, two companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers occupied the little height called Orico ;¹ between these companies (which were commanded by Captains Nicholson and Susini) and the Royal Regiment of Malta, there appeared a considerable interval.

The right of the line was occupied by my own company, having to protect the landing-place of Gratula, which was in our rear ; a company of the regiment of Malta, and a field-piece ;—this company and gun I had occasion to bring to reinforce the line during the action.

I had joined the Royal Regiment of Malta at about *two* o'clock in the afternoon, a little after the enemy had landed, and who were endeavouring to advance whilst their ships-of-war and gun-boats kept up a constant fire upon the heights. We had, nevertheless, the satisfaction to repulse the enemy in *four* successive attempts which he made to turn our right and left, and in which they sustained a considerable loss.

At sunset the enemy had completely retired, and covered himself amongst the rocks at the place of debarkation.

The action had now ceased, except with at intervals some loose firing between their sharp-shooters and ours ; and I occasionally annoyed them by some discharges of grape from a long 4-pounder, but which was unfortunately in want of ammunition.

During the action, a division of the enemy of about 700 or 800 men, who had been repulsed in an attempt to land at Capri, disembarked at Orico.

From the various repulses the enemy met with, I had reason to conceive his intention was to *re-imbark* ; but, at about eight o'clock (just as the moon rose), I perceived the enemy in motion, and his skirmishers recommenced the action.

¹ Orico, now called Orriico.

I now plainly perceived him formed in three considerable columns, covering the flank of his *left* column with his *light* troops, and advancing across the Plain of Orico, obliquely to his right, directing his march to the town. In conjunction with some companies of the Regiment of Malta, who were on my left, I kept up a brisk fire upon the enemy's flank, but could not follow him, as a *reserve* of the enemy threatened my *right*.

In a short time it was evident that the enemy had penetrated our line, and his drums in the town soon convinced me of it. The companies of the Regiment of Malta had retired, and I found it necessary to provide for the safety of my detachment.

From the local knowledge, the conduct and abilities of Captains Nicholson and Susini, I was convinced that the companies commanded by them would effect their retreat, notwithstanding their being surrounded by the enemy in almost every direction.

Finding all hopes, and even *utility* of defending any longer the post I occupied entirely dissipated, I threw the gun I had with me into the sea, and commenced my retreat by the *left*, marching through the vineyards and narrow roads leading from Dama Couta to the Capo di Monte, the only retreat I had left, all others being occupied by the enemy.

I had retreated about a quarter of a mile, when, to my infinite surprise, I fell in with a strong division of the enemy, by whom I was instantly challenged. There was no other alternative ; I answered the challenge in *French*, and said we were *French* troops pushing on to the town. By this means I extricated myself from the enemy and passed them, until some soldiers of the Regiment of Malta (who retreated with me) having discovered by their red uniforms that we were enemies, the enemy instantly opened fire upon me, and followed

me for near a mile : *local* knowledge of the country at length enabled me to avoid them, after having lost several men.

Having arrived at Capo di Monte a few minutes before the enemy, I found to my great satisfaction Captain Nicholson's company had arrived there. I now determined to secure the *Re-doubt* at *Monte Solaro*, and act afterwards as circumstances should direct ; and on my march up the mountain, I had the pleasure to fall in with Captain Susini's company, which had also escaped from the enemy.

After my arrival at the *Re-doubt* of *Monte Solaro*, and finding that a sufficient number of men of the Regiment of Malta had arrived to occupy it, I conceived it my duty still to endeavour to effect my retreat to Capri. At this moment, a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Lowe, addressed to Major Hamill, or in his absence to me, decided my resolution.

As I knew that it was possible for a man to go down the face of the rock which divides Anacapri from Capri, I resolved to attempt leading my detachment down it, in which, I am happy to say, I succeeded, with the loss of only one man killed by falling from the rocks into the valley underneath.

As it is not in my power to state the numbers of the enemy, I shall only observe that it was infinitely superior to ours, and that when they had once landed, our line became so extensive as to render it almost impossible to occupy it. I am well convinced the enemy's loss has been *severe*, from the opportunity I had of observing it ; and in each attack, the officers carrying the enemy's advanced standard were *killed* by sharp-shooters of my detachment.

I have now, Sir, only to mention my extreme satisfaction of the gallantry and conduct displayed by the

officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, composing the detachment I had the honour to command, not only in an action of nearly *six hours*, but also for the perseverance and cheerfulness with which they performed a retreat, the difficulties of which it would be superfluous to mention to you.

I enclose a return of the loss I have sustained, which I am happy to say is not considerable.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Richard Church,

Com. Detachment Royal
Corsican Regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant H. Lowe,

&c., &c., &c.,

Commanding Capri.¹

¹ A replica of this letter in the handwriting of Sir Richard Church, and marked by him "Copy," is in the possession of Colonel A. B. Church. It is inscribed by him "Report of the proceedings of a detachment of the British Regiment the Royal Corsicans (in the Action of the 4th October, 1808, in the island of Capri), commanded by Captain Richard Church." It begins "Capri, 5th October, 1808," and it is addressed to "Lt.-Colonel Commandant H. Lowe." See page 111.

At the end are the following lines, addressed by Sir Richard Church to his family: "In my next letter, I will give you a detailed account of my retreat through the enemy's column, and the conversation I had with the French officers, by whom I was cheered as I passed, as I had succeeded in making them believe that we were French, although we touched their men in passing them; also, how I got down the face of a rock 158 feet high (perpendicular height), with arms, ammunition, &c.

"I write in great haste, and hope you will be able to read the report, which I have not time to correct. God bless you. R.C."

The printed report is almost verbatim like the written one: but, its sentences seem to have been rounded off. Church writes of 30, instead of 24, gun-boats, of the lime-kiln as being near the road leading to Anacapi, of the little height called Orico, of the landing-place Gratula which he spells correctly, of the Royal Regiment of Malta on his left, and of throwing the field-piece into the sea. As regards his retreat, he writes: "The enemy were in possession of the town (of Anacapi), and the whole country around me, as well as between me and it," "instantly challenged" instead of challenged, "retreated" instead of retired, "a few minutes" instead of a short time, "fort" instead of redoubt. Perhaps the only point of real interest is the statement that "the loss of the enemy was severe, and four officers, carrying his advanced standards, were killed by the sharpshooters of my detachment."

[In Captain Church's to Major Lowe of 5th October.]

Return of killed, wounded and missing, in the detachment of Royal Corsican Rangers, commanded by Captain R. Church, in the Action of the 4th of October 1808, at Dama Couta, in the island of Capri.

	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
Killed ..	—	—	—	10
Wounded ..	—	—	—	5
Missing ..	—	1	—	19
Total ..	—	1		34

N.B.—Six of the men returned missing were incapable, from fatigue, from continuing their retreat further than the fort at Monte Solaro, where they were left. Another man marched to the cliffs, but was too weak to descend ; the remainder were taken prisoners, or killed in the retreat.

(Signed)

Richard Church,
 Captain Commandant Detachment
 Royal Corsican Rangers.

Artillery abandoned :—1 four-pounder, long.

Artillery saved :—1 four-pounder, mountain.

(Signed)

R. Church.

[In Major Lowe's to Sir J. Stuart, dated 6th October.]

Return of killed, wounded, prisoners and missing, in the attack made on the island of Capri, by an Expedition under the Command of General of Division La Marque, Chief of the Staff of the French Army in the kingdom of Naples, on the 4th of October, 1808.

	KILLED.							WOUNDED.							PRISONERS AND MISSING.											
	Lt.-Colonels.	Majors.	Staff.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergants.	Bugles.	Rank and File.	Lt.-Colonels.	Majors.	Staff.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergants.	Bugles.	Rank and File.	Lt.-Colonels.	Majors.	Staff.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergants.	Bugles.	Rank and File.		
Royal Corsican Rangers ..	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	30
Royal Regiment of Malta..	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	13	44	19	558	-	-	
Total	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	12	-	5	10	13	45	20	588	-	-	

N.B.—No return having been received of the Royal Regiment of Malta, the numbers of killed and wounded cannot be ascertained.

Names of officers killed and wounded : Killed { Major Hamill } Royal Regiment of
 { Ensign Brickell } Malta.

Wounded .. Lieutenant Boccheciampe { Royal Corsican
 Rangers.

(Signed) H. Lowe, Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding.

NO. 2.

Copy of a dispatch from Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe to Sir John Stuart, dated 8th October, 1808. In Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart's to Lord Castlereagh, 18th October, 1808.

Capri,
8th October, 1808.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter to your Excellency of the 6th instant, I have the honour to report to you that on the morning of the 5th we observed from hence the enemy in possession of the heights and commanding positions, as well as of the fort of Monte Solaro at Anacapri, and about nine o'clock a flag of truce arrived with a summons to me to surrender the town, positions, and forts of Capri. On this occasion I learnt, that the Commander of the force whose operations had been directed against us was General of Division La Marque, Chief of the Staff of the French Army in the kingdom of Naples. His letter¹ I have the honour to enclose, perceiving from it that he attributed much greater advantages to the possession of the heights of Anacapri, as affecting the immediate surrender of the positions on this side, than I conceive they possessed, and knowing this idea must tend to retard his operations, my reply to his summons (of which copy is enclosed) was expressed accordingly. Immediately on receiving it, a fire was opened upon us from small guns and howitzers on the heights, and the whole of the enemy's gun-boats ranged themselves in front of our line and commenced a heavy fire in every direction, which, however, only occasioned the loss of two men on one of the batteries. His guns from the heights did no mischief whatever.

¹ See these papers (No. 1 and No. 2) at page 257, *infra*.

In the afternoon of the same day several lines of men were seen to descend the steps in the rock, which affords the communication between Capri and Anacapri, and bringing with them scaling-ladders. In the meantime the enemy's boats appeared actively employed in bringing him stores and provisions.

During the whole of the night of the 5th we were under arms, in expectation of, and prepared to receive an assault, but no attempt was made. Several small guns and howitzers were fired, but many of the shells fell into the valley among his own men. We kept up an unceasing fire with what artillery we had upon him.

On the morning of the 6th another flag of truce¹ arrived to me ; it marked, in some degree, General La Marque's apprehension of the force and means we had to oppose him. Though the inhabitants to whom it referred had remained, in general, perfectly neutral, yet I thought it my duty, as a British Officer, to combat the principle on which his declaration was made, and sent him the reply of which copy is annexed. The officer who was the bearer of his letter, expressed earnest desire to have a personal conference with me on the part of General La Marque, but this I declined entering into. It was from this officer we received the melancholy information, though it still appears to me to require being confirmed, of Major Hamill's being killed by a French serjeant, to whom he refused to surrender himself. Having been long in habits of intimate friendship with him, his loss must ever be severely felt by me ; and the more so, as his generous and noble concern to grant prompt support to me, before it was required, may be considered as one of the causes of his disaster.

On the evening of the 6th, we observed a Sicilian squadron in view, but calms prevented its approach.

¹ See these papers (No. 3 and No. 4) at page 258, *infra*.

The troops were again under arms the whole of the night, in expectation of a general assault, but nothing of moment occurred.

On the 7th, the enemy's gun-boats and vessels of all descriptions were employed, as on the day before, bringing every species of stores, ammunition, &c., to a depôt which he was establishing at Palazzo di Mare, where preparations appeared making to construct batteries ; various entrenchments were thrown up in the valley which divides us from Anacapri.

Our troops were again under arms the whole of the night: the Sicilian squadron no nearer than on the day before.

On this morning I had communication with some of the Sicilian gun-boats, who, by Captain Fugnerrara¹ (the Commander of the Sicilian squadron) were directed to follow my instructions.

They immediately made an attack on the enemy's gun-boats at the depôt of Palazzo di Mare, drove off six of them, and destroyed two at the landing-place, the guns of which the enemy, I believe, have now got. M. Caffieri, who commanded the division of the Sicilian squadron, displayed, with the whole of his men, the greatest firmness, standing into the shore until they were exposed to grape and musketry. Two galliots, with the names of whose commanders I am as yet unacquainted, completed the destruction of the boats, and drove the French soldiery away from the cliffs. In the night-time the galliots and gun-boats assumed a situation under the cliffs of St. Michel, on this side of the island, which enables them to enfilade the valley, and attack in the rear any body of troops which may make an assault on the town.

Such are the occurrences hitherto ; it will be evident

¹ Probably Valguernera.

to your Excellency that reinforcements will be necessary, and particularly so for the purpose of expelling the enemy from the valley, where he now appears disposed to erect his batteries, and where they will be completely exposed to the fire from ours. A proportion of artillery and mortars would therefore be highly desirable. I have reasons to believe he has landed no heavy artillery as yet at Anacapri, should he have got any up. We have tried the range of some thirty-six pounders we have on the island, and found we can point them with very tolerable precision against any batteries he might erect there.

As General La Marque's communication with the Continent will be cut off on the arrival of a naval squadron, circumstances may not impossibly arrive to induce his surrender. Such an event would have a very sensible effect in the minds of the people of the neighbouring capital, as I conceive it was to show his power and hatred of the British that General Murat ordered this expedition to be undertaken. I am uncertain whether General La Marque may have sent off any part of his force when the French frigates and gun-boats were compelled to retire on the appearance of a superior Sicilian force ; but I am induced to believe he has done so, as it would be difficult to account in any other way for the apparent langour and inactivity of his movements.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) H. Lowe,

His Excellency, Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding.

Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart, K.B., K.C.¹

&c., &c., &c.

¹ Mr. Charles Harold Athill, *Richmond Herald*, explains that the letters "K.B. and K.C.", or "K.B. and C." mean Knight of the Bath, and Knight of the Imperial Ottoman Order of the Crescent.

Before the Bath was split up into three classes, there was but one class—Knight of the Bath. The Turkish Order of the Crescent was established in 1798 for foreigners only, Nelson being the first to receive it for his victory at Aboukir.

NO. 3.

Copy of a letter from Major Lowe to Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart ; dated 10th October, 1808 :
In Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart's to Lord Castlereagh, 18th October, 1808.

Capri,

10th October, 1808.

Sir,

No material operation has been undertaken by the enemy since my last of the 8th, though this morning I had every reason to apprehend a general assault. An hour before daybreak a general fire took place along the left of the town-line and towards the Castle Hill, with shouts from a French officer of "*Allons! montez à l'assaut!*" Shots were returned, but the fire did not continue above a quarter of an hour.

Whether this was a feint, as I suppose it to be, or that the enemy, observing our state of preparation, desisted, I have not yet learnt.

He has now established himself in houses, within musquet-shot of the town-line, and has been firing at the windows of the room in which I am now writing, but some cannon-shot have, for the present, dislodged him.

Reinforcements would be necessary, if it was only to relieve the fatigues of the men, as they have been now under arms for six days and nights successively. The last night was peculiarly severe on them from the violence of the weather with excessive rains ; but I had the satisfaction to find that this circumstance abated nothing of their vigilance and attention.

General La Marque's communication with the Continent, from his positions at Anacapri, appears com-



A CHAIR OF SIR HUDSON LOWE.

pletely cut off by the blockading vessels. He has not even a place where a single boat can lie to carry off a messenger or a dispatch ; and there appears no other resource for him than to *carry this part of the island*, where, from the narrowness of the passage to the Campanella's Point, his communication could be no longer molested by us.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

H. Lowe,

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.

I have just heard by a boat from Melazzo that some reinforcements are said to be coming here, which, I presume, may have been the result of Ensign Corbara's communication to your Excellency. Captain Durban having offered the assistance of some Marines, I intend availing myself of it in the interval.

To Lieutenant-General

Sir John Stuart, K.B. and K.C.

&c., &c., &c.

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Copy of a letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart, K.B., to Viscount Castlereagh.—Ten enclosures.

Palermo,

31st October, 1808.

My Lord,

I had the honour of acquainting your Lordship in a former dispatch from hence, of my having received intelligence on the 6th instant, of the island of Capri (of which the Maltese and Corsican Regiments, one battalion each, composed the garrison, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe) having been attacked

by a considerable armament from Naples (as detailed in the margin)¹ on the 4th of the same month.

The enemy, it appears, on the same (last-mentioned day) accomplished a footing upon the district called Anacapri, the strongest and most difficult part of the island ; where they unfortunately further succeeded in capturing almost the whole of the Malta Regiment, which had been appropriated in that direction ; Major Hamill who commanded the corps, I regret to state having fallen upon this occasion, having refused it is said to receive quarter.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, whose own position was at Capri proper, at which an attempt of the enemy had been previously repulsed, reports himself to have concentrated at this crisis the remainder of his garrison within the town of Capri, where he rejected the summons of the French general, and made every preparation for defence.

Succours, both naval and military, were meanwhile sent from hence with the utmost expedition, upon the first notice of the above event. But a succession of heavy gales and adverse winds having prevented the timely arrival of the transports, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, after a defence of twelve days, in which he appears to have done everything to maintain his post, of which, after his first disasters on the 4th, it was in any shape susceptible, was at length compelled to enter into an armistice, which concluded on the 16th on terms, of which I have the honour to enclose herewith the particulars to your Lordship.

A recapitulation of circumstances as they occurred in Capri from the day on which it was attacked to that of its final surrender, will be detailed to your Lordship

¹ A frigate, 44 guns ; a corvette, 32 do. ; between 30 and 40 gun-boats ; about 70 launches, all filled with troops, amounting, as appeared afterwards, to between 3,000 and 4,000 men.

in the adjoined reports which I have received from Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe himself.

The promptitude with which Captain Durban of His Majesty's Ship "Ambuscade," and the Commanders of His Majesty's Ships "Mercury" and "Halcyon" sailed respectively from this place and Messina to the assistance of the troops at Capri, and their ready assistance in landing their guns, as well as such few seamen and marines as they could possibly spare, to act co-operatively with the garrison, are tokens of zeal which I feel it a duty particularly to mention to your Lordship.

I have the honour, &c.,
 (Signed) J. Stuart,
 Lieutenant-General.

Right Honourable Viscount Castlereagh,
 &c., &c., &c., &c.

:: :: ::

(Copy.) (A.)—In Sir John Stuart's, 31st October, 1808.

Capri,
 |11th October, 1808.
 Sir,

Your Excellency will have been informed by my letter of the 4th, of the enemy's projected attack on this island. The arrangements for its defence were in general as follows: the Royal Corsican Rangers occupied the town and heights of Capri; the Royal Regiment of Malta, under the command of Major Hamill, the position of Anacapri; two companies¹ of this corps were destined to co-operate with the same number of the Royal Corsican Rangers for the defence of the Marina or sea-line lying between the two positions.

¹ Letter of October 6th, 1808, page 229, states three companies.

At daylight in the morning of the 4th, we perceived the enemy's force standing towards the island in two divisions, the first, which came directly from Naples, consisting of a frigate, a corvette, thirty gun-boats, and about forty other small vessels, the whole with troops on board, made towards the Marina and Palazzo di Mare, a landing point at the left of it. The second division, which consisted of seven gun-boats and about thirty other vessels, and which had come from the Gulph of Salerno, made towards the landing point of Grotto and Tragara, at the back of Capri. Major Hamill judging from these appearances that the first effort of the enemy would be directed against Capri, with an anxious concern to grant prompt succour, detached first, two companies for the support of the sea-line, and afterwards two companies to the town. It was not long, however, before the enemy was observed to change the direction of his first division, which steered towards the Point of Damecuta at Anacapri, leaving a few vessels opposite Palazzo di Mare. I remanded back the companies of Royal Malta to Anacapri, and further detached to Major Hamill's aid three companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers, under the direction of Captain Church. I was for a long time ignorant of the enemy's real movements in that quarter, until I received a note from the Adjutant of the Royal Malta, acquainting me, by Major Hamill's order, that the enemy had landed about 350 men, and that the rest were standing in. I augured the most favourable¹ consequences from this report, as the principal defence of Anacapri consisted in the facility of defending the points of debarkation, which, however, being once forced, opened a wide field for an enemy's formation and subsequent movements. At this moment the

1. Unfavourable. See letter of October 6th, 1808, page 231.

enemy was attempting to disembark at Tragara and Grotto, and a division of gun-boats and other vessels menaced a landing at Palazzo di Mare. I felt on this occasion there was no other alternative than to march up with all the men I could collect to Anacapri, and abandon the defence of Capri, or endeavour to secure that part of the island which still remained in our possession ; but the force I could immediately collect was so small, and the result of its assistance so doubtful against an enemy who had so successfully overcome the principal difficulty of his attack, and who had by that time probably landed the whole of his force, that I decided on the latter, and felt the more confirmed in the propriety of this decision, as any other operation would have menaced the loss of the whole island, as well as of the troops that composed its garrison ; for, had a landing been effected either at Tragara or Palazzo di Mare, all retreat to Capri became impracticable. I immediately dispatched an order to Major Hamill, desiring him, if he felt himself pressed by the enemy, and doubtful of the result, to save his regiment, by retiring within the town-line of Capri, sending a detachment to occupy the fort at Monte Solaro. This order was dispatched three several times, and received the two first times ; but I have reason to believe the last never reached him, for I have since understood that it was received by an officer of the regiment, who fell in the hands of the enemy.

Before six o'clock in the evening the attempt made by the enemy to effect a debarkation at Tragara and Grotto had completely failed ; the companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers who were charged with the defence of that part of the island, under the direction of Major Schummelkettel, having completely succeeded in repelling him by heavy discharges of musquetry into

his boats, though exposed during the whole of the time to the fire of the gun-boats. I was still uncertain respecting affairs at Anacapri ; but finding this part of the island now secured, I collected three companies to move to their assistance in the other quarters. I had scarcely arrived at the foot of the mountain of Anacapri, before I met several small detachments of the Royal Malta in retreat. A serjeant, detached to me from Captain Church, informed me that the companies under his charge had taken the direction of Monte Solaro, and that the enemy was in possession of Capo di Monte (the only passage between Capri and Anacapri). I immediately sought a peasant who was acquainted with a track up the precipices of the mountain, and dispatched him with a letter to Major Hamill at Monte Solaro, to be delivered in his absence to Captain Church, directing him to use every means for joining me in Capri with the whole of his force, leaving only a sufficient number of men to occupy the fort of Monte Solaro. I had soon the satisfaction to find that my wishes on this respect had been fulfilled by Captain Church, who effected his passage down the precipices with his detachment ; but, from him I learnt, that, except about 150 men at Monte Solaro and about 100 who had retired down the steps of Capo di Monte, the remainder of the Regiment of Malta were made prisoners. Major Hamill's fate still remained unknown to me.

As no officer of the Regiment Royal Malta returned to Capri, I could obtain no relation of the particular occurrences that befell that corps, and therefore had recourse for information on the subject to Captain Church, whose report to me is annexed.

The occurrences of such a day may appear to afford little occasion for the acknowledgment of particular services, but it would be highly unjust on my part not

to notice the manner in which I was supported by the officers and men in general of the corps under my immediate command. My warmest thanks are due to Major Schummelkettel, as well as to Captain Guitiera, Lieutenant Zerbi, Ensigns Agostini and Bibra, and the non-commissioned officers and men under their orders, for the spirit and judgment with which they fulfilled their duty in repelling the enemy's attack on the points of Grotto and Tragara, where the force opposed to them was five times their number.

Captain Church's exertions were peculiarly conspicuous, and he was handsomely supported by Captains Nicholson and Susini. The orderly retreat of this detachment through parties of the enemy, down precipices hitherto deemed impracticable, forms the highest eulogium on the officers who guided it. They had been twenty hours under arms and in continual movement. The small detachment of British artillery performed its duty in its usual gallant manner. Lieutenant Boccheciampe, who had charge of the additional gunners of the Royal Corsican Rangers, gave proofs, with the whole of his detachment, of the most undaunted firmness, having been repeatedly attacked by an increasing fire from the whole of the enemy's gunboats in the battery where he was stationed, and having as constantly repelled them.

Annexed is a return of the killed, wounded and prisoners, the almost total loss sustained being by the troops who were engaged at Anacapri.

No opportunity occurring to transmit the above detail of the unfortunate occurrences of the first day, I beg leave to add in continuation, that on the morning of the 5th we observed the enemy in possession of the heights of Anacapri, and about nine o'clock a flag of truce was sent to me, with a summons to surrender the

town, forts, and positions of Capri. On this occasion I learned that the Commander of the force opposed to me was General of Division La Marque, Chief of the Staff of the French Army in the kingdom of Naples ; his letter is annexed. Perceiving from it he attributed greater advantages to the possession of the heights of Anacapri, as affecting our immediate surrender than I conceived they possessed, my reply, of which copy is annexed, was dictated accordingly. Immediately on receiving it a fire was opened on us from some small guns and howitzers on the heights, and the whole of the enemy's gun-boats ranged themselves opposite the town and batteries, and commenced a heavy fire in every direction, but without much effect. In the afternoon several lines of men descended into the valley by the steps in the rock of Anacapri, bringing with them scaling-ladders. In the meantime the enemy's boats appeared actively employed in bringing him stores and provisions, and carrying off wounded men and prisoners. We were under arms during the night in expectation of and assault, but nothing occurred. On the morning of the 6th another flag of truce was sent to me, with a letter, of which copy is annexed. Though the inhabitants to whom it was referred had remained neutral, yet I thought it my duty, as a British officer, to combat the principle on which his declaration was made, and sent a reply, of which a copy is annexed, accordingly. It was from the bearer of this letter we received the melancholy information of Major Hamill's having been killed by a French serjeant, to whom he refused to surrender himself as a prisoner.

On the evening of the 6th, we observed the Sicilian squadron in sight from Ponza. On the 7th, this squadron still remained in view, but too far off to offer any impediment to the enemy's operations. The enemy

busily employed in establishing a depôt at Palazzo di Mare, and forming entrenchments in various parts throughout the valley. Constant firing ensued on both sides during these days.

On the morning of the 8th, I had communication with the Sicilian squadron. The flotilla of 14 gun and mortar-boats was directed by Captain Valguernara to follow my directions ; they immediately made an attack on the enemy's gun-boats at the depôt forming at Palazzo di Mare, drove off six of them, and destroyed two at the landing-place. Don Ignazio Caffieri, who commanded the Sicilian gun-boats, displayed the greatest firmness, standing into the shore under the grape and musquetry of the enemy.

On the 9th and 10th His Majesty's Ship "Ambuscade" and "Mercury," with the "Halcyon" brig, were in view.

General La Marque's communication with Naples and the coast appears now completely cut off by the cruising-vessels, and unless he is enabled to establish his breaching-batteries in the valley, from which reinforcements will be necessary to enable us to expel him, he can have no hope of carrying this part of the island ; his fire from the heights has almost wholly ceased, and it is not impossible he may be eventually compelled, from the want of supplies, to abandon the post he now holds.

A little before daylight on yesterday and this morning, shouts of "*Montez à l'assaut!*" were heard. Firing on both sides ensued, but nothing serious was attempted.

Whatever may be the enemy's projects, the superiority of our naval force gives us much advantage over him in this respect. The position we occupy is a very strong one, and the determination very general to preserve it.

The whole of the men are under arms every night ;

and, though the weather has proved violent with excessive rains, I am happy to add, this has abated nothing of their zeal, vigilance, and attention.

I have, etc.,

H. Lowe,

Lt.-Col. Comm^g R. Cors. Rangers,

Comm^g H.M. Troops at Capri.



THE GRAVE OF MAJOR JOHN HAMILL.

CHAPTER IX

HOUSE OF COMMONS PAPERS

(continued)

NO. 1.

(B.)—In Sir John Stuart's, of 31st October, 1808.

Anacapri,

(Copie)

le 5 Oct.^{re} 1808.

Monsieur le Commandant,

Toute la garnison d'Anacapri, et celle du fort S^{ta} Maria s'est rendue prisonnière.

Je tiens des positions dominantes, et quand mon Artillerie sera placée j'écraserai Capri, et il ne sera plus terres de parlementer.

Dans ce moment, je pourrai vous traiter avec moins de rigueur.

Je vous somme donc, Monsieur, de vous rendre dans le moment avec les Forts, et Batteries, de Capri.

Agréez l'assurance de ma considération,

(Signé) La Marque,
Général de Division,
Chef de l'État Major.

Au Command^t des Troupes Anglaises à Capri.¹

¹ See translation, page 170.

NO. 2.

(Copy-Reply.)

Capri,

5th October, 1808.

Sir,

I acknowledge all the advantages which your present commanding positions afford you, defence may therefore be the more difficult, but is not the less incumbent on me. Your propositions of rigour, or favour, on such an occasion, must be alike indifferent to an officer whose conduct will never be influenced by any other considerations than those of his duty.

Believe me to be, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

(Signed) H. Lowe,

Lt.-Col. Command^t the British Troops at Capri.

General La Marque,

Command^t the French Troops,

&c., &c., &c.

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NO. 3.

(C.)—In Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart's letter to Viscount Castlereagh ; dated 31st October, 1808.

(Copie.)

Armée Française

dans le Royaume de Naples.

État Major Général,

Monsieur le Commandant.

Au Quartier Général en

Anacapri,

le 6^{me} Oct^{re}, 1808.

J'apprends que des habitans du pays de Capri ont pris les armes, et combattent avec vos soldats.

Je vous déclare, Monsieur le Commandant, que je fais incendier toutes les maisons de la plaine, s'ils tirent un coup de fusil contre nous, et qu'ils ne doivent espérer aucun quartier.

J'ai cru de mon devoir de vous faire cette déclaration.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer,
Le Général de Division,
La Marque.¹

Mons^r. le Command^t.
des Troupes Anglaises à Capri.

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NO. 4.

(Copy-Reply.)

Capri,
6th October, 1808.

Sir,

The inhabitants of Capri will be allowed by me to follow the dictates of their duty and of their principles, in the same manner as I do of mine, in acquainting you that, as a British officer, and as a British subject, I shall never suffer myself to be regulated in my line of conduct, regarding the subjects of another power, by any law which a French commander may think proper to impose.

Believe me to be, Sir,
Your very humble servant,
(Signed) H. Lowe,
L^t. Col^l. Command^g the British Troops at Capri.

General La Marque,
Commanding the French Troops,
&c., &c., &c.

¹ See translation, page 176.

(D.)—In Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart's of the
31st October, 1808.

Capri,

11th October, 1808.

Sir,

The "Haleyon" not having yet sailed, I am enabled to add another line to my report of yesterday. Nothing of moment occurred during the night. The Sicilian gun-boats kept up a heavy fire on the enemy's troops in the valley. In the morning his picquets opened a fire on the Castle Hill, but merely previous to his retiring. The Palazzo Inglese, a large house without the town, is now his advanced posts. We heard workmen busily employed during the day in several directions. His object does not appear to secure himself from sorties on one hand, and prepare facilities of approach for his guns on the other. He is in possession of the whole of the valley and the Marinas. Sorties might perhaps be made with effect, but the ground affords him such cover, being one continued garden or vineyard interspersed with houses, and he has such facility of receiving succour from above, that it does not appear to me advisable to risk anything of this nature, until I know whether my re-inforcements are to arrive; for, if they should come, we may then expel him from the whole of the valley, and destroy at one blow all his works, guns and batteries, and deprive him of every communication by sea, except among the rocks of Anacapri, which the same violent weather, that might blow off our shipping, would prevent his boats from approaching.

If re-inforcements cannot be spared, artillery and artillery-stores would be much required. We have no mortars or howitzers.

The enemy is certainly looking out for succours either of stores, provisions, or troops. Upwards of 40 gun-boats and other vessels are now near Massa, looking out for an opportunity to pass over, and their present situation demands much attention on our part towards our rear.

Captain Durban has landed some marines and seamen. A boat which arrived off here yesterday mentioned that some reinforcements were on their way, but the weather having been perfectly favourable, I apprehend he must have erred in his information.

A private signal is constantly from Monte Solaro ; I imagine it has reference to the convoy at Massa and Sorrento.

If he does not soon carry this part of the island, General La Marque's situation may, by very close watching, even suppose no attack should be made on him, be rendered nearly desperate.

The troops in the valley are of the Corsican legion.—Some of them have been endeavouring to tamper with our men, but, as I am willing to believe, without any chance of success.

I have the honour to be,

(Signed)

H. Lowe,

L^t. Col^l. Command^t.

His Excellency,

L^t.-Gen^l. Sir John Stuart, K.B. and C.

&c., &c., &c.

(Copy) (E.) In Sir J. Stuart's of 31st October, 1808.

Capri,

18th October, 1808.

Sir,

My letters to the 11th inst. will have informed your Excellency of the enemy's operations against the post which I occupied in Capri to that day inclusive. On the 12th, as well as for three preceding days, his fire from the heights had wholly ceased ; a signal flying from them indicating his being in want of supplies. On the morning of the 13th, a flotilla consisting of 95 small vessels and boats, of which about 30 were gun-boats, were seen near the point of Campanella ; the enemy's frigate and corvette laying near the bottom of the Gulph. H.M.S. "Mercury," and the Sicilian squadron consisting of two frigates, two corvettes and two galliots, were in the offing between Capri and Ischia, but the Sicilian flotilla, consisting of twelve gun-boats and two mortar-boats, lay near the cliffs on our side of the island, and H.M.S. "Ambuscade" was nearly opposite Palazzo di Mare, where the enemy's depôt was established. The flotilla, however, pushed forward to this latter point. The Sicilian gun-boats retired towards the "Ambuscade," and as they approached her, veered about and gave the enemy their fire. In this they were nobly led on by the armed boats of H.M.S. "Ambuscade" and "Mercury," under the orders of Lieutenants King and Gordon, who kept up an incessant fire, and used every effort which British skill and intrepidity could suggest, to impede the enemy's operations. The enemy's supply-boats hesitated to approach, but appeared urged on by the fire from his gun-boats in the rear of them. In this crisis the "Ambuscade" finding herself compelled from some unfortunate circumstances

of light winds and current, as Captain Durban afterwards assigned to me, to retire from her position, stood off, assisted by her boats towing. The Sicilian gun-boats, deprived of her support, followed the same movement, when the enemy's supply-boats, upwards of 50 in number, immediately pushed in, and after discharging their cargoes, returned. The effects of these supplies were soon obvious in the fire of the enemy's guns from the heights. In the morning of the 14th five guns, of which one a 24-pounder, was opened on us from the cliffs of Anacapri with a howitzer and three mortars. A 12-pounder had been brought during the night to a battery under the cliffs, within 400 yards from the Castle Hill. The enemy's sharpshooters established themselves close under the walls of the town, and a constant fire ensued between us. During the day and night of the 14th, we moved two 32-pound carronades to batteries that bore on the enemy's approaches.

On the morning of the 15th, the Sicilian gun-boats had left us, and their frigates were no longer in sight. The enemy received fresh supplies. Another 12-pounder had been brought to the battery under the cliff, an 18-pounder was conducting to the same spot, and two 12-pounders were preparing to be mounted in another battery about 700 yards in front of the town. A mortar was opened on us from Palazzo di Mare, and a gun, with furnace for red-hot shot for shipping, was mounted on the same spot. The battery under the cliff opened on the left angle of the town, where the walls of an old chapel, surmounted with a parapet wall, formed the only line of defence. In the course of four hours' firing a small but practicable breach was made. We were employed in filling it up, and forming a retrenchment behind it, during which I lost the immediate services

of two valuable officers, Captain Church, who, whilst directing the work of his men, in this duty received a wound in his head from the splinter of a shot, and Ensign Cappon, who was shot in the head by one of the enemy's marksmen ; when, as night was approaching, the enemy's fire wholly ceased, and it was reported to me a flag of truce was at the gate. The officer with it was one of General La Marque's aides-de-camp, bringing me a letter, with a summons to surrender. When this communication was made, my situation was as follows :—¹

The breach, in itself, was trifling, but a few more hours' firing would have rendered it broad and practicable to any extent the enemy's purpose might require. I had no shot for several of my guns, nor shot nor ammunition for any of them beyond what might serve for one night firing. My musket-ammunition was equally low. I had no intrenching tools, sandbags, planks for platforms, nor any implement nor material which had not been consumed in successive repairs. In the morning of this day I had received a letter from Captain Durban, acquainting me of his inability, during light winds, to keep within the curve of the island, so as to prevent the enemy's communication with the shore, for which a force of gun-boats was requisite ; and previous to the departure of the gun-boats, their commander had written to inform me of his inability to keep his station unless supported by men-of-war. There appeared, therefore, no impediment to the enemy's receiving succours of troops and stores to any extent, as he was close to the head-quarters of his army, and to the grand depôt of all his military stores. My men, who had been twelve successive nights under arms to meet an assault, which the enemy had thrice commanded (and

¹ No. 1. *Vide* Inclosure in letter of 18th October.

brought his scaling-ladders to our walls) but which his troops had not dared to execute, had resisted the depression excited in viewing the enemy's succours arrive ; but the various fatigues and labours they had undergone had much harassed and exhausted them.

To balance these considerations, two transport-ships and a brig were seen behind the island with troops on board, proving to be a detachment of 600 men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley. This very seasonable relief, however, did not possess all the advantages of which I was solicitous. It was insufficient to expel the enemy, and was not accompanied with any artillery, or artillery and engineer stores, of which I then stood more in need even than of troops. The propriety of its reception into the island even impressed me with some doubt, as it might tend to commit a greater number of men in a place which could not be considered as tenable against an enemy possessed of such superior resources, and such superior means of augmenting them. I, however, dispatched an order, directing the officer commanding the detachment to land his troops immediately at Tragara, on the back of the island, to wait there with them until further orders, and to retain his boats ; and, to gain as much time as possible, arranged that I would meet the French general at his advanced post in the morning, but that hostilities must cease during the night. The weather proved so tempestuous that Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley could only land 220 men ; the boats were compelled to return to their vessels, and in the morning the vessels themselves had disappeared. In this posture of affairs, I went, accompanied by Captain Arata, of the Royal Corsican Rangers, to meet the French general. He intimated an immediate surrender of the place. He proposed that myself, and five or six officers of my corps,

should have permission to return to Sicily, but that the rest of the officers and the men must surrender as prisoners of war. He said he had more than ample means to force the place, and that 3,000 grenadiers and voltigeurs, the élite of the French army in the kingdom of Naples, was prepared for the assault of the breach. I told General La Marque that we were fully prepared to encounter any assault he could make, and had been long impatiently expecting him ; that considerations, which I did not think it necessary to state to him, had urged me to listen to the overture which his letter had contained ; but that, neither myself nor any officer of my corps would, I felt, in any way permit that a distinction should be made between them and their men, in case the post they occupied was given up to him ; the same fate must await both. I finally acquainted him, the word *prisoners of war* would be suffered in no convention or agreement that could be framed. He proposed various modifications, such as that of the whole regiment being allowed to return to Sicily on their parole ; but objecting to all, except that of being allowed to freely quit and evacuate the post we held, with our arms and baggage, I took my leave. He called me back, said his orders from the king, as he called him (General Murat), were positive to make us all prisoners, and that he dare not make any agreement of a different tenor, but that he would write to him, and endeavour to obtain his consent. I left him to act as he thought proper in this case, as everything which created delay was necessarily in my favour. In the interval, proposals for a convention, of which copy is annexed, were drawn up by me, which, with some modification, were consented to by him

During this conference I learnt that General Régnier had landed at Capri on the preceding evening, and that

General Murat, impatient of the delay which had opposed the capture of a place which, after the fall of Anacapri, it was supposed would not have resisted an attack of 24 hours, had come to Massa, within four miles of the island, to hasten the operations for its reduction

At four o'clock in the afternoon, a flag of truce was again announced at the gate, bringing me the Ratification of the Convention by General La Marque. Preparations were made to receive his troops at the gate, when a demur ensued : General La Marque sent to request I would meet him at the outward barrier ; and he there acquainted me, in terms of real or feigned regret, that General Murat had positively refused his consent, and insisted on our surrendering prisoners of war ; and that he, General La Marque, wished to have his ratification back again. This I refused. He proposed again sending to General Murat. To gain time was my object. I insisted therefore, and obtained, that whatever might be the answer, no hostilities should take place during the night, nor until an hour's notice had been given after seven o'clock in the ensuing morning. On the 16th, the convention was ratified, and the necessary conditions fulfilled on our part for the delivery of the place. Early this morning we received information of a large reinforcement having been dispatched from Messina, and of a ship having sailed with artillery and engineer supplies ; but this succour, or rather the information of it, as the transports were not in sight, was now too late, and the disappointment it created admitted of no other consolation than the disastrous state of the weather, which during the whole progress of the enemy's operations had been as favourable to him as it was unpropitious to us, would scarcely have admitted a disembarkation had they been within our view.

During the course of the attack, the enemy, not trusting alone to the force of his arms, nor to the advantages which the proximity to his resources afforded him, used the most insidious arts of seduction and intrigue. The corps always opposed to that under my orders was composed of select companies of marksmen of the Corsican Legion. Among our officers and men, and theirs, were therefore brothers, cousins and relations, for twelve days constantly opposed to each other. Proclamations, signed by Mr. Saliceti, were addressed to my officers and men, urging them, by every inducement of promises and threats, to abandon H.M.'s service, and join the French ; but, the attempt failed of its effect, for during the course of hostilities the most constant fire was kept up between them, and not one instance of unfaithfulness occurred.

In concluding this relation, however its result, I feel it a duty to acknowledge my obligations to various individuals. Captains Durban and Fowell of H.M.S. "Ambuscade" and "Mercury," gave me the assistance of their marines, under the orders of Lieutenants Whylooke and Tyder, whose services were most zealously exerted : and I received from them every supply of ammunition which the nature of their stores admitted.

The services of Lieutenants King and Gordon, and of the seamen under their orders, have been before distinctly stated ; but it was not in resisting the enemy's convoy alone where their conduct excited the admiration of the enemy, but in many other services their assistance proved eminently useful. Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley did not arrive until hostilities had ceased, but the promptitude with which he disembarked his few men, in a tempestuous night, demands my best acknowledgments. From Majors McCombe and Schummelkettel I constantly received the most strenuous

support. The unwearied vigilance and exertions of Captains Arata and Church, whose alarm posts were on the points most exposed, cannot be too warmly expressed by me. To Lieutenants Hatzenbuhler and La Guidara (? Guitiera), who undertook various laborious duties in the artillery-department, I felt particular obligation. To Lieutenant Lowen, adjutant of the regiment, and Mr. Cleeve, paymaster, who volunteered his services on different important occasions, I feel strongly indebted ; and I must conclude in general by observing, that where any deficiency may have appeared, the fault must have been with me, for the support I received, from both officers and men, was such as to leave nothing but approbation to them.

Annexed is a return of the killed and wounded, from the 12th to the 15th. Of the enemy's loss I had no means to judge. He acknowledged to only 200 men from the commencement of his attack at Anacapri to the surrender of the town ; but so many boats with wounded were at several times sent over, that I am led to believe his loss must have at least doubled that number. His force, by every concurrent testimony, was about 3,000 men, almost wholly the grenadiers, voltigeurs, and rifle companies of his army, with four generals, the heads of departments, and the respective colonels of most of the corps.

I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

(Signed) H. Lowe,

L^t Col. Commd^t R. Cor. Rangers,
and Comm^g H.M. Troops at Capri.

His Excellency,

Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart, K. B. & C.
&c., &c., &c.

(F.)—In Sir J. Stuart's 31st October, 1808.'

Réponses.

1^e

Les troupes de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon 1^{er} et de S. M. Joachim Napoléon, prendront possession de tous les forts, et de la place de Capri au nom de S. M. Joachim Napoléon Roi des deux Siciles, avec leur armement et approvisionnement de toute espèce. Au moment de la signature de la présente Capitulation, il sera nommé,

Propositions de la part de M. Le L^t Col. Lowe.

En conséquence de la sommation faite par Monsieur le Général La Marque, Commandant l'Armée Française à l'Expédition de l'isle de Capri, de lui remettre la place, et les forts ; les brèches étant ouvertes ; le L^t Colonel Lowe, Commandant les troupes Britanniques fait les propositions suivantes.

1^e

Le L^t Colonel Lowe remettra à l'armée Française, sous les ordres de Mons^r le Général La Marque, les forts, et la ville de Capri, avec les batteries, sous les conditions suivantes.

de part et d'autre, des officiers et employés de l'administration militaire pour dresser l'inventaire des effets d'armement, approvisionnement de vivres, et munitions de guerre, qui se trouvent en magasin, pour être remis à l'armée Française.

2^{de}

Les officiers et soldats n'emporteront que les effets particuliers qui entrent dans leur armement et équipement. Tous les autres objets appartenant à l'armée Anglaise seront remis à l'armée Française, après l'inventaire fait comme il est c'y dessus.

La garnison sera évacuée dans les 24 heures, s'il n'est pas possible elle sera nourrie par les magasins, jusqu'à ce qu'elle puisse s'embarquer.

2^{de}

La garnison Britannique évacuera toute l'isle, emportant avec euz armes, bagage, et toute propriété particulière des officiers et des soldats ; il leur sera permis d'embarquer librement, aussitôt qu'il est possible, à bord des batimens Anglois ou Siciliens en croisière autour de l'isle, ou à bord de tels autres batiments qui pourroit approcher pour cet objet. Le L.^t Col.^l demande cette condition d'autant plus que la garnison Française, lors de la prise de l'isle par les Anglois, etoit permi de passer librement à leur corps d'armée.

3^{me}

Au moment de l'échange de la capitulation, l'armée Française occupera la porte de Capri sur le front de la place, ainsi que le fort St. Michel, le chateau et les batteries qui sont le long de la côte du côté du camp Français, jusqu'à l'entière évacuation des troupes Anglaises, si les circonstances le permettent.

4^{me}

Accordé, pourvu qu'ils ne soient coupable d'aucun délit pour lesquels ils sont condamnés par les tribunaux.

3^{me}

Les troupes Françaises n'entreront dans la Ville, ni dans le pays de Capri avant qu'il ne soit entièrement évacué par les troupes Britanniques. On consignera à un détachement de troupes Françaises, pas excédant cinquante hommes, le fort de St. Michel et le chateau, 24 heures après que la presente convention sera signée et ratifiée ; mais le fort de S^{ta} Maria restera aux troupes Britanniques jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient embarquées.

4^{me}

Il y aura un amnistie en faveur de tous les habitants, ou étrangers, residents dans l'isle, soit pour cause d'opinion politique, soit qu'on auroit prêt les avoir soupçonné d'avoir porté les armes en défense de l'isle, et de la place ; leur surétés, leur propriétés, et leur libertés, seront garanties.

5^{me}

Cette faveur ne peut être accordée que pour quelques objets de détail à cet effet. L'armée Française donnera à l'armée Anglaise des preuves de sa générosité.

Les malades seront évacués avec les troupes.

Les médicaments et tous les objets employés au service des hôpitaux seront remis à l'armée Française d'après l'inventaire fait comme il est dit ci-dessus, sans ce qui peut être indispensable pour les malades.

Monsieur le Commandant Lowe remettra à un officier de l'armée Française, désigné à cet effet, toutes les clefs des forts, posterne, magasins, &c., ainsi que les plans, et instruments appartenant à l'arme du génie, et d'artillerie.

Aux avant postes de l'armée Française devant Capri.

Le 16 Octobre, 1808, à huit heures du matin.

s

5^{me}

Toute difficulté qui pourroit se lever sous la signification de quelques uns de ces articles, soit être expliqué en faveur des troupes qui évacuent l'isle.

(Signé) H. Lowe,
L.^t Col.^l Command.^t

En vertu de mes pouvoirs de commandant l'expédition, je garantis l'exécution de la présente capitulation dont je suis responsable.

(Signé)
Le Général Command.^t
l'Expédition,
La Marque.

(Signé)
 Le Général Command^t.
 l'Expédition,
 La Marque.
 D'Accord,
 (Signé) H. Lowe,
 L.^t Col.^l Command^t.

NOTES.¹*Translation.*

Replies.

1st.

The troops of H.M. the Emperor Napoleon I., and of H.M. Joachim Napoleon, will take possession of all the forts, and of the town of Capri, in the name of H.M. Joachim Napoleon king of the two Sicilies, with the arms and supplies of all sorts. At the signing of the convention, there will be appointed on both sides officers and representatives of the military administration to draw up the inventory of arms, supplies of victuals, and military stores, which are in stock, in order that they may be transferred to the French army.

2nd.

Officers and soldiers will take away only their personal arms and equipment. Everything else belonging to the English army will be transferred to the French army in accordance with the above-mentioned inventory. The garrison will clear out in twenty-four hours, if it cannot be maintained from the stores until embarkation.

Proposals of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe.

Consequent upon the summons to surrender the island and forts, breaches having been opened, made by General La Marque, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe made the following propositions.

1st.

Lt.-Colonel Lowe will deliver to the French army, under General La Marque, the forts and the town of Capri, with the batteries, under the following conditions.

2nd.

The British garrison will clear out of all the island, taking with them their arms, baggage, and all the private belongings of officers and men; they will be allowed to embark, without hindrance, as soon as possible, on board British or Sicilian war-vessels, cruising about the island, or on board such other vessels as may come specially for them. The Lt.-Colonel makes this a special condition, especially because the French garrison, when the island was captured by the English, were allowed to rejoin their army without let or hindrance.

NOTES—continued.

3rd.

When the deeds of capitulation are exchanged, the French army shall occupy the gate-way of Capri in front of the piazza (square), the fort of San Michele, the Castello (Castle), and the batteries which stretch along the coast from the edge of the French drill-ground, until the evacuation of the English troops is complete, if circumstances permit.

4th.

Agreed, provided that they are not found guilty of any offence for which they have been convicted by the courts.

5th.

This favour can be granted only as regards certain matters of detail. The French army will give the English army proofs of its generosity.

The sick shall be taken away with the troops.

Medicaments, and everything used in hospital-service, shall be handed over to the French army according to the inventory made as arranged above, except what may be absolutely necessary for the sick.

Lt.-Colonel Commandant Lowe will hand over to an officer of the French army, appointed for that purpose, all the keys of the forts, gates, stores, &c., as well as plans and engineering and artillery tools, at the advance-posts of the French army before Capri.

8 a.m. October 16th, 1808.

(Signed)

General Commandant of the Expedition,

La Marque.

Approved.

(Signed) H. Lowe,

Lt.-Colonel Commandant.

3rd.

The French troops shall not enter the town, nor country round Capri, before the complete evacuation by the British troops.

The fort of San Michele and the Castello will be handed over to a detachment of French troops, not exceeding fifty men, twenty-four hours after the signing and ratification of this convention; but, the fort of Santa Maria shall remain in the possession of the British troops until their embarkation.

4th.

There shall be an amnesty in favour of all the inhabitants or foreign residents in the island, as well on account of their political opinions as for any suspicion of their having borne arms in defence of the island and town; their safety, belongings, and liberty shall be guaranteed.

5th.

Any difficulty which may crop up in the interpretation of any of these articles, must be decided in favour of the troops evacuating the island.

(Signed) H. Lowe,

Lt.-Colonel Commandant.

In virtue of the authority as Commandant of the expedition, I guarantee the execution of this capitulation for which I am responsible.

(Signed) La Marque,

General Commandant of the Expedition,

(G.) In Sir John Stuart's, 31st October, 1808.

(Translated Copy.)

PROCLAMATION.

Soldiers !

The expulsion of the enemy from Capri is decided ;— your valour may retard it for a moment—prevent it, never !

Corsicans ! your countrymen are the first to descend on the ground you defend ; they have demanded this post of honour, less in the intention to combat enemies, than in the confidence of embracing brothers !

They are charged to carry you in this proclamation more than pardon, forgiveness for the past. The King thought he could not send you this present by hands more dear to you. Every shot you fire sheds then the blood of a relation or a friend !

But whatever may be your conduct, your names are all individually known ;—let none hope to re-visit ever his country and his friends, this occasion lost.

Whoever among you is desirous to enter His Majesty's service shall preserve his present rank ; and such as, in the present circumstances, shall merit it, shall besides be rewarded with advancements and distinctions of honour.

(Signed) Saliceti,

Minister of War.

Naples, 3rd October, 1808.

(H.)—In Sir J. Stuart's, 31st October, 1808.

Return of killed, wounded and missing, during the enemy's attack on the town of Capri, between the 12th and 15th of October, 1808.

Corps.	KILLED.		WOUNDED.		MISSING.	
	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.
Royal Artillery . .	-	-	-	2	-	-
Royal Marines . .	-	-	-	2	-	-
Royal Corsican Rangers	-	6	2	13	-	-
Royal Regiment of Malta	-	1	-	-	-	-
Total	-	7	2	17	-	-

Names of Officers wounded :

Captain Church	}	Royal Corsican
Ensign Coppon ¹		Rangers.
Lt. Boccheciampe ²		Name not mentioned in last return.

(Signed)

H. Lowe,

Lt.-Col. Command^g.

¹ Various spelt Cappon, Coppon, Cuppon (? Coppen).

² The name of this officer is variously spelt. In one account Lieutenant Boccaggiamba, a French Corsican, received a mortal wound fighting for the French, while his brother, an English Corsican, was fighting for the English, at Capri.

(I.)—In Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart's Letter to
Viscount Castlereagh, of the 31st October, 1808.

(Copy.)

Melazzo,

25th October, 1808.

Sir,

For a week after the convention had been signed for the evacuation of Capri, the weather proved so tempestuous that only partial embarkations of the troops could take place. The enemy, profiting by this circumstance, used every art to inveigle away the foreign soldiers, which composed almost the whole of the garrison, and even to seduce the allegiance of the officers. With some of the men, the ties of relationship and country, the entreaties, and in some instances the violences of a successful enemy, had its effect ; but, the example became in no respect general, and many instances occurred where the men lay on the rocks at the places of embarkation with scarcely any food or water for nights together, and embarked in weather which threatened the destruction of the boats that carried them, in preference to serving with an enemy who proffered them all species of honours and advancements ; my officers were allowed no interference, but menaced with the French bayonets if they attempted to restrain any soldier who was not proof against his artifices. The condition of not entering the town until the British troops had evacuated it had been broke through by the enemy on the first day, and every avenue through which my soldiers had occasion to pass was beset with his officers and men, who beckoned and spoke to them to invite them to quit the British service. General La Marque himself used various efforts with the officers of

the corps, but they were productive only of humiliation to him.

General La Marque demanded from me a restitution of several men of the regiment of Watteville and of the Royal Corsican Rangers, who, having been prisoners of war, had enlisted in our service, alleging that force had been used to compel them ; but the reply he received—that force was equally contrary to the laws as to the principles of His Britannic Majesty's Service, and a direct refusal of his demand prevented any further discussion.

A branch of the Police Department of Naples entered the town with General La Marque. The Civil Governor of the island, notwithstanding the 4th article of the Convention, was arrested before my face. I remonstrated with General La Marque on the subject ; he assured and promised me no harm would be done him, as it was only to obtain from him the office-papers of his employment. In this, as well as in most other acts of violence and deception, General La Marque appeared to act under the impulse and by the orders of a Government which acknowledged no principle of honour or delicacy which might oppose its views.

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

H. Lowe,

Lt.-Col. Command^t

His Excellency,

Lt.-General Sir John Stuart, K. B. & C.

&c., &c., &c.

(K.)—In Sir J. Stuart's, 31st October, 1808.

Return of men missing during the evacuation of the island of Capri, between the 16th and 22nd of October, 1808.

Corps.	Non-commissioned officers.	Buzles.	Rank and File.
Royal Navy	—	—	1
Royal Marines	—	—	1
58th Regiment	—	—	3
Watteville's Regiment . .	—	—	6
Royal Corsican Rangers . .	—	1	86
Royal Regiment of Malta	—	—	—
Total	—	1	97

(Signed)

Hudson Lowe,

L.^t-Col.^l Comm.^t

(L.)—In Sir John Stuart's, 31 October 1808.



Ordered by THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, to be printed 29th March 1809

REFERENCES.

1. Landing effected by the French.
2. Partial landing effected by do.
3. Wall of defence built by the English.
4. Difficult pass down the precipice.
5. Fort built by Captain Church, surrendered by the Maltese.
6. Retreat of Captain Church down the precipice.
7. The only regular communication with the valley.
8. French battery against shipping.

9. British squadron.
10. Sicilian gun-boats.
11. Position of the enemy on the 11th October.
12. Wall of defence built by the English.
13. Division of 800 of the enemy repulsed by the three companies of the R. Corsican R. under Major Schummelkettel.
14. Castle.
15. Position of the British, 11th October.
16. Fort built by Captain Church.
17. Palace of Tiberius, converted into a fort by Col. Lowe, and defended by a 36-lb.
18. Very difficult landing-place, only of use with a S. wind.
19. Convent.

N.B.—On the 11th October the right of the British position was defended by one 36-lb., one 12-lb. and one 32-lb. carronade. The centre by four 4-lb. The left by one 12-lb. How., one 6-lb. and one 9-lb. In the rear of Castle was one 36-lb. facing Tragara. In Fort St. Michele one 6-lb. and in Fort St. Maria one 36-lb. The “Halcyon” landed two 3-lb. which were not in battery when she sailed. The “Ambuscade” was to land four 12-lb. on the morning of the 12th.

C. A. A'Court,

A. D. C.



THE ENTRANCE TO THE CEMETERY AT ANACAPRI, LOOKING EAST.

CHAPTER X

MAJOR JOHN HAMILL

THE following account of Major Hamill and his connection with Capri is based upon an article which I wrote for the *Irish Times* of December 31st, 1914, under the heading "Memorials of an Irish Officer." The introduction may contain a few words of repetition ; but I have reproduced it, more or less in its entirety, for clearness in the making of a complete story, and as a short recapitulation in a final chapter.

Just before landing in Capri, Hamill distinguished himself at the Battle of Maida, in connection with which the following report, from the Annual Register for 1806, gives a contemporary view of events :—

After the evacuation of Naples, Sir James Craig had retired with the English Army to Sicily, and established his headquarters at Messina, as the station best adapted for protecting the island from invasion. There he remained till April, when bad health compelled him to resign his command to Sir John Stuart, who was soon afterwards entrusted by his Sicilian Majesty with the defence of the east coast of Sicily, from Melazzo to Cape Passaro, and with the command of the Sicilian troops in that district. The army continued in its position at Messina till the end of June, without attempting offensive operations against the enemy. It was of the utmost importance to England that Sicily should not fall under the dominion of France ; and, therefore, Sir John Stuart, when solicited by the Court of Palermo to

assist in its schemes on Calabria, hesitated long, and deliberated maturely before he complied. He considered that an expedition to Calabria, however it might gratify their Sicilian Majesties, could not, on the most favourable supposition, lead to their re-establishment at Naples, nor even secure to them the possession of any part of their Continental dominions ; whereas, if it failed, it must weaken the defence and endanger the safety of Sicily. He was, therefore, averse to such an expedition, and refused to engage in it when first proposed to him. But, overcome by the repeated insistences of the Sicilian Government, encouraged by flattering accounts of the disposition of the Calabrians, and foreseeing that if success attended his first operations, he should be able at any rate to destroy the stores and ammunition collected in Calabria for the invasion of Sicily, he consented at length to land with part of his army on the continent, and make trial of the loyalty and affection of the people to their former masters. The enterprise which Sir John Stuart reluctantly undertook, he conducted with singular judgment and ability, and brought to a fortunate conclusion with infinite glory to the British arms, but without any of those advantages to the court of Palermo, which it had fondly anticipated from the experiment.

The troops destined to this expedition by Sir John Stuart amounted to about 4,800 effective men : with this small force he landed on the morning of the 1st of July in a bay in the Gulf of St. Eufemia, near the northern frontier of lower Calabria. Little opposition was made to his landing by the enemy, who had not yet collected their forces. A proclamation was immediately issued by the English general, inviting the Calabrians to join the standard of their lawful sovereign, and offering them arms and ammunition for their



MAJOR JOHN HAMILL

defence. Few or none, however, obeyed the summons. Disappointed in his expectations from the inhabitants, Sir John Stuart was hesitating whether to re-embark his troops, when intelligence was brought to him that General Régnier was encamped at Maida, about ten miles off, with an army equal to his own. Understanding at the same time that the French general was in the daily expectation of reinforcements, he determined to advance next morning (July 4th, 1806), and attack him before they arrived. The two armies were separated by a plain from four to six miles in breadth, extending from sea to sea, and bounded on the north and south by chains of mountains. The French occupied a strong position on the sloping side of a woody hill below the village of Maida, having the river Lamato in front, and their flanks strengthened by a thick impervious underwood. In numbers, they were greatly superior to the English, having received the expected reinforcements before the battle. Their force is supposed to have been about 7,000 men, while that of the English did not amount to 4,800. Had Régnier remained upon the heights, the English must have attacked him with great disadvantage, and though the event of the engagement would have been probably the same, the loss on their part must have been more considerable. But, fortunately, blinded by an excess of confidence in his own troops, and an undue and unbounded contempt of the enemy, he quitted his strong position, and drew up his army on the plain. The English surprised at the number of his troops, which was greater than they expected, but in no way dismayed by their appearance, advanced with undiminished alacrity to the attack.

The action began on the right of the English Army. After some firing, both sides prepared to charge with the bayonet, and advanced with apparently equal resolution ;

but, the French, who had probably imbibed from their general his contemptuous opinion of the enemy, were so astonished at the firmness with which the English advanced to the charge, that, struck with a sudden panic, they gave way after the bayonets of the two armies had begun to cross, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight. It was too late, however, to escape. They were overtaken with immense slaughter, and in a short time the whole of the left wing of their army was totally routed and dispersed. Being thus completely discomfited on their left, they made an effort with their right to retrieve the honour of the day ; but, they were resisted with great steadiness by the English left, and their cavalry being thrown into disorder, in an attempt to turn the English flank, by an unexpected fire from the twentieth regiment, now the Lancashire Fusiliers, which landed during the action and came up at this critical juncture, they abandoned the field of battle with precipitation, and left an undisputed victory to their opponents. About 700 French were buried on the ground, and 1,000 prisoners taken, among whom were General Compère and several other officers of rank ; but, their total loss from this conflict is estimated by Sir John Stuart at not less than 4,000 men. The English had only 45 men killed and 282 wounded in the action.

The French had driven King Ferdinand out of Naples to Sicily, where he was protected by the British Fleet. The British had occupied Sicily in 1806, and a Sicilian regiment was formed there in 1807. On May 12th, 1806, Capri had fallen into the possession of the British. Colonel Hudson Lowe assumed the command of the garrison, and a civil governor was sent there from Sicily by King Ferdinand. Capri dominated the Bays of Naples and Salerno.

In 1808, Murat, the brother-in-law, had succeeded Joseph, the brother of Napoleon the First, as King of Naples. He organised a small fleet and the necessary troops, about 2,000 men, including a Corsican regiment, which was stationed at Salerno, and awaited his opportunity. It came on October 4th, 1808, when the English Fleet was away, and the sea was calm. Murat divided his fleet into three parts : one sailed for the Marina Grande, another for the Marina Piccola—namely, for the north and south sides,—and the third for Anacapri, or the west side of the island. The real attack was towards Anacapri, the other attacks being merely feints.

Colonel Lowe was in command of a regiment of Corsican riflemen in Capri, while Major Hamill was in command of a regiment of Maltese in Anacapri. The two regiments made a force of about 1,800 men. There was no artillery in Anacapri, and the French, scaling the precipitous cliffs, which rise straight up from deep water, by means of hooks and ladders, effected the landing of 1,500 men, who finally drove inland the Maltese. Under cover of night, the French Corsican troops landed near the celebrated Blue Grotto, on the north of the island, between Capri and Anacapri, and, guided by a deserter, climbed up the old and steep Phœnician rock-steps, and cut off the retreat to Capri of Major Hamill's men. The French Corsicans then attacked the Maltese in the rear, and it was during this attack that Major Hamill was killed. Finally, on October 16th, 1808, Colonel Hudson Lowe surrendered. The British marched out of Capri with colours flying, arms and baggage, having obtained favourable terms ; and, an hour or so afterwards, a large British Fleet hove in sight and carried them off to Sicily.

Major John Hamill was a personal friend of Colonel Hudson Lowe, as is in evidence in letters in the British

Museum.¹ The following extract from one of them will serve as a sample :—

Malta,

7th October, 1806.

My Dear Lowe,

. . . In answer to that part of your last letter, that regards the conduct of the five companies of your regiment that was engaged in the affair at Maida, I shall inform you, as far as I had an opportunity of witnessing, and, except the officers of your Corps, I perhaps had a better opportunity of observing their conduct in the above affair than any other officer, owing to my being with the flankers of the Grenadier Battalion on the right of the Light Infantry, and quite close to your five companies.

I now repeat to you, what I have on all occasions said, that I saw the Corsicans engaged, that I did not observe anything that bordered on misconduct in any respect : they stood, and fought, and in a style that was very praiseworthy and becoming for young troops. The conduct of the company of the Sicilians was diametrically opposite to that of your men, and, they having been together, their ill-conduct has been confounded with your five companies.

On my arrival here, I learnt that many reports had been circulated, as ungenerous as they were unfounded and malicious. I have had it in my power to prove their falsehood. The fact is there was not an officer that arrived here from Sicily that did presume to give a decided opinion of the business in Calabria, and gave idle reports as absolute facts. I think that Mr. Combe should call on Kempt to declare his opinion of the conduct of your men in the action alluded to.

¹ See Additional Manuscripts 20189 ff. 110, 111 ; ff. 128, 129 ; ff. 137, 138.

I send this letter to Messina by General Wauchope, who has been appointed to the Sicilian staff. He takes with him the esteem and regard of this garrison.

I am particularly obliged for the Italian papers you enclosed me : they were very acceptable here, and gave us later Continental news than we had had through any other channel.

I have paid Sir John Dalrymple fifty-six dollars on your account, being forty that I received for your saddlery, and sixteen I owed you for a sash.

We are in anxious expectation of hearing that the negotiations for peace are broke off. Not a word of news here ; the packet, which is daily expected, perhaps, will afford matter for conversation. . . . Let me hear from you, my dear Lowe, by every opportunity, and, when you have occasion for my services here, command me freely. With my best regards to St. Laurent and Mr. Combe,

I remain,

Ever yours,

(Signed) J. Hamill.

P.S.—Sir J. Stuart is yet here, and here he will remain till he hears the fate of his dispatches.

:: :: ::

The business of Calabria was the Battle of Maida, fought on July 4th, 1806, in which Hamill received what he described as "a trifling wound." With regard to the battle, Hamill in a letter to Lowe from Messina, written on July 30th, 1806, says "A criticising pen might find employment from the late proceedings in Calabria. . . . Nothing could surpass the intrepidity and steadiness of our soldiers, and to them is solely due the defeat of the enemy in the above engagement, and not

to any previous arrangement or manœuvre performed during the action. Strange to relate, although we marched to attack the enemy, there was no order of battle determined on : every brigade formed line on the preceding one, as it approached the enemy." And, in another letter to Lowe at Capri, written from Malta on September 8th, 1806, he writes : " Hitherto, all has been confusion—no system whatever, and what has been attained was owing to good fortune and chance. If I was Sir J(ohn) S(tuart)'s friend, I would advise him never to prompt an enquiry into conduct whilst in Calabria, but particularly into the affair at Maida—an action that the ignorant and unthinking give him so unbounded praise (for). What greater proof can there be of his total incapacity to command than going into action without any previous order of battle ? This was literally the case, of which Kempt and every field-officer can bear testimony."

In making a search for the burial-place of Major Hamill, I visited the Cemetery at Anacapri, where, before the gateway, I found the following Latin lines :—

Siste pedem hic qui sis prudens, exquire viator.
 Pulvis et umbra sumus, disce subesse Deo.
 Disce subesse Deo, qui legum monita spernis,
 Cujus imperio tota natura subest.

I submit the following translation :—

Traveller, stay here thy step, seek well, if thou art wise,—
 We are but dust and shade—, learn to submit to God !
 Submit, thou who defiest the penalties of laws,
 To Him, whom everything in nature doth obey !

Near the entrance to the Cemetery of Anacapri, behind a memorial-tablet on the wall, in the right-hand corner on entering the Protestant portion, I found the burial-place of Major Hamill. There was apparently a grave before the tablet, with portions of a railing, all

TO THE MEMORY OF
JOHN HAMILL

A NATIVE OF THE COUNTY ANTRIM IN IRELAND
AND MAJOR IN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S LATE
REGIMENT OF MALTA, WHO FELL WHILE BRAVELY
RESISTING THE FRENCH INVASION OF ANACAPRI
ON THE 4TH OF OCTOBER 1808, AND WHOSE MORTAL
REMAINS ARE DEPOSITED NEAR TO THIS PLACE.
THIS TRIBUTE OF AFFECTION AND RESPECT
HAS BEEN PLACED BY HIS
KINSMAN AND NAMESAKE, OCTOBER 3^D 1831
REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

RESTORED BY
SIR LEES KNOWLES, BAR. CVO
1914.

THE MEMORIAL-TABLET OF MAJOR JOHN HAMILL.

in great decay and almost completely hidden by ivy, and the spot generally in great disrepair. I had it cleaned and restored, and arranged for its future care. Behind the tablet could be seen a small box, apparently of chestnut wood, in a niche, no doubt containing the remains.

The inscription is as follows :—

To the memory of

JOHN HAMILL,

a native of the County Antrim in Ireland, and Major in His Britannic Majesty's late Regiment of Malta, who fell while bravely resisting the French invasion of Anacapri on the 4th of October, 1808, and whose mortal remains are deposited near to this place.

This tribute of affection and respect has been placed by his

Kinsman and Namesake,

October 3rd, 1831.

Requiescat in pace.

I have in my possession a small book entitled "*La Presa di Capri*"¹ ("The Taking of Capri"), described

¹ A portion of a manuscript copy of "*La Presa di Capri*" is preserved in the library of Dr. Cerio. It is not, however, in the handwriting of Francesco Alberino. The comments on it by Antonio Farace, who left at his death a large number of other manuscripts which have all been lost, are valuable. One of the notes is as follows :—"D. Nicola Morgano was one of the leading citizens of Capri at the time of the English occupation. Being a man of ability, the Colonel (Hudson Lowe) appointed him director of all the works of fortification which were erected at that time on the Marina, at Mulo, at Tragara, at the Castle, in the town, at San Michele, at Soccorso, and at other places in lower Capri.

"As he was at the time on very familiar terms with the Colonel, he was always in his company. One day, as they showed themselves at a window, when watching the French movements, Morgano saw that, from the window of a palace (query, Palazzo Inglese), five or six French soldiers had already taken aim with their muskets to open fire on the Colonel. Morgano immediately gave him a push, which threw him against the opposite wall of the room. The Colonel said 'God damn you, Morgano, are you now a traitor?' As the bullets came in at the window, he understood that the push had saved him from the deadly fusillade.

"By Morgano's heroic action, the Colonel escaped with his life that day, and he made a gift to his deliverer of one hundred piastres (equivalent to five hundred lire, or £20)."

By what a hair's-breadth might the history, not only of Capri, but also of St. Helena, have been changed!

The grandson of D. Nicola Morgano, and other descendants, are alive and respected in Capri. The Governor's house stood near the town-gate, on the side further from the town, and just below the gate. It was pulled down, and a house, now used as a cinema-theatre, was built upon its site. The property of Morgano, which adjoined it, was, forty years ago, a garden: it is now partly covered by the picture-gallery of the late Herr Dieffenbach. There were two wooden drawbridges: one where the old gate stood, and one below it, near the Governor's house, which was outside the walls. The renowned Terrace of Capri, the meeting-place of the world of the island, adjoining the Piazza and

as a *poemetto*, or small poem, by Francesco Alberino, with a preface by Raffaello Flaminio, dated 1892. This poem, I understand, was composed by Antonio Farace, a priest of Anacapri, between the years 1840 and 1850, and then copied from the original, in the possession of Michele Alberino, a priest of Anacapri and a nephew of Antonio Farace, and printed, as his own composition, by Francesco Alberino, a carpenter of Anacapri. The 25th stanza of the first canto is as follows :—

Havvi nel comun templo dedicato
 Alla gran santa, che Sofia è detta,
 Un atrio ad esso avanti, e al manco lato
 S'estolle un muro grande in linea retta :
 In mezzo a questo vedesi incavato
 Un buco, che d'Hamill le ossa ricetta :
 Il guardo, eppur ne resto, omai contento,
 Dato avendo al viaggio finimento.

the roadway, have altered greatly the old features of the entrance to the town. The space allowing the present exit from the Piazza is new, and the wall which joined Dr. Cerio's house to the Campanile of the town, with other buildings, has been removed. The walls were all crenellated.

In the "Three Monographs," elsewhere referred to, of which 250 copies were printed in July, 1906, and published by Luigi Pierro, 402 Via Roma, Naples, is the following reference to the lost literature of Capri, and the first author quoted is Alberino :—

"Considering the minute dimensions of Capri, it is surprising how large a body of literature, which might have been of local interest, has perished. Apart from the works of classical writers, whose disappearance is deplored, not so much by this insignificant island, as by the world at large, the list, which could doubtless be doubled, comprises first F. Alberino. Only one of his manuscripts was published (see Furchheim). A considerable number are still scattered in Anacapri. His poems are never flawless, and some have a flavour of William Blake."

An account of the feast of St. Antonio, patron saint of Anacapri, might be worth publishing. It is in twenty-three couplets, and begins thus :

Questo giorno di Sant'Antonio
 Viene per Dio o per il demonio ?

and, after deciding that the infernal din of fireworks, &c., proves it to be a day of the devil, rather than of the saints, it concludes :

E per la gran divozione

Si deve far un buon boccone,
 raccomandando a good meal as the height of devotion.

Another outpouring, entitled "*Poesia di Fandasia*," is also not without merit.

"Alberino was not illiterate; he wrote a large, firm hand, not free from orthographical mistakes, and his conversation was that of a man who had both read and thought. The best account of him is in Wyl's '*Spaziergaenge*.' (See under Farace.) With the exception of Blasius, Alberino is apparently the only native poet of Capri, and indeed, almost the only writer of any kind. The island has produced some men of action, but it is an astonishing fact that not one of its inhabitants has published a single line upon its antiquities, history, or natural curiosities: this has all been done by immigrants—Secondo, Feola, &c. There are a few ecclesiastical writers—Toppi mentions one ('*Biblioteca*,' page 316), and another lies in manuscript at the Biblioteca Nazionale (No. V.H. 45). A Capri writer, whose name I cannot decipher, is referred to on page 75 of manuscript 2. A.S. in the Brancacciana Library ('*Discorso del Regno di Napoli*')."

I have translated the stanza in these lines :—

Draw near the church that bears its patron's name,
 Renowned Sofia, Anacapri's saint !
 See there a court, and on the right a wall,
 Straight from the shrine, where, in a central niche,
 The gathered bones of valiant Hamill rest !
 They rest in honoured peace. I stay and gaze,
 Thinking of his, and of my, journey done.

Major Hamill and his adjutant fell close to Tuoro Street in Anacapri, on land that belonged to the late Salvatore Farace, and three days later they were buried near together.

:: :: ::

British Museum : Manuscript 20,178, folio 34.

My Dear Lowe,

I have just had your note.

The enemy sent in two boats towards Damaceuta to reconnoitre, but two shots from the 6-pounder sent them away.

At present he threatens that point. I have, therefore, sent two companies there, and should he attempt landing there, I shall go myself with a reinforcement. Should we not be seriously attacked, you had better, I think, retain our four companies with you.

4th October, 1808.¹

Yours, J. Hamill.

:: :: ::

In the copy of the book about the taking of Capri, lent to me by his son-in-law, Signor Giovanni Maresca, of Villa della Torre, Anacapri, are some manuscript notes in Italian, which I believe to be in the handwriting of the Capri historian, the late J. C. MacKowen. From them it appears that relations of Major Hamill (John and Catherine Hamill, son and daughter of Roger Hamill) visited Anacapri twenty-three years after his

¹ This letter was written apparently on October 4th, 1808, the day that Major Hamill was killed.

death, and that they removed his bones. Only fifty-two, large and small, were found, the rest having been scattered in the cultivation of the land. Not even the skull was found. They were to have been deposited in the church ; but, because a document was lacking to prove that the Major was a true Roman and Apostolic Catholic, the then Bishop, Monsignor Don Gabriele Papa, would not allow it, and they were placed in a small box in the wall of the garden of the monastery, with a marble tablet and an inscription, in front of the church.

Dr. Cerio tells me that he remembers the Hamill memorial when it was in this wall, which is a continuation westward of the south wall of the church at Anacapri, bounding the Piazza. It was a slab of white statuary Carrara marble, and it was broken up when the wall was removed to enlarge the Piazza, a small open space before the church, and the present slab of white marble was substituted for it. Dr. Cerio remembers meeting, when he came to Capri about forty-four years ago, men of eighty and ninety years of age who well remembered the attack of the French.¹

The personality of Major Hamill is described in the notes. He is said to have been truly courteous, charitable, and kind towards everyone, alike towards the military and the peasants. Regarding his liberality, the writer wished not to leave unremembered the following gracious deed—namely, that when two peasants asked from him, as Commander of the Piazza of Anacapri, permission to shoot, he granted it at once in writing, saying that he would buy all the game that they shot. Not finding any game on the particular day, the peasants asked pardon for being able to produce only a *beccafico*

¹ Dr. Axel Münthe, of Anacapri, was summoned, in recent years, to the death-bed of an old contadino, or country-man, whom he found wrapped in an English military coat, on which the buttons remained still intact.



THE BOX CONTAINING BONES OF MAJOR JOHN HAMILL

discovered accidentally in the wall to the right of the entrance of the cemetery at Anacapri, and left untouched when the memorial-tablet was removed for restoration.

(literally, a fig-pecker : properly, a garden-warbler). Hamill took it, and made them the gift of half a Spanish five-lire piece (*mezza pezza di Spagna*).

Captain C. T. Atkinson, in a paper reported in the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, after stating that the Royal Regiment of Malta was formed in 1805, says that "it did not figure with conspicuous success when defending Capri in 1808, and its establishment was reduced to 1,000 in 1809, to 400 in 1810, and the next year it disappeared from the lists." He adds—"Associated with the Royal Regiment of Malta in the loss of Capri, from which unfortunate episode they emerged without any loss of reputation, were the Corsican Rangers." This regiment was formed at Minorca out of the Corsicans who had attached themselves to the British when the island of Minorca was evacuated. Sir Hudson Lowe was commissioned in October, 1803, to raise the corps, which was already over 500 strong by the middle of 1805, and it did conspicuous service at Maida and elsewhere. As Professor Oman points out, it is interesting to note that the Corsican Rangers, who distinguished themselves at the siege of Capri, were always commanded by Sir Hudson Lowe, who showed such enormous power of dealing with tiresome and refractory Corsicans, that for this cause he was chosen to be the Governor of St. Helena. "He was the one person of high rank in the British service who had a great experience of Corsicans, and that is the reason he was selected to be Napoleon's gaoler."

It has been suggested that the one great bond which kept together the miscellaneous regiments under the British flag was that they were drilled in English : or, it may be, that they were drilled by British officers.

When I wrote to the *Irish Times*, after restoring the tablet in 1914, I hoped that I might receive some

communication from the Hamill family, if any relatives were living. The first of the name, who wrote to me from the north of Ireland, asked me to tell her how she was connected with the Major. Then, I heard of a family of the name in London. Then I discovered in "The Life of Lord Russell of Killowen," by R. Barry O'Brien, that his father married the widow of Mr. John Hamill, a Belfast merchant. At length, after waiting upwards of three years, the Right Rev. Hugh Edmund Ford, O.S.B., wrote to tell me that he had been to Capri to look for the grave of his great-great-uncle, Major John Hamill, and to thank me for having restored it.

Abbot Ford gave me an introduction to his brother, who now has supplied me kindly with the following account of the Hamill family.

THE HAMILL FAMILY.

When in Dublin about ten years ago, I had copies made of the Hamill wills there, and it is from these that the accompanying pedigree is made. At the present moment, all these copies, and all letters and papers bearing on the family, are in Philadelphia, U.S.A., where they were taken over three years ago by my nephew, Hugh Alexander Ford, the son of my elder brother, Alexander, for the purpose of drawing up a full and accurate pedigree. This has not been done, nor the papers returned. Fortunately, I have just found the bare pedigree on half a sheet of paper, but with no details or dates: this is, I believe, quite correct so far as it goes. There are no family-Bibles.

The Hamills are mostly in the north of Ireland, and I have seen a map of the clans, or tribes, of Ireland, which gave the Hamill Clan a portion of Donegal. However, our branch was traced back by Hugh Hamill of Dominick Street, Dublin, to the Hamills of Roughwood

in Ayrshire (*vide* Robertson's "Description of Cunningham"), whence they emigrated to the north of Ireland in 1643. As our own branch seems to have been always Roman Catholic, it must be remembered that the penal laws affected its status in many ways. They are to be traced in Belfast, Drogheda, and Dublin; principally in the linen-trade.

Hugh Hamill, of Ann Street, Dublin, the uncle of Major John Hamill, described himself in his will as "Merchant." I believe he was a brewer (? distiller). He married Miss Walsh, a daughter of Count Walsh, of Faningstown. The history of the Walshes has been published. Count Walsh fitted out a brigantine with guns which landed (or tried to land) the Young Pretender in Scotland: the brigantine sailed from Dunkerque. Another daughter married the third Viscount Southwell. Hugh Hamill died without living issue, and is buried with his wife and son in the cemetery of St. James's, Dublin, far from the Church on the banks of the Liffy. I have seen the vault with the tumble-down big stone: the whole cemetery overgrown, and a mass of ruin.

I have two large portraits of Hugh and his wife, which he left, with most of his property, to his nephew Hugh, my great-grandfather, who comes well within tradition. He was a man of wealth and position, engaged in the commerce of Dublin; but he fell on bad times and had to pay a large sum to the Bellew and Norris families, to replace money wrongfully used by his two co-trustees: he was virtually ruined, with his two sons Hugh and Edward.

Hugh Hamill, of Dominick Street, Dublin, had money with his cousin Alice, whom he married. I have been over the house in Dominick Street: it is opposite the Duke of Leinster's, very large, and now a tenement-house.

My mother was born there. Hugh had rebel-sympathies in '98 (*vide* Lecky, or Froud), and, unlike most Catholics, took a strong position against the Union. For this, he incurred the displeasure of Archbishop Troy, which only terminated at the christening of his daughter, Jane (my mother), the wife of James Ford, by the Archbishop in 1813. In 1808, there was a member of the family, Dr. Hamill, a cousin of Major John Hamill, who was Dean and Vicar-General of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin.

Major John Hamill was Hugh Hamill's brother. I have no papers here to say so. He might have been a brother of Alice Hamill, Hugh's wife, which would still make him the uncle of my grandfather: in fact, as I am writing, I feel pretty sure, from my recollection of my mother's conversations, that that is what he was.

I believe that Catholics were in those days unable to obtain or hold commissions in the regular English Army. When this ceased, I don't know exactly; but, it did about that time. Major John Hamill must have been a great-uncle to John and Catherine, just as he was to my mother. My uncle Edward Dames Hamill said that the Hamill Stewarts, one a General in Egypt in the eighties, were relations. The Russells of Belfast were connected by marriage. Edward Hamill, who was a Lieutenant in the 2nd Dragoon Guards (Bays) was at the Battle of Waterloo. I have had his miniature which shows the Waterloo medal, but this was lost or stolen. After Waterloo, Edward joined the 37th (Foot?), and died somewhere in Scotland.

(Signed)

The Lodge,

Andrew Hamill Ford.

Yatton, Somersetshire,

September 13th, 1917.

ROGER HAMILL,

m. Eleanor Carr.

Arthur Hamill,
m. Sarah Savage.

Arthur,
m.

Hugh,
m. Walsh, d. of Count Walsh.
of Fannlogs-towu. Sine prole.

Alice.

Bryn,
m. Mary Norris.

Hugh,
m. (his cousin),
Alice Hamill.

Catherine,
m. Thomas Bellew.

Hugh,
m. Jane Longworth-Damca,
of Greenhill,
King's County.

Edward,
(2nd Dragoon Guards),
unmarried.

Jane,
m. James Ford.

Edward,
unmarried.

Alicia,
unmarried.

James.

Alexander,
m. Emilie Koss,
(Hamill Ford).

Hugh.

Roger.

John,
unmarried.

Mary,
m. W. S. Woulfe.

Stephen,
unmarried.

Mary,
m. Justin Sheil.

Catherine,
unmarried.

Mary,
m. Roger Hamill.

It transpires that Major Hamill was presented for his bravery at Maida with a silver-vase, designed by Flaxman, which is in the possession of Mr. A. H. Ford, who has supplied me with the photograph of it.

The inscription is the following :—

From the Patriotic Fund at Lloyds.
To Major John Hamill of the Royal Regiment of Malta.
In testimony of his Gallant Conduct at the Battle of Maida in
Calabria on the 4th of July, 1806,
in which the Pride of the Presumptuous Enemy was
Severely Humbled,
and the Superiority of the British Troops most
Gloriously Proved.

The following information relating to Lloyd's Patriotic Fund has been supplied to me kindly by the Secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel A. N. St. Quintin, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Cuthbert E. Heath, one of the ten trustees, and I have before me "A History of Lloyd's Patriotic Fund from its foundation in 1803," compiled by Herbert de Rougemont, and the Annual Report for 1916.

This Fund is the oldest naval and military fund in existence. It originated at a meeting of merchants, underwriters, and other subscribers to Lloyd's, held on July 20th, 1803, at which it was resolved "that to animate the efforts of our defenders by sea and land, it is expedient to raise by the patriotism of the community at large a suitable fund for their comfort and relief: for the purpose of assuaging the anguish of their wounds, or palliating in some degree the more weighty misfortune of the loss of limbs; of alleviating the distress of the widow and orphan; of soothing the brow of sorrow for the fall of dearest relatives, the props of unhappy indigence, or helpless age; the granting of pecuniary rewards or honourable badges of distinction for successful exertions of valour or merit."

It was resolved also "that a subscription embracing



VASE PRESENTED TO MAJOR JOHN HAMILL BY LLOYD'S PATRIOTIC FUND.

By John Flaxman, R.A.

all the objects in the foregoing resolution be now opened," etc.

The response was so satisfactory, that by 1825 the total sum collected amounted to £430,509. The list was headed by Lloyd's with £20,000 Consols, to be supplemented later by £15,000, whilst subscribers to Lloyd's contributed in a fortnight over £70,000.

The first duty of the subscribers was to elect a Committee, which was formed from their own number, and on it were elected some of the leading members of Lloyd's.

The war at that time, and for some years to come, principally confined to the sea, was carried on by numerous isolated but gallant actions all over the world, most of them attended with considerable loss and suffering, and calling for special rewards.

On July 22nd, 1805, Admiral Sir Robert Calder, with fifteen ships of the line, encountered off Cape Finisterre the combined fleet of France and Spain, consisting of twenty line-of-battle ships, a 50-gun ship, and seven frigates. The result of this action, by which the combined fleet was driven for shelter to Corunna with the loss of two ships, did not satisfy the public or the authorities at home, who thought that Calder ought to have followed up the victory. Napoleon, however, took a very different view of the situation, receiving the news with the greatest concern, and, recognising that a heavy blow had been struck at his projected invasion of England, he turned his thoughts immediately to the Austerlitz campaign.

At their meeting on November 14th, 1805, the committee had to consider the despatch in the *London Gazette* from Vice-Admiral Collingwood, giving the account of his great commander and friend, Nelson, and of the victory of Trafalgar.

The committee now turned their attention to

Trafalgar, and they began by voting that a vase of the value of £500 be presented to Lady Viscountess Nelson, a vase of similar value to Earl Nelson of Trafalgar, to descend as an heirloom with the title so gloriously acquired, a vase of similar value to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, who, after the death of the Commander-in-Chief in the hour of victory, so nobly completed the triumph of the day.

Other vases were presented, and swords of the value of £100 each, with appropriate inscriptions, were presented to surviving Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's ships.

It was resolved that the sum of £100 be presented to each of the Lieutenants of His Majesty's Navy, Captains of Royal Marines, and other officers in the second class of His Majesty's proclamation for the distribution of prize-money, who was severely wounded, and the sum of £50 to each officer of the same rank who was slightly wounded. Many other presentations and gifts for relief follow.

One of the last orders of Nelson was that the name and family of every officer, seaman and marine, who might be killed or wounded in action, should be transmitted to the chairman of the Patriotic Fund, that the case might be taken into consideration, for the benefit of the sufferer or his family. These lists are still in the possession of the trustees, signed by Nelson's captains. And with these lists are letters of thanks from Lady Nelson and from Lord Collingwood.

The History contains, in reference to the Battle of Maida, an allusion to "The brilliant little engagement in Calabria, when Major-General Sir John Stuart defeated a superior force on the Plain of Maida, which took place on July 4th, 1806. It was in a graphic despatch, published in the *London Gazette*, that the loss of the

British is again described as small compared with that of the enemy, which was heavy, but it was sufficient to add to the demands on the Fund. A vase was presented to Sir John Stuart to commemorate his success."

In asking for a photograph of the Hamill vase, Lieutenant-Colonel St. Quintin stated that he had a photograph of one of the presentation-swords in his possession, and he sent me the following minute in which reference is made to the honorary reward of £100 made to Major Hamill after he was wounded at the Battle of Maida.

Lloyd's,

16th September, 1806.

The Committee having resumed the consideration of the *London Gazette* Extraordinary of the 5th instant,

RESOLVED,

That a vase of the value of three hundred pounds, with an appropriate inscription, be presented to Major-General Sir John Stuart, as a testimony of the high sense entertained by this Committee of his gallant conduct at the Battle of Maida, "in which the pride of the presumptuous enemy was severely humbled, and the superiority of the British Troops most gloriously proved."

RESOLVED,

That Honorary Rewards of the value affixed to their respective names, be presented to the following Field Officers wounded on that occasion :—

£200 to Major Paulett, of the 44th Regiment, severely wounded.

£100 to Lieut. Col. M'Leod, of the 78th Regiment.

£100 to Lieut. Col. Moore, of the 23rd Dragoons.

£100 to Major Stuart, of the 78th Regiment.

£100 to Major Hamill, of the Royal Regiment of Malta.

RESOLVED,

That the following sums be presented to the other Officers wounded :—

£50 to Captain M'Pherson, of the 78th Regiment.

£50 to Captain M'Gregor, of the 78th Regiment.

£50 to Captain Waterhouse, of the 81st Regiment.

£50 to Lieutenant and Adjutant Ginger, of the 81st Regiment.

£25 to Lieutenant M'Kay, of the 78th Regiment.

£25 to Ensign M'Kenzie, of the 78th Regiment.

£25 to Ensign M'Gregor, of the 78th Regiment.

RESOLVED,

That Relief be afforded to the Widows, Orphans, Parents, and Relatives, depending for support on the Officers and men killed ; and that gratuities be given to those wounded, as soon as the nature and extent of the injuries they have received shall be made known to the Committee.

RESOLVED,

That Letters, signed by the Chairman, be written to Major-General Sir John Stuart, requesting that he will communicate the foregoing Resolutions to His Majesty's Forces under his command, and furnish the Committee with the names of the killed and wounded, together with such particulars as can be collected, respecting the families of those brave men who fell in achieving this glorious victory.

Lieutenant St. Quintin writes :—" Apparently Major Hamill, instead of receiving £100 in cash, was given a

vase, which cost £97 7s. 11d., and was supplied by Messrs. Rundall, Bridge & Rundall, to whom I see that we paid over £11,000 for vases between the years 1803 and 1809.

“ We also spent £10,000 on presentation-swords at the same time.

“ I was told by the Goldsmiths’ Company that Flaxman¹ did much work for Rundall, Bridge & Rundall ; so that I daresay that all the vases were designed by that eminent sculptor.

“ Our vases varied a good deal in weight and height ; but I have not been able to ascertain whether they were all of similar design. The photograph which you so kindly promise, when compared with the Collingwood vase, will help to settle this matter.”

:: :: ::

CONCLUSION.

For the following letter and extract I am indebted to Mr. Harold E. Trower, B.A., for many years British Consular Agent at Capri, and his work “ The Book of Capri.”

:: :: ::

Letter from Colonel Lowe to General La Marque.

24th October, 1808.

On board H.B.M. Frigate,
“ L’Ambuscade.”

General,

The proofs of fairness and kindness which I have received from you embolden me to beg you to aid us in embarking the few people and effects which remain ashore. The ships’ boats have been nearly all swamped

¹ John Flaxman, R.A., 1755-1826.

in this work, and it is only the large feluccas of the locality which can stand the severity of the wind and sea. An officer from shore having signalled to the captain that you desire free passage and communication between Capri and Naples for three days after the evacuation of our troops shall have taken place, I have the honour of sending you a pass, and rest assured that our cruisers will put no obstacle in the way of anything that you may desire to send to the coast for the three days following the departure of the troops.

There remain on shore three horses, of which two belong to me, and one to a wounded officer. If circumstances do not admit their embarkation at present, I would beg that they be left in the charge of my servant until I can send a boat to take them off. In case there remains some of the officer's baggage and some women, I desire to leave an officer on shore to take charge of them, until it be possible to send a boat to get them—availing myself of what you and General Thomas have kindly indicated regarding this matter.

Some of my personal effects are still at the nunnery, as I did not wish to overcrowd the boats with it yesterday, and which I fear I am unable to take away at present. I shall ask permission to take them away at the same time as the other things.

Assuring you, General, of perfect reciprocity on our part in all that may depend on my representation to my superiors, both naval and military, and also of my personal thanks,

I have the honour to be, General,

With the highest consideration,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

H. Lowe,

Lt.-Col. Com. Troops of H.B.M.

Extract from the Report of General La Marque to the
 . King of Naples in regard to the capture of Capri by
 the French and Neapolitan troops in 1808.¹

:: :: ::

“ If I should make known to your Majesty all those who have distinguished themselves, it would be necessary for me to send you a complete list of all the combatants, and above all of the 700 brave fellows, who, on October 4th, scaled the heights of Anacapri. Special mention, however, must be made of Generals Pignatelli Strongoli and Cattaneo, Naval Lieutenant Barbara, my Aide-de-camp Peirio, Captains Caraffa, Sauray, Ciruti, Lanzetta, and Brocheti ; all the Neapolitan sappers, and among them specially Sergeant Dommanga, and the Artillery-officers Salvo and Codelui.

“ In the Royal Corsican Regiment I will specially mention Galloni, the Chief of the Battalion which held for three days the Red House, the most advanced post, and exposed to a cross-fire of three batteries of the enemy ; Captain Pompei, who deserves promotion ; Lieutenants Rezz, Galvani, Bonavita, Adjutant Hector (wounded) ; Napoleon Mastretti, Lega, Paolini and Massoni, Sergeants of Carabineers ; Silvestri and Cometi, Corporals, who captured two cannon ; Agostini and Graziani of the Carabineers. Speaking generally, that regiment suffered heavier loss than any other ; but it also inflicted severe punishment on the enemy, and gained greater glory.

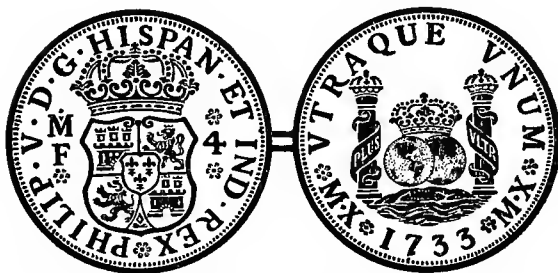
“ The Grenadiers of the second Neapolitan Regiment defended the ships with the usual intrepidity, and several of them were wounded by the fire and attack of the enemy’s frigates and other vessels. The detachment

¹ “ Voyage de Naples à Capri et à Pestum,” J. E. Chevalley de Rivaz, 1846.

of the first Neapolitan Regiment under the command of its officers, Alberti, Palmeiri, and Cerillo, made itself conspicuous, as well as Sergeants Toni and Madolina. I have nothing but praise for the soldiers of the third Italian Regiment of the Line, which served with courage and discipline fully equal to that of any French regiment; Captain Terini in command of these chosen companies is worthy of special mention.

“In short, all the troops have done their duty, and the General Pignatelli and Colonel Arcovito have shown the greatest enthusiasm, bravery, and devotion.”

THE END.



THE HALF "PILLAR-DOLLAR,"

Worth about Two Shillings, a Spanish coin commonly current in Italy, referred to in the text, page 297.

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Orderly Officer at Longwood, Saint Helena : Feb. 1820 to Nov. 1823

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