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Vol. XXV.

NELSON
AND
THE NEAPOLITAN JACOBINS

TO MY MOTHER

165665



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INTRODUCTION



THE only serious imputations which have ever been made against Nelson's conduct in a public capacity are those which are associated with the part played by him in the suppression of the Jacobin rising at Naples in 1799, and to which Southey unfortunately gave currency throughout the English-speaking world in a book which, by reason of the brilliancy of its style and the power of its narrative, has taken the foremost place in popular estimation among the biographies of our great naval hero.

Nelson is arraigned by his accusers on three indictments. He is first of all charged with having acted *ultra vires* in setting aside a capitulation which had not only been duly concluded, but had also in part been executed. In the second place he is accused of resorting to fraud and treachery for the purpose of procuring the evacuation of the castles of Naples by the rebel garrisons. Lastly, it is alleged that he ordered the execution of Francesco Carac-

ciolo, the republican admiral, from motives of jealousy engendered by his victim's superior seamanship.

These accusations, when formulated *ex parte* against a dead man, require even more patient and careful scrutiny than they would merit if launched against one in whose power it would be to refute them in person. It is over a hundred years ago since these events took place, and during all this long period a bitter controversy has raged round Nelson's conduct on this occasion. He has been tried and convicted over and over again on evidence which is admittedly incomplete, and the whole matter has become clouded by prejudice and partisan feeling. It is only by a minute investigation of the various details of the whole episode that the right can be earned to sit in judgment on Nelson's relations with the Neapolitan Jacobins. The chief object of the present volume is not to continue the controversy, but rather to bring together the mass of evidence which deals with the point, and to reduce it to a form in which it will be accessible to the English reader, who may herein find the refutation of these charges. It is not proposed to deal with the execution of Caracciolo, the controversy concerning which has now come to a standstill. The absurd and cruel charge made by Colletta against Nelson is now no longer supported, and the only matter in issue is whether Nelson showed undue severity towards Caracciolo—a question on which opinions will always differ.

In order to be in a position to follow the course of events which brought Nelson to Naples in June 1799, it will be necessary to examine the

causes which led to a close alliance between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Naples, based on a common hostility to the aggressive policy of the French Republic.

The opening scenes of the French Revolution created but little impression at the court of Naples. The events destined to produce a convulsion which subsequently shook the throne of the Two Sicilies to its foundations were taking place at a distance, and the kingdom was still immersed in the condition of political torpor which had possessed it for well nigh half a century.

The Bourbon theory of government was simplicity itself. Its central idea consisted in the propitiation of the masses, so that the classes might then be plundered and oppressed with impunity. The economic grievances which figured so largely among the causes of the French Revolution were of little importance in the kingdom of Naples. The semi-tropical climate of Southern Italy allows its inhabitants to live very largely in the open air, and renders the housing problem a matter of much less importance than in the countries of Northern Europe. A meagre diet of bread and perhaps a little cheese or maccaroni is quite sufficient to support life; and such luxuries as fruit and wine can be obtained by even the poorest. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that the *lazzaroni* should, in spite of their misery, have been warmly attached to a government which left them to practise their superstitions in peace, relieved them from the burden of taxation, and refrained from harassing them with unwelcome reforms.

The proletariat of Naples were fanatically devoted to the church, and the *lazzaroni* and the clergy together formed the bulwarks of the throne. The church was given a free hand in all spiritual matters, and was secured in the possession of its vast temporal estates. The *lazzaroni* were supplied with food by the royal bounty when times were hard, and were kept amused by frequent military displays and ecclesiastical festivals. The Neapolitan Bourbon state was in fact a partnership of the crown, the church, and the mob, for the exploitation of the intellectual and commercial sections of the community. Add to this a rigorous suppression of all progressive thought and action among all classes, and the system is complete.¹

No monarch, as a matter of fact, was more unconventional than Ferdinand, aptly nicknamed 'Il Re Lazzarone.'² It was his delight to mingle with the lowest classes, to speak their dialect, and to taste of the oily messes so dear to the Neapolitan palate. In his younger days one of his favourite pastimes had been to keep a cook shop in one of the poorest quarters of the city, where in shirt sleeves and apron he fried and sold the fish he had caught at Fusaro or Posilipo, and displayed a genius for haggling with his customers, and a knowledge of the vernacular, which could hardly have been excelled by any of his subjects.

A man of splendid physique, Ferdinand was said to be the finest rider and shot in the whole of

¹ Ferdinand IV himself summed up his theory of the state in the three words 'Festa, forza e farina,' feasts, gallows, and flour.

² The Hooligan King.

his dominions, though, curiously enough, no greater poltroon ever disgraced a throne. His education had been greatly neglected, and his ignorance was only exceeded by his bigotry, though he was by no means devoid of shrewdness and a certain dry humour. The responsibilities of government were most irksome to him, and it was his habit to leave affairs of state in the hands of his wife and his ministers, while he gave himself up to the pleasures of the chase.

For most purposes Ferdinand may be regarded as a mere figure-head; the reins of power were at this time entirely in the hands of two persons, Sir John Acton, the prime minister, and the Queen Maria Carolina.

John Francis Edward Acton,¹ the son of an English physician who had settled in France, was born at Besançon on the 3rd of June, 1736.² At an early age he entered the French navy, but was obliged to leave that service owing to a quarrel between his father and the government. He then migrated to Italy, where he was given the command of a frigate by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. In the year 1775 a joint force of Spanish, Tuscan, and Neapolitan warships was despatched against the Bey of Algiers, and Acton was appointed to the command of the Tuscan contingent. The expedition ended in disaster, and the troops which had been disembarked to storm the forts were caught in

¹ He succeeded to family estates and the baronetcy on the death of his cousin in the third degree.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*. Perrone gives 1st of October, 1737, and D'Hervey St. Denis, 1st of January, 1737, as the date.

a cross fire, and would have been cut off had it not been for the skill and gallantry of Acton, who ran his little flotilla close in shore and covered their retreat with a well-directed fire. The fame of this exploit reached the ears of the Neapolitan court, who were then by the advice of the Emperor Joseph II about to reorganise their navy. Acton was recommended by Prince Caramanico, the favourite of Queen Caroline, as a suitable person to be entrusted with the task, and in the year 1779 he entered the Neapolitan service as director of the marine. He was quick to see that the surest road to power in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was by the favour of the queen, and that the king counted for nothing in the state.

Caroline's ambition was to raise the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to the position of a power of the first rank. So long as Ferdinand remained a mere satellite of the King of Spain this would be impossible, and her efforts were therefore directed to securing the dissolution of the old alliance with Spain and a *rapprochement* with Austria. Her Neapolitan ministers, even if they did not actually thwart this project, looked upon it with anything but favour, for their traditions bound them closely to the Spanish monarchy. The new-comer Acton alone sympathised with her ambitions, and in this fact lies the explanation of his sudden rise to the principal position in the state. The reorganisation of the Neapolitan navy gave him an opportunity of displaying his industry and capacity, and so successful was he in this work, that he was subsequently entrusted with the reform of the army, and finally

also with the re-ordering of the finances of the kingdom. As minister of marine, captain-general of the army and minister of finance, he practically became head of the executive, and the title of prime minister conferred upon him was merely a recognition of this fact.

Acton was by no means the grasping adventurer portrayed by many of his biographers. His fidelity to his royal master throughout the many vicissitudes of the reign would absolve him from any such charge. He was, it is true, a cosmopolitan, born in France, domiciled in Italy, and English by sympathy, who spoke all the languages indifferently ill. It was his failure to identify himself thoroughly with the country of his adoption which formed his great weakness; for, though devoted to his sovereign, he disliked and despised the Neapolitans. His policy, which prematurely dragged the Two Sicilies into the revolutionary wars, was disastrous to the country, and would have been avoided by a minister who really had the interests of the nation at heart. His ambition was to be regarded as the Pitt of Southern Europe; but, though an excellent type of the painstaking bureaucrat, he was lacking in the singleness of purpose and the foresight so essential to a great statesman. As a diplomatist he was wanting in firmness and courage, and was constantly outmanœuvred by Thugut and the French Directory. Though gifted with great industry and perseverance, he was common-place, narrow-minded, and obstinate to a degree. Of his influence in internal affairs the less said the better. From his entry into power dates the abominable system of government by

espionage and the gallows, which was subsequently denounced by Gladstone as the 'negation of God.' It is almost impossible to apportion the blame for the reactionary excesses of 1799 and 1800; but Acton must be censured for not opposing them, even if not for conniving at them.

The stories circulated by his enemies as to his being in the pay of the British Government may be dismissed at once as absurd and unfounded. He was a good friend to England during the whole of his tenure of office, but this was in harmony with the policy which he firmly believed to be the best in the interests of the throne of the Two Sicilies. In respect of industry and honesty, he stood on a very much higher plane than any of his Neapolitan colleagues, and when some years later the influence of Napoleon at the court of Naples was strong enough to bring about his downfall, it was found to be exceedingly difficult to carry on the business of the state without his assistance.

The actual ruler of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies at this time was the queen, Maria Carolina of Austria, one of the most remarkable women who ever wore a crown. A true daughter of Maria Theresa, she combined great feminine beauty and daintiness with an almost masculine strength of character; though she lacked the extraordinary wisdom and prudence which so distinguished her mother. A clause in the contract of marriage between her and the young King of Naples had provided that on the birth of an heir to the throne she should be admitted to the council of state on an equal footing with her husband. No sooner

had this condition been satisfied than the young queen promptly seized the reins of government. Ferdinand had fallen completely beneath the sway of his beautiful and self-willed spouse, whose energy and cleverness inspired him with mingled fear and admiration. His distaste for the duties of his position became more marked than ever, and when pressed to occupy himself with the business of state it became his habit to refer everything to the queen. 'Ma femme sait tout' was his favourite excuse. Caroline was beyond doubt a woman of great ability and considerable culture. She spoke Italian, German, French, and Spanish fluently, and had a passable literary knowledge of those languages. Her industry was—for a luxurious and pleasure-loving woman—most astounding; and she was not altogether devoid of diplomatic finesse. Her courage and determination in the face of overwhelming odds were her most conspicuous virtues. Even Napoleon, one of her greatest enemies, who went so far as to describe her as 'the incarnation of wickedness,' was obliged to admit this: 'C'est le seul homme,' he said, 'de son royaume.' Unfortunately she was never able to control her passions, and was too prone to act on a sudden impulse. She was cruel by nature and most fickle in her friendships, and was swayed by an ambition which knew no bounds.

It was in the family circle that she showed to the greatest advantage, and her correspondence with her daughter proves her to have been a kind and conscientious mother. Like her sister Marie Antoinette, she was flung at an early age into the

midst of a depraved and dissolute court, and was burdened with a dolt of a husband whom she both loathed and despised. Were it not for the innate ferocity and the utter falseness of her character, it might be possible to regard her with pity rather than aversion ; and in spite of her many weaknesses even the most unfriendly of her critics have been driven to a reluctant admiration of the gallant manner in which for nearly a quarter of a century, and almost single-handed, she waged an unequal and exhausting struggle with the world-power of France.

The Neapolitan court was by no means hostile to the French Revolution in its earlier phases. The queen, in fact, openly sympathised with the patriots, and in common with her advisers anticipated little or no danger from the democratic movement. All this was changed by the abolition of the monarchy in France, which caused the crowned heads of Europe to feel that their thrones were imperilled. Ferdinand refused to receive Makau, the newly accredited ambassador of the French Republic, but was compelled to withdraw from this position by the appearance in the Bay of Naples of a strong French squadron under La Touche Tréville. The resentment felt by the Neapolitan court at the degradation involved in this unconditional surrender to the terms of the French was lashed into violent and passionate hostility when the news reached Naples of the death of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette on the scaffold, and the adhesion of the kingdom of Naples to the First Coalition was secured without much difficulty by Pitt. The allies,

however, met with nothing but misfortune, and on the 10th of October, 1796, the peace of Paris was signed, by which the kingdom of Naples paid a substantial war indemnity to France, and closed its ports to the fleets of all nations at war with the republic.

The terms of this treaty were on the whole advantageous to the kingdom of Naples, which withdrew from the struggle without the loss of an inch of territory, and with its prestige considerably enhanced by the war.

Unfortunately there was but little prospect of a lasting peace, owing to the aggressive militarism of the French nation, which did not permit of any prolonged inactivity on the part of its armies. The treaty of Campo Formio (17th of October, 1797), which definitely closed the war on the continent, and left Great Britain to fight France single-handed, was from its very nature destined to breed trouble in Italy. The only sovereigns in the peninsula who retained any degree of independence were the Pope and the King of the Two Sicilies. The republic of Venice had disappeared from the map, and its territory had been divided between the newly created Cisalpine republic and Austria. The Duchies of Parma and Modena had also been extinguished; and the Grand Duke of Tuscany was only spared on account of his impotence, which rendered him a negligible quantity. The King of Sardinia, surrounded on all sides by hostile armies, was completely at the mercy of France, and was before long driven from Piedmont to seek refuge in his island domain. The King of Naples, though as yet in no immediate danger, had every reason to be suspicious

of the occupation of the Ionian Islands, which placed a French army on his flank in unpleasant proximity to his territory.

Pius VI was destined to be the next victim of the French forward policy ; for it had long been a cherished ambition of the republic to see the tricolour waving from the walls of the eternal city. Duphot was despatched to Rome, nominally as ambassador, but in reality as a secret agent to foment a rising against the Vatican. His death at the hands of the pontifical troops in the course of a brawl furnished a pretext for intervention, and in February 1798 Berthier entered Rome without serious opposition, and established the Roman republic. Pius VI, an aged and decrepit invalid, was deposed and dragged off to France to end his days in captivity : an act of unnecessary harshness, which roused intense indignation not only in Roman Catholic countries, but all over Europe.

These events brought the French armies within a few days' march of the Neapolitan border, but in spite of this Ferdinand had in reality little to fear from France, for both the Directory and Bonaparte were quite conscious of the dangers involved in detaching a force to invade Southern Italy, where it might be isolated by a defeat of the French armies in Lombardy, and would certainly be exposed to constant annoyance by the British Mediterranean fleet ; and Bonaparte, moreover, had at this time a good opinion of the fighting qualities of the Neapolitan troops and their leaders.

Unfortunately, the conduct of the French Directory during this critical period was not calculated

to allay the suspicions of the Neapolitan court. Shortly after the establishment of the Roman republic a claim was advanced by the latter to a reversion of the rights of suzerainty formerly enjoyed by the Papacy over the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This absurd pretension received the support of the Directory, who in addition required the dismissal of Acton from office, and the cession to the Roman republic of the principalities of Benevento and Pontecorvo, which, although forming part of the Papal States, were then in the occupation of a Neapolitan garrison. A point-blank refusal was returned to these demands by the Neapolitan Government ; large bodies of troops were moved to the frontiers of the kingdom and a vigorous crusade was commenced against all persons in the capital professing liberal views.

The Directory did not feel itself strong enough to enforce its ultimatum ; and a compromise was finally arrived at by which the principalities were left in the possession of Ferdinand in return for a payment of twenty million francs. The Marchese di Gallo was nominally substituted for Acton as prime minister, and the question of suzerainty was tacitly abandoned. So far the Neapolitan Government had scored a distinct success, but even this was insufficient to calm its suspicions and to convince it of the disinclination of the Directory to commence hostilities. A new cause of irritation had arisen in the armament of a large fleet at Toulon, which was believed at Naples to be destined for a raid on the island of Sicily, which was then for all practical purposes in a defenceless condition.

Ferdinand could not hope to repel an attack on his dominions unaided, but he succeeded in concluding a treaty for mutual defence with his son-in-law, the emperor. He was also given to understand that in the event of hostilities breaking out he could look for support to the British fleet, which had just entered the Mediterranean. Caroline was only too eager to break with the French, and her warlike ardour was stimulated by the ceaseless efforts of the British ambassador, Sir William Hamilton, and of his talented wife, the beautiful Emma, the most celebrated of all *parvenues* in history. The great victory of the Nile added fresh fuel to the flames, and when Nelson arrived at Naples shortly afterwards, he was everywhere hailed as the hero who had been sent to deliver the kingdom from the French. Ferdinand was all for peace, but he finally yielded to the pressure brought to bear on him by Nelson, who told him 'either to advance trusting to God for his blessings on a just cause, and to die with *l'épée à la main*, or remain quiet to be kicked out of his dominions.' Thus rudely adjured, the king decided to be a hero after the pattern of Nelson.¹

On the 23rd of November the Neapolitan army under General Mack crossed the frontier in five columns; whilst 4,000 men were taken on board the British fleet to seize Leghorn for the purpose of cutting the line of communications of the French, and of taking them in flank if they retreated. The Neapolitans were more than double the strength of

¹ Nelson to Earl Spencer, 13th of November, 1798, *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 171; and see Mahan's *Life of Nelson*, p. 336.

the French army under Championnet in the Papal States; but the rank and file were the rawest of recruits, whereas the enemy was composed of veteran troops under skilful and experienced leaders. On the approach of the Neapolitan advance guards the French evacuated Rome and withdrew to Civit  Castellana, leaving a small garrison in the Castle of St. Angelo, and on the 29th of November Ferdinand entered the city with great pomp and amidst much jubilation.

This proved to be his only success, and a merely momentary one. To cut a long story short, Mack's columns showed little stomach for fighting, and being scattered far apart, were defeated in detail. On the 7th of December Ferdinand hurriedly fled from Rome, and issued a proclamation to the mountaineers of the Abruzzi, calling on them to rise *en masse* in defence of their king and their religion. The retreat of the Neapolitans soon became a rout, and Ferdinand posted back to Naples with all possible speed, when the French turned the tables on him by crossing the borders of his dominions. The position of the court was now perilous in the extreme. The French were steadily advancing against Mack, who had fallen back on a strongly entrenched position at Capua. The capital was in a ferment, and the republican party, though few in number, were showing great activity, and were waiting for a favourable opportunity to rise. On the 18th of December Mack appeared at court and announced that he could not hinder the advance of the enemy for long, and that the only hope of safety for the king lay in flight to Palermo. This

was at once decided on, and the royal family hastily packed their property and valuables in preparation for their conveyance to the British fleet, which had in the meantime been reinforced by a Portuguese squadron under the Marquis de Niza.

The great difficulty was to conceal the approaching departure of the court from the loyal but excitable *lazzaroni*, who had burst through all bonds of restraint, and were marching through the streets of the city murdering all persons who were in any way suspected of French nationality or sympathies. In the end, however, mainly owing to the skilful dispositions of Nelson, ably seconded by Lady Hamilton, the court, with property to the alleged value of 2,500,000*l.*,¹ were safely embarked on board the flagship *Vanguard* and the frigate *Alcmene*. On the evening of the 23rd of December the fleet weighed anchor, and after encountering a terrible storm, during which the little Prince Albert died in the arms of Lady Hamilton, and the old *Vanguard*, battered and torn by the French shot at Aboukir, nearly foundered, the fugitive court reached Palermo on the morning of the 27th of December, 1798.

Nelson never made a greater blunder in the whole course of his career than when he advised Ferdinand IV to take the offensive against the French. He had mistaken the pacific intentions of the Directory for weakness, and acting under this misapprehension was largely instrumental in precipitating the kingdom of the Two Sicilies into a war which was destined to end in the expulsion of

¹ Nelson to Lord St. Vincent, 28th of December, 1798, *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 210.

the Bourbon monarchs from the Italian peninsula, and the infliction of all the miseries and horrors of civil strife on their subjects.

Nor was the result to himself less unfortunate. His responsibility for the misfortunes which had overtaken the King and Queen of Naples was so great, that he was drawn into a promise that he would not abandon them till brighter prospects had dawned upon them.¹

This undertaking was not, as has often been alleged, in direct conflict with his duty. The victory of the Nile had so altered the position of affairs in the Mediterranean that fresh instructions were issued by the admiralty, which defined Nelson's principal duty as 'the protection of the coasts of Sicily, Naples, and the Adriatic, and in the event of war being renewed in Italy, an active co-operation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies.' Further than this, it was recognised that from the nature of the situation and from the uncertainty of events which might occur, much must of necessity be left to Nelson's discretion. It should also be noted that he was 'particularly directed in every possible situation to give the most cordial and unlimited support to his Majesty's allies, to exert himself to the utmost to preserve a good intelligence between them, and most carefully to avoid giving to any of them the smallest cause for suspicion, jealousy, or offence.'² Ferdinand IV was now the ally of

¹ Nelson to his wife, December 11, 1798, *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 194.

² Secretary to the Admiralty to Earl St. Vincent, 3rd of October, 1798, *post*, p. 19.

George III, not merely informally but actually, in virtue of a treaty concluded on the 1st of December, 1798, which enacted that Great Britain should keep a naval force in the Mediterranean 'decidedly superior to that of the enemy, in order to provide by this means for the safety of the dominions of his Sicilian Majesty.'¹

As time went on the news which trickled through to Palermo from Naples became more and more disheartening, till Nelson was obliged to confess that what he had believed to be impossible had come about, and that the Neapolitan army, 'la plus belle armée de l'Europe,' had melted away before a vastly inferior French force. 'Is not this a dream?' he writes; 'can it be real?'² Gaeta had been surrendered without the firing of a single shot, and now the fortress of Capua alone barred the road to the capital. The queen was greatly distressed by the news, which reached Palermo about the 10th of January, that the Portuguese Commodore Campbell had burned all the warships lying inside the mole at Naples in direct disobedience to Nelson's orders,³ a hasty and ill-considered act which the queen rightly foresaw would seriously discourage the loyalists of the capital, as it severed the last link between them and the fugitive court.

¹ Article IV of the treaty, Marten's *Recueil des Traités*, vol. vii. p. 309.

² Nelson to St. Vincent, 7th of January, 1799, *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 226.

³ Campbell had been ordered only to burn these ships if the French entered Naples or if the people should rise against the king. See Nelson to Niza, 22nd of December, 1798, *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 208.

On the 16th of January the court learnt that the Vicar-General Pignatelli, who had been entrusted by Ferdinand with the regency in his absence, had signed an armistice with the French on the 12th at Sparanise, in virtue of which Capua was handed over to the enemy. This put an end to all resistance as far as the regular army was concerned, and Mack, losing all heart, gave himself up to Championnet. The *lazzaroni*, intoxicated with religious fervour, now flew to arms, and gave the French the first taste of real fighting they had had since the war broke out.

The terms of the armistice of Sparanise were wholly unacceptable; they were not justified by the exigencies of the military situation, which was not yet absolutely hopeless, and they were promptly repudiated by the king. Nelson at once offered to go to Naples in person with his squadron, and to make a last attempt to save the situation;¹ but the panic-stricken queen implored him not to leave her, and finally coaxed the chivalrous admiral into promising that his flag 'should not go out of the mole of Palermo' without her approbation. It was this undertaking on his part which pinned him down at Palermo for so many long weary months whilst stirring events were taking place elsewhere.²

Ferdinand and Caroline in their despair leant entirely on their English friends for assistance.

¹ Nelson to St. Vincent, 16th of January, 1799, *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 234.

² Cf. Nelson to Ball, 31st of January, 1799, 'Indeed I am very anxious to be with you myself; but I am tied so fast here by their Sicilian Majesties that I cannot move.' *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 247.

‘Many compliments to our excellent admiral,’ writes the queen to Lady Hamilton; ‘I very much desire to have a quiet chat with him on the defence of this island.’¹ ‘Our country,’ Nelson tells St. Vincent, ‘is looked to as a resource for all the difficulties of this.’² On the 11th of February Acton sought the advice of Nelson, and laid the ‘doleful circumstance of his Sicilian Majesty’ before him. ‘Remedyes to oppose to many evils,’ he wrote in his quaint broken English, ‘depend and will principally raise and be employed by the forces under your command on whose assistance his Majesty places all his hopes and comforts.’³

The state of affairs was now such that there was practically no hope of recovering Naples without the assistance of a foreign army; but even if there had been an opportunity of striking a blow, the supineness of the administration would have rendered it impossible to take advantage of it. ‘Alas, my dear Ball!’ exclaimed Nelson, ‘here is no energy in the government to profit of favourable moments. The mob to-day loyal, may to-morrow turn the contrary.’⁴

So the last chance of saving Naples slipped away; the gallant *lazzaroni*, unsupported by their king, and ill armed and led, broke before the veteran legions of France, and Championnet, after scenes of terrible carnage, forced his way into the capital. On the 27th of January, 1799, the Parthenopean republic

¹ Palumbo, p. 189.

² *Despatches*, vol. vii. App. clxx.

³ Acton to Nelson, B.M. Add. MS. 34909, f. 227.

⁴ Nelson to Ball, 21st of January, 1799, *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 236.

was proclaimed, and the rule of the Bourbons in Naples was for the time being at an end.

The Neapolitan Revolution of 1799 was in no sense a popular rising ; it was rather a revolt of the educated classes, of the liberal aristocracy, and the *bourgeoisie* against the corrupt and debasing government of the Bourbons. The *lazzaroni*, or proletariat of Naples, were fanatically attached to the king, and although they had submitted to the vigorous measures taken by Championnet, the republic had signally failed in its endeavours to enlist their sympathies.

This feeling of hatred for the new *régime* was even more marked in the provinces, where Jacobinism was looked upon as synonymous with atheism, and where, in consequence, the strong religious feeling of the inhabitants rendered them impervious to the spread of republican principles. Ferdinand IV was personally highly popular with the majority of his subjects, whereas the lawyers, who formed the preponderating influence in the new government, were correspondingly detested. The whole fabric of the Parthenopean republic, in fact, rested on the support of the French army, and once the invaders were got rid of it was clear that the restoration of the monarchy could only be a question of time. The elements of insurrection were therefore already in existence, and all that was required was a guiding spirit to give them direction and organisation.

No sooner had the court learnt of this state of affairs than it was decided to send a trustworthy agent to Calabria, to excite the peasantry to rise in favour of the monarchy. The insurrection thus

caused was intended to act as a kind of screen ¹ between the fugitive sovereigns in Sicily and their rebel subjects in Naples. For this important task Ferdinand selected one of his most faithful servants, the Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo, whose family owned vast estates in Calabria, and possessed a following there which was by itself almost equal to an army. It was thought that, as the Calabrese peasantry were highly susceptible to the influence of their clergy, a prince of the church would be a more suitable emissary than a lay delegate of the crown.

Ruffo's character has been pulled to pieces by Italian patriotic writers ² of his own and later times, while on the other hand historians of the opposite school can see no fault in him. The truth lies between these two extremes. To give him his due, the cardinal was enterprising and courageous, not wholly devoid of statesmanlike qualities, and conspicuous among a retinue of false and obsequious courtiers for his constant fidelity to his royal master. He was gifted with a remarkably versatile genius, and was the author of treatises dealing with such widely varying subjects as watercourses, the habits of pigeons, infantry drill, and the equipment of cavalry.

The worst that can be said of him is that he was a worldly and somewhat sensual prelate, with a vein of cruelty running through his nature. His chief faults were a love of intrigue and a lack of

¹ Caroline, in writing to Ruffo (5th of February, 1799), speaks of the object of the cardinal's mission as 'antemurale,' Dumas, vol. v. p. 123.

² *E.g.* Lomonaco, *Rapporto al Cittadino Carnot*, p. 47, note (1).

straightforwardness, firmness and consistency. He had an unfortunate habit of countermanding orders soon after he had given them, which formed the excuse for a caricature, in which he is represented as holding a paper in either hand bearing the inscriptions *ordine* and *contraordine* respectively, while on his forehead is written the word *disordine*.

Ruffo's commission was drawn in the very widest terms.¹ He was appointed the king's vicar-general and *alter ego*, with powers of life and death, and a full discretion as to the methods to be adopted in restoring the lost provinces to their allegiance. On the 8th of February, 1799, he landed on the beach of La Catona, near Bagnara, in the province of Calabria Ulteriore, where he was joined by a force of three hundred men recruited from among the vassals of his family. He was without money or arms, and never did an expedition set out which at first sight seemed to have such scanty prospects of attaining its object.

His success was, however, immediate and complete. From far and wide the Calabrese rallied to his banner, inspired by their priests with the wildest enthusiasm. No more ragged or undisciplined horde ever gathered for the reconquest of a kingdom. Ruffo could not under the circumstances pick and choose his men, and among the ranks of the so-called Christian army were to be found the off-scourings of the gaols of Sicily, let loose on the shores of Calabria by Danero, the governor of Messina, in disobedience to the orders he had received from Palermo to send them to join the

¹ Dated 25th of January, 1799. See *post*, p. 21.

celebrated Fra Diavolo, who had raised the standard of revolt in the country round Gaeta.¹

Town after town fell before the onslaught of the 'Sanfedisti,' as Ruffo's army came to be called. The garrisons of those which resisted were put to the sword, and all individuals suspected of Jacobinism were ruthlessly slaughtered. By the beginning of May Ruffo had penetrated as far as Matera, the capital of the province of the Basilicata, and had joined hands with the four Corsican free lances, De Cesare, Corbara, Colonna and Boccheciampe, who had succeeded in winning the province of Apulia for the royal cause. Wherever the army of the Holy Faith went it established a White Terror, and the record of its progress through Southern Italy is for the most part anything but pleasant reading. It should be stated here that, as Ruffo drew near to Naples, it was felt that some limitation of his powers would be advisable. He was accordingly instructed on no account to grant terms to the republicans of the capital, and also to reserve the fate of the Jacobin leaders for the decision of Ferdinand himself.²

Shortly after the departure of Ruffo news reached Palermo of a treaty which had been concluded at St. Petersburg on the 29th³ of December, 1798, in virtue of which the tsar Paul undertook to send nine battalions of infantry, together with some

¹ Sacchinelli (p. 148) asserts that the convicts were despatched to join Ruffo at the suggestion of Nelson. This is untrue. Nelson had nothing to do with the matter. See Ferdinand's letter to Ruffo, 26th of March, 1799, Dumas, vol. v. p. 227.

² See *post*, pp. lxxvii to lxxxii.

³ 18th, Old Style.

artillery and a detachment of Cossacks, to assist Ferdinand in the expulsion of the French from his dominions. These troops were to march through Turkish territory to Zara, a port in Dalmatia, and from thence to cross the Adriatic to Taranto.

At the same time as they ascertained the terms of this treaty the court also learnt that Ludolf, the Neapolitan ambassador at Constantinople, had signed a treaty on the 21st of January, 1799, with the Sublime Porte, by which ten thousand Albanian irregulars were placed at the disposal of Ferdinand. With twelve thousand Russians to aid them, the court felt that the restoration of Ferdinand to his throne could not be far distant; but they did not welcome the prospect of being joined by the Turkish irregulars with the same enthusiasm. It was impossible to restrain the Albanians from indiscriminate butchery and pillage, and it was decided only to make use of them in the last extremity; for even the Bourbon sovereigns hesitated to expose their subjects to so fearful a scourge as a host of ten thousand marauding Mohammedans.

The twelve thousand men promised by the tsar were expected to embark at Zara by the middle of April at the very latest. If they were to land at Taranto, as provided by the treaty, they would have a long and difficult march to Naples before them, and the impoverished Neapolitan exchequer would have to bear the expense of their maintenance during that time. The court were therefore anxious that they should be brought to Palermo instead, where they could embark on board Nelson's ships, and proceed in a very few days to Naples, in which case the expense

of victualling them at sea would fall on the British. The reports received from the capital were of a highly encouraging character; the mass of the people were already weary of the yoke of the Parthenopean republic, and were ready to welcome the return of the Bourbons with enthusiasm. It was thought that a combined advance by the Christian army and the Russians, supported by Nelson from the sea, would suffice to end the business at one blow.

Nelson therefore determined to institute a rigorous blockade of the Bay of Naples, which would not only cut the French off from all supplies by sea, but would further prevent them from detaching any troops to reinforce their armies in the north of the peninsula, or to operate against Ruffo in Calabria.¹ His plan, as originally placed before the Neapolitan court, was that he should proceed in person, with all the ships he could muster, to the Bay of Naples, and there await the arrival of the Russians from Zara. This proposal was received somewhat coldly by the court, who had little faith in the efficacy of the suggested blockade, and were afraid, moreover, that the appearance of the British flag in the Bay of Naples might encourage the loyalists of the capital to rise before the times were ripe for such a movement. They therefore begged Nelson not to leave them, urging that the personal safety of the sovereigns would be imperilled thereby; and at the suggestion of Acton the command of the proposed expedition was given to Troubridge, who

¹ Nelson to Earl Spencer, 6th of April, 1799, *Despatches*, vol. vii. Add. clxxviii.

had arrived at Palermo on the 17th of March from Alexandria.¹

A special envoy, the Chevalier Micheroux, was also sent to Corfu, with instructions to spare no efforts to procure the immediate embarkation of the Russians at Zara, and also to urge that three thousand Russians, destined for the siege of Valetta, should be diverted to Sicily. But just as he was on the point of embarking,² no fewer than seven very much belated couriers arrived simultaneously at Palermo. The news they brought was that which the fugitive court had been yearning to hear for so long. War had at last broken out between France and Austria, and 120,000 Austrian and Russian troops were on their way to Italy under Suwarrow; but their pleasure at this cheering piece of news was considerably damped by the contents of a secret despatch from the Marchese di Gallo, the Neapolitan ambassador at Vienna, who informed them that Thugut was using all the means in his power to procure the diversion of Hermann's army to the north of Italy. This information, if correct, would shatter all the plans devised by Nelson and the court for the recovery of Naples, and Micheroux was hurriedly shipped off to Corfu, his instructions being supplemented by an order to do all he possibly could to thwart the machinations of Thugut.³

¹ Acton to Nelson, 20th of March, 1799. B.M. Add. MS. 34910, f. 42.

² *I.e.* 28th or 29th of March. Maresca gives the date as 2nd of April. This cannot be so, as the queen mentions the outbreak of war in a letter to Ruffo of 29th of March; *vide* Maresca, *Il Cavaliere Micheroux*, p. 50.

³ Maresca, *op. cit.* p. 50, *passim*.

The expedition under Troubridge sailed for the Bay of Naples on the 31st of March, 1799, and on the 3rd of April the islands of Procida and Ischia were taken possession of in the king's name.¹ The appearance of the British squadron not only encouraged the royalists of the city, but also produced a corresponding feeling of uneasiness among the republicans. It was rumoured that the king had accompanied the expedition to Procida, and the island was visited by crowds of enthusiastic loyalists who were anxious to pay their respects to their royal master. Naples itself was, as Troubridge roughly phrased it, 'in the devil of a ferment.' The terror which the French had instilled into the hearts of the turbulent *lazzaroni* began to die away, and the French and Parthenopean soldiers could no longer venture out at night into the streets with safety, owing to the bands of bravos who lurked in dark corners and alleys, waiting to poignard any belated stragglers who might pass their way.

Early in May Nelson received despatches from Lord St. Vincent which introduced a new and startling element into the situation. The French fleet, blockaded in the harbour of Brest by Admiral Bridport, had taken advantage of a thick fog to slip out unperceived by the British squadron, and had appeared a few days later off Cadiz. Bruix, who was in command of the French fleet, was anxious to effect a junction with the Spanish

¹ For Troubridge's instructions see *post*, p. 28. King Ferdinand to Nelson, 30th March, 1799. It should be noted that supreme authority, both in military and civil matters, was entrusted to Troubridge.

squadron at anchor in that port, but was thwarted by a strong gale which was blowing at the time. On the following day he passed the Straits of Gibraltar and headed for Toulon, pursued by St. Vincent and Keith with their combined squadrons, amounting to sixteen sail of the line.

Nelson was unaware of this new development until the 12th of May, when the brig *L'Espoir* arrived at Palermo with the intelligence that the Brest fleet had been seen off Oporto, heading for the Mediterranean, and that its objective was believed to be Malta in the first instance, and then Alexandria.¹

This news produced great alarm at court, where it was feared that Bruix might be tempted by the defenceless condition of Palermo to attack it on his way to Malta. Even if he passed by without doing so, they were convinced that it was his intention to proceed to Alexandria after raising the blockade of Malta, and there to embark the French army for a descent on Sicily or the mainland of Italy.²

A proclamation was therefore issued by the king calling on the Sicilian people to be ready to repel the French should they attempt to land at any point on the coasts of the island, and exciting their patriotism by an appeal to remember the Sicilian Vespers.³

Ever since the flight of the court from Naples, Nelson had looked upon the kingdom of Naples,

¹ St. Vincent to Nelson, 6th of May, 1799, *Dumas*, vol. iii. p. 350.

² Ferdinand IV to Ruffo, *Dumas*, vol. iii. p. 359.

³ Proclamation of 15th of May, 1799, *Sacchinelli*, p. 222.

and Sicily in particular, as being under his special protection, and their safety was to him the chief consideration. 'I am only sorry I cannot move to your help,' he wrote to St. Vincent, 'but this island appears to hang on my stay. Nothing could console the queen this night but my promise not to leave them unless the battle was to be fought off Sardinia.'¹

The emergency had succeeded in rousing him completely from the state of despondency and listlessness which had possessed him ever since his arrival at Palermo. The same vessel which had brought St. Vincent's despatches was at once sent off to Troubridge, ordering him to send the whole of his squadron, except one line-of-battle ship and a frigate, to call at Palermo for further orders,² as it was Nelson's intention to send them to Port Mahon, to be employed as St. Vincent might direct. At the same time the *Penelope* cutter was despatched to Malta with orders for Captain Ball to detach the *Goliath* and *Audacious*, and to forward them to the same destination.

On the following day, the 13th of May, Nelson changed his plans in consequence of information which had reached him, to the effect that Bruix had passed the Straits of Gibraltar and had been seen off Minorca. He decided to assemble his squadron at Maritimo, a small island off the western extremity of Sicily, where he could remain covering Palermo, which he declared 'should be protected to the last.' He therefore instructed Ball to abandon the

¹ 12th of May, 1799, *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 354.

² *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 352.

blockade of Malta, and to join him there; and similar orders were issued to the captains of the line-of-battle ships stationed at Leghorn and Salerno.

On the 17th Troubridge and his squadron reached Palermo; but it blew so hard that the ships were compelled to strike yards and topmasts, and to stand off and on till the 20th, when they were joined by Nelson in the *Vanguard*. They then stood to the westward, and cruised near Levanzo and Maritimo for several days in anxious expectation of the arrival of Ball and his squadron from Malta.

On the 28th of May news reached Nelson that Bruix had run into the harbour of Toulon, and that Masaredo, with the Spanish fleet, had left Cadiz and had arrived at Cartagena. It now became Lord St. Vincent's chief object to prevent the union of the two hostile fleets. So long as he could keep them apart he had little to fear; but if they effected a junction then the combined fleet, or the '*Gallispana*,' as Caroline called it, would be a serious menace both to Sicily and the Balearic Isles.

For the present, however, there was no fear of a descent on Sicily, and Nelson accordingly returned to Palermo. 'My reason for remaining in Sicily,' he explained to Lord St. Vincent, 'is the covering the blockade in Naples, and the certainty of preserving Sicily in case of attack, for if we were to withdraw our ships it would throw such a damper on the people that I am sure there would be no resistance. But from the favourable aspect of affairs in Italy, I am sure no attack will be made here whilst

the French know we have such a force to act against them.'¹

Whilst the court at Palermo and their rebel subjects at Naples were alike—though with very different feelings—anxiously watching for the 'Gallispans,' Ruffo had been steadily advancing towards the Adriatic coast. In order to realise what had been taking place on the mainland we must carry our minds back to the early part of April, when the Chevalier Micheroux was sent off to Corfu in order to hasten the embarkation of Hermann's Russians at Zara. Micheroux reached his destination on the 9th of April, and discovered that the Russian admiral Usciakoff, in response to urgent appeals for help from the Apulian royalists, was about to send a small detachment from his squadron to their assistance. He also found to his surprise that Usciakoff was nevertheless in complete ignorance of Ruffo's successes in Calabria, and had received no news from his government either of the treaty of St. Petersburg, or of the outbreak of war on the Rhine and in North Italy. At Usciakoff's request he therefore drew up an official note for the allied admirals, in which he stated that the provinces of the mainland had revolted against the Parthenopean Government; that a British squadron was blockading the Bay of Naples; and that the capital itself was only held by a weak French army, which it would be impossible for the Directory to reinforce in view of the commencement of hostilities on the Rhine and in North Italy. He added that under

¹ Nelson to St. Vincent, 28th of May, 1799, *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 367.

these circumstances he had been ordered by the King of Naples to urge that the Russian army, which was to embark at Zara, should be brought direct to Naples.

Usciakoff's reply to this note was unfavourable to the pretensions of the Neapolitan court. He pointed out that to bring 12,000 troops from Zara to Naples would involve a heavy expenditure of money and a serious loss of time. He suggested, therefore, that the bulk of them should be landed at Manfredonia to reinforce the army of the Holy Faith; and promised that he would take the remainder on board his squadron to join the British in the Bay of Naples.

These terms were not those which Micheroux had been instructed to press for; but he felt that, as it was extremely doubtful whether the Russians would ever arrive at Zara, it would be useless to protract the negotiations with Usciakoff, and a plan of operations was accordingly arranged between them on the above basis.¹

In the meanwhile Micheroux decided to accompany the expedition which was to sail to the assistance of the Apulian royalists, and which consisted of two Russian frigates, carrying a small detachment of infantry, a Neapolitan corvette the *Fortuna*, a Turkish corvette, and a brig flying the colours of the Bey of Tripoli; the whole being under the command of the Russian Commodore Sorokin.

The appearance of this force off the Adriatic coast was welcomed by the inhabitants with the greatest enthusiasm. Brindisi, Bari, Barletta, and

¹ Maresca, *Il Cavaliere Micheroux*, pp. 59-62.

Manfredonia all fell in rapid succession into the hands of the royalists. The news of the arrival of a Russian expedition reached Ruffo, who was then at Altamura, towards the end of May, and he at once wrote to Sorokin entreating him to send some Russian soldiers to reinforce the army of the Holy Faith, pointing out that the presence of a body of regular troops, however small, would be of the very greatest assistance to him. In response to this appeal a detachment of 400 Russian infantrymen with four guns was landed by Sorokin at Manfredonia, and placed under the command of Captain Baillie, an Irishman in the service of the tsar. Micheroux also attached himself to this force in the capacity of his Sicilian Majesty's minister plenipotentiary with the Russian armies.

The court at Palermo had by this time become convinced that there was no longer any prospect of the arrival of the 12,000 Russian troops promised by the treaty of St. Petersburg. On the other hand the Parthenopean republic was in a position of the direst peril. The French had retreated to the north of Italy, and the authority of the republic did not extend for more than a mile or two beyond the city walls. It was in fact very doubtful whether the royalists in the city itself could be kept in check for any length of time. If an insurrection should break out before the arrival of a disciplined force, it was evident that it would be accompanied by disorder of the very worst kind, which it would subsequently prove almost impossible to suppress.

Ferdinand and his advisers, therefore, made up their minds to wait no longer for reinforcements

from Austria or Russia, but to rely on their own resources for the recovery of the capital. The only obstacle which stood in the way of an immediate advance on Naples was the uncertainty of Nelson's position. If the Spanish fleet under Masaredo were to be defeated, or blockaded in Cartagena, then the road would be clear for an expedition to Naples. But if on the other hand Masaredo were to effect a junction with Bruix, then the British fleet would at once be recalled to join St. Vincent, and the proposed advance would have to be adjourned *sine die*. Nelson himself was hourly expecting a summons to join the commander-in-chief, and was in a state of feverish excitement at the prospect of coming to blows with the enemy. Nevertheless his situation was most difficult and unpleasant. The king and queen, backed by the potent influence of Lady Hamilton, were urging him to proceed as soon as possible to Naples, for they feared that if the Franco-Spanish fleet were to enter the Bay of Naples new life would be instilled into the moribund republic. Under ordinary circumstances Nelson would gladly have acceded to their wishes. He considered it to be his principal duty to forward the interests of the fugitive monarchs by every means in his power ; and he was further most anxious, either for personal or for political reasons, that his squadron should be the principal instrument in replacing Ferdinand on his throne. On the other hand he was reluctant to surrender the strategic advantages which he derived from his position at Palermo, where he was able not only to protect Sicily, but also to join St. Vincent at Minorca in a much shorter time than he could from

Naples. During the next few weeks we find Nelson a prey to these divergent interests; but he finally resolved to run the risk of abandoning Sicily and to make a bold dash on Naples.

On the 5th of June welcome reinforcements reached Palermo in the shape of a small British squadron of four sail of the line under the command of Rear-Admiral Duckworth. One of the newly arrived vessels was the *Foudroyant*, an eighty-gun ship, and Nelson at once shifted his flag to her from the old *Vanguard*, which was in a very rotten and unseaworthy condition.

It seems to have been the arrival of this squadron which first induced Nelson to lend a favourable ear to the entreaties of the Neapolitan court, for that very same evening he wrote to St. Vincent informing him that it was not yet decided, but was highly probable, that his squadron would sail for Naples within forty-eight hours.

In any case a joint expedition must have been arranged soon after this event. On the 10th of June the king wrote to Nelson informing him that the state of affairs in the capital was such as to require the immediate presence of a force of regular troops, and that he was about to send all the men who could be spared from Sicily to Naples under the command of the hereditary prince. This measure, he added, would, however, be of no avail without the assistance of the British, and he therefore begged Nelson to support the expedition with his 'powerful and distinguished fleet.' How entire was the confidence reposed in Nelson by the Neapolitan court is shown by the remarkable extent of

the powers which the king proposed to bestow on him.¹ It is sufficient here to state that they relegated the hereditary prince to the position of a mere figurehead, and constituted Nelson the king's *alter ego* and plenipotentiary. Their nature and limits will be dealt with in greater detail hereafter.

Unfortunately we do not possess Nelson's reply to the king's request; but in all probability he had not yet made up his mind to run the risk of leaving Palermo, for two days later Lady Hamilton, at the instigation of the queen, joined her entreaties to those of the court. It was easier for Nelson to say 'No' to Ferdinand than it was for him to resist the blandishments of Lady Hamilton and the pathetic appeals of the queen. He finally gave way, and on the morning of the 13th the prince was taken on board the *Foudroyant*. The squadron at once weighed anchor, and made sail for the Bay of Naples. Nelson appears to have been troubled with qualms of conscience as to the propriety of the step he was taking, for in reporting his departure to St. Vincent he was careful to assure the latter that he did not anticipate that anything more would be necessary than the mere appearance of the fleet before Naples, and that in any case he did not intend to risk 'a mast of any one of his squadron.'

The coast line of Sicily had hardly disappeared below the horizon when two large seventy-fours were seen approaching the expedition. They proved to be the *Bellerophon* and the *Powerful*, which had been sent by Keith, who had superseded St. Vincent in the chief command in the Mediter-

¹ See *post*, p. 62.

anean, with the news that he believed the French fleet to be bound for Naples, and that an east wind had prevented him from following them round Corsica. As his squadron was too weak for him to engage the French with any hope of success Nelson at once made the signal to tack, and the expedition stood back to Palermo, where they arrived, to the great dismay and surprise of the court, on the morning of the 14th. The prince and his troops were at once disembarked, and on the 16th Nelson got under way again and proceeded to the island of Maritimo, where he proposed to wait for such further reinforcements as would enable him to go in search of the enemy's fleet, 'when,' so he wrote to Keith, 'not one moment shall be lost in bringing them to battle, for I consider the best defence for his Sicilian Majesty's dominions is to place myself alongside the French.'

In the meantime Ruffo had been pushing on vigorously towards the capital. Avellino was reached on the 7th of June, and on the 11th the cardinal halted his forces at Nola, within a few miles of the capital. On the 13th the army of the Holy Faith had reached the gates of the city, and the broken fragments of the republican army threw themselves into the castles of the city. The scenes which ensued baffle description, and are unsurpassed in horror even by the very worst excesses of the Parisian mob during the Terror. Ruffo's Calabrese vied with the *lazzaroni* in committing every conceivable kind of atrocity, and all those who were in any degree suspected of Jacobinism were tortured or murdered with all the terrible refinements a fiendish

cruelty could suggest. The Bourbon colours were in many cases a cloak for private vendettas ; in others they were donned to facilitate the commission of acts of robbery and murder. Ruffo was powerless to intervene, as the ruffians who formed no inconsiderable portion of the so-called Holy Army had got quite out of hand. The scenes of the 14th were repeated on the following day, with this difference only, that the conduct of the royalists was even more atrocious than before. No progress was made with the task of reducing the Jacobin garrisons, which still held out in four or five positions in different parts of the city.

In the meantime the Anglo-Sicilian flotilla cruising in the bay had gained a small success. Foote had been kept inactive during the whole of the 14th of June, partly owing to bad weather, but chiefly on account of the want of light-draught vessels, which could be manœuvred close in shore without fear of their going aground. On the 15th, however, he was reinforced by some Sicilian galleys, and stood into the bay again towards the town of Castellamare, which surrendered, together with the fort of Revigliano after a feeble resistance. The Parthenopean troops garrisoning these two places were allowed to march out with military honours ; and Foote undertook that all those who wished to leave the country should be taken to France under the protection of the British flag.

To return to the position of affairs in Naples. The Jacobins were in possession of all the various strategic points of the city with the exception of the fort of St. Elmo, which was held by a detachment

of 500 French troops under Méjean, which had been left there by Macdonald when he evacuated Naples. The Jacobins held the two castles of Nuovo and Uovo, which command the entrance to the port, and they also occupied the strong position of Pizzofalcone, a rocky height lying midway between these two castles. A small portion of their number, chiefly students, had taken up a position in the royal palace within a stone's throw of the Castello Nuovo ; whilst another detachment, which had sought admission to St. Elmo, and had been turned away by Méjean, had seized the monastery of San Martino, which is virtually an annexe to the castle.

On the 16th of June several batteries of heavy guns were brought to bear on the republican strongholds, and the garrisons of Uovo and Nuovo showed a disposition to discuss the terms upon which they would be prepared to capitulate. Their position was a critical one, and it was only the possibility of their being succoured by the Franco-Spanish fleet which prevented them from surrendering at once. It was clearly their best policy to endeavour to procure as long a suspension of hostilities as possible, and they therefore opened negotiations with the cardinal by a suggestion that an armistice of two days should be granted to them for the purpose of enabling them to deliberate as to the course they should pursue. This proposition was peremptorily rejected, though Ruffo allowed them a truce of two hours, within which time they were required to formulate their demands.

The stated period elapsed without any communication from the castles, and the royalist batteries in

consequence reopened fire, thus convincing the republicans that Ruffo was not to be beguiled into wasting time over fruitless negotiations. Oronzio Massa, the commandant of Nuovo, now hoisted the white flag, and sent out an officer to inform the cardinal that the republicans could not treat without the concurrence of Méjean, and that for this reason they desired an immediate suspension of hostilities, and a safe-conduct for a messenger whom they wished to send to St. Elmo to confer with the French general. Ruffo was, however, unwilling to allow any communications between the two castles at this stage, and the negotiations were therefore protracted well on into the following day.

On the morning of the 16th, whilst the royalists were bombarding the forts, Foote got under way from Castellamare and returned to Naples, where he anchored opposite Sir William Hamilton's country house at Piedigrotta, for the purpose of supporting a battery in the Tuilleries, which was busily engaged in pitching shells into the castle of Uovo. During the night the garrison of this fortress made a sortie and, uniting with a force which had come down the hill from St. Elmo by the Petraja steps, stormed the battery and spiked all its guns. This disaster rendered Foote's presence unnecessary, and on the morning of the 17th he stood out into the bay again, where he received a message from Procida that Nelson had been compelled to return to Palermo and to disembark the crown prince and his troops. Captain Oswald, of the *Perseus*, was at once sent off again to Ruffo to give him this news, which was likely to affect the situation very seriously,

and to urge him to lose no time in getting possession of the castles, even though it should be necessary to grant them favourable terms. Oswald had an interview with the cardinal late that same night, and brought back a letter in which Ruffo informed Foote that he believed that the garrisons of Uovo and Nuovo were ready to surrender, but were apparently reluctant to strike their colours to a priest, though it was highly probable that they would capitulate to the British. He therefore begged Foote to intervene, and named the terms which he was willing to concede to the Jacobins. 'It is granted to the French to be carried back by sea to France with their effects and property at his Majesty's expense; and those who are not French are allowed the liberty of following, and to embark with their effects, but at their own expense.'¹ In response to this appeal, Foote on the following day (the 18th) sent Oswald again to the commandant of Uovo with a letter, in which he entreated the patriots to surrender, and offered them a refuge on board the British men-of-war. These terms were generous; more so in fact than the exigencies of the military situation warranted, but the republicans, who were probably counting on the arrival of the Franco-Spanish fleet, refused even to listen to Oswald, and warned him off in an exceedingly brusque manner.² This result was most disappointing to Foote, who went on shore at once and paid a visit to Ruffo, to whom he spoke very freely about the desultory manner in which the operations against the castles were being carried on. It was finally arranged that

¹ See *post*, p. 97.

² See *post*, p. 103.

a vigorous attack should be made not only on Uovo and Nuovo, but also on the French in St. Elmo; and Foote promised to lend Ruffo two mortars and to support him with all the force at his disposal. Oswald immediately proceeded off Uovo in the *Perseus*, and commenced a bombardment which was kept up all through the night. The Jacobins in Nuovo were not, however, animated with the same stubborn spirit as characterised the garrison of Uovo, and the resumption of hostilities led them to renew their efforts to secure terms from the cardinal. During the night of the 18th they sent out a flag of truce to Micheroux, who, with the Russians, formed the mainstay of the besieging force, requesting once more that they might be allowed to communicate with Méjean at St. Elmo, with a view to capitulating. Micheroux, whose inclination to act as though he held an independent command had more than once brought him into collision with Ruffo, took it upon himself on the morning of the 19th to grant an armistice, and to order the suspension of all hostilities in the district which lay between the Chiaja and the fort of Carmine. This hasty proceeding placed Ruffo in a very difficult position. On the one hand, the cardinal feared that the whole transaction was only a ruse on the part of the Jacobins to gain time for the purpose of repairing their battered and ruined defences. On the other hand, if he were to disavow Micheroux's action, he would be taking a very serious responsibility on himself. The Franco-Spanish fleet might arrive at any moment and neutralise all the advantages which had been gained at the cost of so much suffering and blood-

shed. The mob might also grow weary of waiting, and resolve to bring matters to a conclusion themselves by storming the forts, a proceeding which would result in terrible carnage. He therefore contented himself with administering a very severe rebuke to the officious Micheroux,¹ and decided to allow the armistice to run its course. That same morning Foote, to his great surprise, received a letter from the cardinal² requesting him to cease hostilities whilst the flag of truce was flying, as negotiations with the castles were pending. This intimation must have struck him as inconsistent with Ruffo's declaration of the preceding day, that it was not a suitable occasion on which to listen to capitulations. Foote sent off an officer that same night to the cardinal to acquaint him that the British were not accustomed to suspend hostilities for such long periods, and that, in view of the fact that the King of Great Britain and Ireland was one of Ferdinand's chief allies, he thought it was only right that Ruffo should inform the commander of the British squadron of what was taking place. The cardinal, in reply to this message, shifted the whole burden of responsibility on to Micheroux's shoulders, and requested Foote to address all further communications with reference to the armistice to the latter.³ Micheroux, however, took no notice of Foote's letter to the cardinal, which had been handed to him, and Foote in consequence wrote to Ruffo again complaining that nothing could be more prejudicial to the interests of the King of Naples than to have

¹ See *post*, p. 126.

² See *post*, p. 127.

³ See *post*, p. 131.

such a multiplicity of chiefs, and that he for one refused to act with anyone except the cardinal himself.¹ The only answer Ruffo made to this remonstrance was, that he was entirely in the hands of the Russians; that they were conducting the negotiations, and that he could not think of doing anything which would offend them.² Later on in the day Foote received the draft of a capitulation which had been concluded between the allies and the Jacobins, which he signed, with a protest against the manner in which the negotiations had been carried on. On the 22nd of June Micheroux forwarded the formal capitulation, and Foote also added his signature to this, 'saving the honour and rights of his sovereign and the British nation.'³

Opinions have differed as to the wisdom of this hastily concluded treaty. From the military point of view it is difficult to defend it, because—as Captain Mahan has pointed out—it cannot be deemed a decisive gain.⁴ It failed, in fact, to secure the very object for which it was principally concluded—namely, to protect the city from a possible attack from the sea. This advantage could only have been obtained by the surrender of St. Elmo, which would in turn have rendered the other two castles untenable, as they were entirely dominated by its guns. So long as St. Elmo remained in the hands of the enemy the reconquest of the city was of necessity incomplete. The general opinion at the time was that the terms of the treaty were unduly favourable

¹ See *post*, p. 246.

² See *post*, p. 145.

³ See *post*, p. 177.

⁴ *English Historical Review* for July 1899.

to the Jacobins. Thurn, the commander of the Neapolitan frigate *Minerva*, in notifying Acton on the 21st of June of the conclusion of a capitulation, remarked that, 'the terms were not, speaking generally, the most advantageous; all the more so seeing that the castle of St. Elmo was not included in it.'¹ The treaty was undoubtedly the handiwork of Micheroux, notwithstanding the fact that the latter endeavoured subsequently to thrust the whole responsibility for it on to Ruffo's shoulders. From the very beginning he had warmly advocated a policy of clemency towards the rebels, and his endeavours to put his views into practice led Acton to rebuke him for his 'excessive philanthropy.' As early as the 30th of May he had submitted a draft of a proposed capitulation² with the Jacobins at Naples to Ruffo, suggesting that the cardinal should authorise him to open negotiations on that basis. A comparison of this draft with the actual treaty reveals such strong resemblances that it is impossible to doubt that Micheroux was the author of the latter document. Ruffo's reply is instructive, as it shows that he did not at that time consider himself authorised to negotiate with the rebels. 'Gladly would I consent to it,' he wrote, 'but I tell you this as a friend, not feeling myself authorised to promise it. If your Excellency has instructions from court analogous to your sentiments you may do so, but I do not feel it to be opportune.'³

The want of determination which constituted the

¹ See *post*, p. 170.

² Maresca, *Il Cavaliere Micheroux*, p. 147.

³ *Ibid.* p. 152

fatal flaw in Ruffo's character was never more in evidence than when he consented to negotiate with the Jacobins in the castles of Uovo and Nuovo. In order to extricate himself for the moment from what was undoubtedly a position of great difficulty, he had entered into a treaty which was outside the limits of his authority, and which he must have known would in all probability be disowned by the king as soon as he learnt of its terms. It is not surprising, therefore, that the cardinal should have been anxious to keep the court at Palermo in ignorance of what had taken place at Naples until the provisions of the capitulation should have been carried into effect beyond all possibility of repudiation. One would naturally expect, under the circumstances, to find him in daily communication with Palermo, but between the 17th and the 21st of June—precisely the time during which the negotiations with the castles were proceeding—he maintained an absolute silence.¹ It was for this reason that the news of the events which had followed the entry of the army of the Holy Faith into Naples reached the court through other channels; and rumour was contradicted by rumour in such rapid succession that it was quite impossible to form any correct idea of what was taking place at Naples.²

It was not until the 21st of June that the cardinal made the slightest allusion to the possibility of terms being granted to the patriots. His letter of this date was obviously intended as a preparative for the news of the conclusion and execution of the capitulation.

¹ Caroline to Lady Hamilton, 25th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 210.

² Caroline to Lady Hamilton, 19th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 132.

It speaks of the 'immense danger of the city' from the guns of St. Elmo, and also of the plundering of houses by the royalists and the 'cursed Turks,' which had driven all respectable people into the country. Most significant, however, is the passage in which the cardinal hints at the prospect of his being obliged to come to terms with the Jacobins: 'It seems that these considerations may render us clement with the rascals shut up in the castles and compassionate towards the many hostages who are imprisoned in them.'¹ This letter did not, however, reach Palermo till the 24th or 25th, and the court had some days previously been informed by a message from Procida that negotiations were pending with the republicans, and that a truce had been granted to the garrisons of the castles with a view to a capitulation.² The cardinal's earlier despatch of the 17th had also been received, and it painted the situation at Naples in such dismal hues, that the court, seeing his 'disagreeable position,' and fearing that it might tempt him to exceed his powers, and to conclude a capitulation on terms other than those of unconditional surrender, accepted an offer which had been made by Nelson to go to Naples with his squadron, and to put an end to the crisis which seemed to be as far removed from solution as ever.³ Nelson was at this time still cruising off Ustica, whither he had proceeded after disembarking the crown prince and his troops on the 16th of June. It was not till the morning of the 21st that he

¹ Ruffo to Acton, 21st of June, 1799, *post*, p. 149.

² Ferdinand to Ruffo, 20th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 139.

³ Acton to Hamilton, 20th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 143.

received a despatch from Hamilton informing him that Ruffo had concluded an armistice with the Jacobins, and that the court had in consequence accepted Nelson's offer to present himself before Naples for the purpose of procuring an immediate surrender of the castles.¹

The receipt of this letter placed Nelson in a very difficult and trying position. For the second time he was called on to decide whether he would be justified in abandoning the strong strategic position in which he covered both Sicily and Egypt, for the purpose of bringing matters to a conclusion at Naples. His mental anguish was extreme; but he finally decided to risk all on one throw, and to sail at once with his squadron for the Bay of Naples. 'I am agitated,' he wrote to Hamilton, 'but my resolution is fixed. For Heaven's sake suffer not any one to oppose it. I shall not be gone eight days. No harm can come to Sicily. . . . I am full of grief and anxiety. I must go. It will finish the war. It will give a sprig of laurel to your affectionate friend Nelson.'²

It has often been alleged that Nelson proceeded on his mission to Naples at his own request—an assertion which appears to be based on the fact that he offered his services to the king in the letter which is referred to by Hamilton. The precise terms of this offer are not known, but it is clear that they did not at the most amount to more than a revival of his acceptance of the king's proposal of

¹ Hamilton to Acton, 21st of June, 1799, *post*, p. 142.

² Nelson to Hamilton, 21st of June, 1799, *post*, p. 144. Cf. Nelson to Lady Hamilton, 20th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 136.

the 10th of June, accompanied this time with a condition that his promise should only become operative on the happening of a contingency—namely, the ‘certainty of the French fleet’s being disposed of somehow.’ His hand was forced by the fact that the court construed his letter as embodying what in commercial phraseology would be termed a ‘firm offer,’ and this, coupled with the report of the conclusion of an armistice, under what appeared to be suspicious circumstances, induced him to waive the condition he had attached to his offer and to agree to sail for Naples, where he felt that his presence was urgently required.

This resolution was promptly acted on. Almost immediately after the receipt of Hamilton’s letter Nelson left his squadron and returned to Palermo, where he arrived on the afternoon of the 21st of June. He hurried on shore, and an informal kind of state council was held,¹ at which it was decided that he should proceed at once to Naples with Sir William and Lady Hamilton for the purpose of ousting the Jacobins from their last remaining strongholds in the city. He was to summon them to surrender immediately, and if they declined or wished to make terms, he was authorised to take the castles by storm. No commission in writing, conferring these powers on Nelson, has been found among his papers, or was ever produced or referred to by him; but, as has already been stated, his promise to intervene for the pacification of the capital was merely a renewal of the undertaking he had previously given to the king in response to the

¹ Nelson to Keith, 27th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 264.

latter's appeal for help on the 10th of June. It is more than probable, therefore, that the powers conferred on him on that occasion were regarded as being still in force, since the circumstances which had called them into being continued to exist, and the enterprise had merely been postponed and not definitely abandoned. At all events the conclusions arrived at by the council are sufficiently clearly indicated in the letter which the queen wrote to Cardinal Ruffo immediately afterwards.¹ Not a moment was lost; the Hamiltons hurried on board the *Foudroyant*, and Nelson set sail that same evening to rejoin his command off Ustica. By noon on the 22nd the whole fleet was under way for Naples, 'stealing on with light winds,' which Sir William Hamilton found 'very pleasant,'² but which doubtless caused the impatient spirit of Nelson to chafe under the delay. When the squadron was within a short distance of Naples news was received that an armistice had been granted to the Jacobins for twenty-one days; at the close of which period they were to evacuate the castles and to be taken to France, if the Franco-Spanish fleet did not in the meantime come to their rescue. Nelson—as he was frequently in the habit of doing—seems to have at once committed his views to paper in the form of an opinion, which was briefly to the following effect. An armistice, he argues quite correctly, is an agreement determinable at the option of either party thereto on due notice being given, and he goes on to say that in

¹ Caroline to Ruffo, 21st of June, 1799, *post*, p. 165.

² Hamilton to Acton, 22nd of June, 1799, *post*, p. 177.

this particular instance it was clearly intended that the agreement should be defeasible on the arrival of reinforcements for either of the belligerents. He therefore decides to pursue the following course of action : to propose to the cardinal that a declaration in their joint names should be sent in to the French and patriots, to the effect that the arrival of the British fleet had put an end to the armistice. The French were to have two hours in which to evacuate St. Elmo, whereupon they would be sent to France 'without the stipulation of their being prisoners of war.' 'As to rebels and traitors,' the opinion continues, 'no power on earth has a right to stand between their gracious king and them ; they must instantly throw themselves on the clemency of their sovereign, for no other terms will be allowed them ; nor will the French be allowed even to name them in any capitulation. If these terms are not complied with in the time above mentioned—viz. two hours for the French, and instant submission on the part of the rebels—such very favourable conditions will never be again offered.'¹

Nelson as yet only saw 'in a glass darkly,' and was unaware of the conclusion of a formal capitulation by Ruffo ; but this document is important, as it shows very clearly the distinction which existed in Nelson's mind between the armistice preceding a capitulation and the capitulation itself.

On the morning of the 24th of June the British warships passed the straits separating the island of Capri from the mainland, and stood into the Bay of Naples. Their appearance was quite unexpected

¹ *Fost*, p. 197.

(except by the cardinal, who had just received the queen's letter of the 21st, informing him of Nelson's departure from Palermo), and was hailed with delight by the royalists, whilst the Jacobins in the castles, who at first had fondly believed the sails in the offing to be those of the Franco-Spanish fleet, gave vent to their feelings of disappointment by tearing up their handkerchiefs and exhibiting other signs of their mortification.¹

As the Foudroyant drew nearer to the city Nelson perceived the white flag hoisted on the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, and on board the British frigate the Seahorse. He at once signalled to Foote that the truce was at an end. Shortly after entering the bay he had received from De Curtis, the governor of Procida, and from Foote, copies of the capitulation which had been concluded by Ruffo ; and the position of affairs was no doubt explained to him by Foote, who came on board the Vanguard at 4 P.M.² This information, however, did not cause him to waver for an instant in his resolve to procure an immediate surrender of the castles, and he entrusted Hamilton with the duty of expressing his intentions to the cardinal in a letter which was delivered to Ruffo the same evening³ by Trou-

¹ *Diario Napoletano* (*Archivio Storico*, vol. xxiv. p. 211).

² Hamilton to Acton, 25th of June, *post*, p. 206.

³ Hamilton to Ruffo, 24th of June, 5 P.M., *post*, p. 205. There is some doubt as to whether the two captains visited Ruffo for the first time on the 24th or on the 25th. Micheroux (*post*, p. 114) assigns the first visit to the 24th. Sacchinelli's narrative is at this juncture so confused and inaccurate as to be quite unreliable. It is enough to remark that he alleges that Ruffo visited Nelson on the 24th. Hamilton on the 24th (*post*, p. 205) writes at 5 P.M. as though the two captains had already gone to warn

bridge and Ball, who were sent on shore to the headquarters of the army of the Holy Faith at the Ponte della Maddalena, with instructions to give a detailed explanation of Nelson's views to the cardinal. The discussion which took place was so heated that nothing was agreed upon except that St. Elmo should be summoned to surrender within the space of two hours.

On the following morning, the 25th, the two captains were sent on shore again; but they seem to have despaired of obtaining any concessions from the cardinal, for they first of all visited Micheroux, to whom they handed a summons to the commandant of St. Elmo, drawn up in the name of Nelson, with a request that it might be forwarded to its destination. Micheroux immediately sent off a flag of truce to Méjean with this document, and then accompanied the British officers to the cardinal's headquarters. The discussion, which had come to such

the cardinal to be ready to act with Nelson at daybreak on the following day; but in writing to Acton on the 25th (*post*, p. 214) he states that 'his letter to the cardinal of the 24th was delivered by the two captains on the morning of the 25th. Nelson, writing to Duckworth on the 25th (*post*, p. 216), states that Troubridge and Ball 'are gone to the cardinal.' This letter was written early on the 25th, before the fleet had anchored. The fleet did not anchor till 11 to 12 A.M. on the 25th, although the Foudroyant anchored at 8 on the previous evening (see *post* p. 201). On the whole it seems as though Troubridge and Ball did go ashore to the cardinal's headquarters on the 24th, in spite of the contradiction contained in Hamilton's two letters, and the fact that the logs do not mention the absence of either of the two captains from their ships.

Troubridge and Ball were frequently in attendance on the cardinal at this time. They visited him on the 26th of June to arrange an attack on St. Elmo (*post*, p. 233), and again on the 27th for the same purpose (see *post*, p. 267).

an untimely end on the previous evening, was now resumed, and was again conducted with great heat on both sides. As a quarrel seemed to be imminent it was finally proposed by Micheroux, and agreed to by both parties, that the cardinal should visit Nelson on board the Vanguard that afternoon, and thresh the matter out with him in person.

At this second interview Ball and Troubridge presented the following document in Nelson's own hand to the cardinal, asking that it should be communicated to the garrisons of Uovo and Nuovo :

'Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson, K.B., Commander of his Britannic Majesty's fleet in the Bay of Naples, acquaints the rebellious subjects of his Sicilian Majesty's in the castles of Uovo and Nuovo that he will not permit them to embark or quit those places. They must surrender themselves to his Majesty's royal mercy.'¹

Ruffo flatly refused to send in either this declaration or a summons to St. Elmo which accompanied it. He said that he had concluded the capitulation 'as the best he could do in his weak state to save the city of Naples from destruction,'² and that he could not depart from what he had signed; though he admitted that Nelson was under no obligation to respect the treaty, and could do 'what he thought best for the king's service.' As far as he (Ruffo) was concerned he was tired of the situation, but he still thought he had acted for the best. Troubridge then put the following plain question to the cardinal: 'If Lord Nelson breaks the armistice, will your

¹ *Post*, p. 217.

² Hamilton to Acton, 25th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 215.

Eminence assist him in his attack with men or guns?' To this the cardinal replied emphatically: 'I will neither assist him with men or with guns.'¹ According to Sacchinelli the cardinal concluded the interview by delivering a written ultimatum to the two captains for presentation to Nelson.²

It is extremely doubtful whether any such document was ever drawn up by Ruffo. Sacchinelli, who is often inaccurate, had a habit of paraphrasing what he alleged to be letters written by the cardinal. In no other of the contemporary accounts of this episode is the present document even mentioned; and it would be very strange if so remarkable a declaration had escaped the attention not only of Hamilton, who was constantly at Nelson's elbow, but also of Micheroux, who was always to the fore in any negotiations which were going on, quite regardless of the fact that his intervention was by no means requested or welcomed. In all probability the above ultimatum is merely a *résumé* or *précis* of the emphatic refusal returned by the cardinal to the requests made by Troubridge and Ball. On the afternoon of the 25th, in accordance with the arrangement made with Ball and Troubridge at Micheroux's suggestion, Ruffo visited Nelson on board the *Foudroyant*. This was the first meeting between the principals in the transaction, and the result was a long and somewhat stormy interview. The two Hamiltons were present, and acted alternately as

¹ This interview is reported in Nelson's letter to Keith of the 27th of June, *post*, p. 264, and also in Hamilton's letter to Acton of the 25th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 215.

² *Post*, p. 219.

interpreters for Nelson, who spoke no language but English. Neither of the parties would yield an inch from the position they had originally taken up, and it needed all the phlegm of Sir William and all the gentleness and suavity of Lady Hamilton to prevent matters from coming to an unwelcome conclusion. Finally, it became clear to Nelson that the cardinal was not to be cajoled or frightened into disowning the capitulation, and so he abruptly put an end to the discussion by declaring that an admiral was no match for a cardinal in talking; and that he therefore preferred to express his opinions in writing. This he proceeded to do in the following memorandum:

‘Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson arrived with the British fleet the 24th of June in the Bay of Naples, and found a treaty entered into with the rebels, which, in his opinion, cannot be carried into execution without the approbation of his Sicilian Majesty.’¹ As it seemed to be impossible for any compromise to be arranged with regard to the capitulation, this subject was dropped and other matters were taken under consideration.

Nelson offered to send 1,200 marines on shore to assist Ruffo in repelling a possible attack by the French in St. Elmo, but the cardinal, who was probably still feeling rather sore at Nelson’s vigorous denunciation of the treaty, made so many difficulties as to providing them with quarters that the proposal was withdrawn. Nothing, therefore, resulted from the interview, beyond a promise by Ruffo that he would ‘let them know at the castles of St. Elmo,

¹ *Post*, p. 217.

Nuovo, and Uovo that he could not answer for Lord Nelson's allowing of the armistice to continue.'¹

As soon as the cardinal had returned to his headquarters he called together a meeting of the allied commanders, Baillie, Achmet, and Micheroux, and laid the situation before them. At his instigation a protest was drawn up and signed by Baillie and Achmet, in which it was stated *inter alia* that if the treaty were violated 'an abominable outrage would be committed against public honour, and they therefore entreated Nelson to recognise the capitulation . . . holding responsible before God and to the world whoever should dare to impede its execution.'²

Micheroux, who was in all probability the author of this somewhat bombastic manifesto, went on board the Foudroyant and made an attempt to present it to Nelson, who refused, however, to have anything to do either with the protest or with its bearer, and instructed Hamilton to inform Ruffo that he was quite determined to negotiate with no one but the cardinal himself.³ In the meantime Ruffo proceeded to fulfil his promise to let the garrisons of Uovo and Nuovo know that he could not answer for Lord Nelson's allowing of the armistice to continue. He accordingly wrote to Massa, the commandant of Castello Nuovo, a letter, in which he advised the patriots to avail themselves

¹ Hamilton to Acton, 25th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 214.

² *Post*, p. 218.

³ Hamilton to Ruffo, 25th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 219. Sacchinelli gives the 24th as the date of the protest, but is obviously mistaken in so doing.

of Article 5 of the capitulation, and to abandon their forts, retreating by land.¹

It is difficult to suppose that this proposal was seriously meant. It was mere mockery to invite the Jacobins to leave the castles for the streets of the city, where hordes of fanatical ruffians were thirsting for their blood. Even if they were to succeed in getting away from Naples, where were they to go? The nearest haven of refuge was at Rome, but to reach it they would have to pass through the guerilla bands of Mammone and Fra Diavolo, who were in the habit of putting to death, with all manner of horrible tortures, any Frenchmen or republicans who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. The conclusion that Ruffo made this offer to save his face is irresistible. At all events, Massa decisively and somewhat rudely rejected the cardinal's proposition, and demanded an escort to accompany an envoy, whom he proposed to send to St. Elmo to confer with Méjean.²

It is most unfortunate that we do not know the nature of the reply which was given by Méjean to Massa's emissary. It is quite possible that Méjean advised the republicans to accept the suggestion contained in Ruffo's letter, and there is some evidence to support this contention. We are told in a contemporary diary that at half-past seven on the evening of the 25th of June a trumpeter was sent round the city to announce that the surrender of the castles of Uovo and Nuovo had been arranged with Méjean, and to warn the public to refrain from

¹ Ruffo to Massa, 25th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 222.

² Massa to Ruffo, 25th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 223.

molesting the persons who would soon be evacuating the castles.¹

It was now dusk, and the cardinal began to be afraid that the Jacobins in the castles might, in a fit of despair, take advantage of the cover afforded by darkness, and make a sortie which would be certain to end in bloodshed. His feelings of resentment towards Nelson had by this time abated considerably, and at a late hour on the 25th he wrote to Nelson accepting the latter's offer of 1,200 marines, which he had previously declined, and undertaking to find quarters for them in his own house, where they would be out of reach of the shells from St. Elmo.²

This letter is also important as proving once and for all that the garrisons of Nuovo and Uovo were made acquainted with Nelson's refusal to recognise the capitulation. 'The letter to the castles,' writes the cardinal, 'will have gone by this time, and if there is any hope of their surrendering at discretion, it may succeed, because they see the augmentation of force.' It is not clear whether Ruffo is here referring to his letter to Massa or to Nelson's declaration; but in any case the point is hardly worth arguing, since if notice of Nelson's attitude was given to the Jacobins at all, it is quite immaterial whether it was conveyed to them in Nelson's own words or in a letter written by the cardinal.

On the afternoon of the 25th of June, Nelson and Ruffo had parted on board the *Foudroyant* on the very worst of terms, but barely twenty-four hours

¹ *Diario Napoletano*, 25th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 184.

² Ruffo to Nelson, 25th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 221.

had elapsed before they were to be found co-operating again in apparently the most perfect harmony. The whole situation had altered in the interval; the Jacobins were allowed by Nelson to evacuate the castles, and to embark on a number of polaccas which were lying in the harbour. Everything was, in fact, going on as smoothly as possible.

The negotiations which led up to this change of situation and of policy are unfortunately shrouded in obscurity. In so far as it is possible to reconstruct a narrative from the scanty and somewhat unreliable evidence which is available at present, the following is what seems to have taken place.

At an early hour on the 26th of June, Hamilton wrote to Ruffo by Nelson's direction, informing the cardinal that Nelson had decided to do nothing which 'might break the armistice.'¹ A few hours later Nelson himself wrote to the cardinal confirming the assurance contained in Hamilton's letter: 'I will not on any consideration break the armistice entered into by you.'²

At 4 P.M.³ on the same day 500 British marines went ashore under the command of Troubridge, and took over the forts of Uovo and Nuovo, which had been evacuated by the Jacobins who had embarked on a number of polaccas in the harbour.

On the morning of the 27th, Ruffo attended in solemn state at the celebration of a Te Deum in the church of the Carmine, and wrote warm letters of thanks to Nelson and Hamilton, expressing his

¹ *Post*, p. 231.

² *Post*, p. 233.

³ The forts were taken over by Troubridge about 6 P.M. See Micheroux's *Compendio*, *post*, p. 202.

gratitude to them for rescuing him from an unpleasant predicament. Hamilton replied no less cordially to the cardinal's letters.

These harmonious relations were destined, however, to be of the briefest duration. On the morning of the 28th of June, Nelson received a number of letters from Palermo, which he regarded as placing a new complexion on the position of affairs. The polaccas, with the surrendered Jacobins on board, were still lying in the harbour off the mole, and no one was allowed to leave them without a passport from Nelson himself. Immediately after the arrival of these letters from Palermo, the polaccas were seized by a number of armed boats from the British squadron and were moored under the guns of Nelson's men-of-war. A number of the Jacobins were then removed from the transports and placed in safe custody elsewhere.

The letters which had arrived from Palermo on the morning of the 28th of June were three in number, and most clearly and emphatically expressed the wishes of the court with regard to the capitulation. They were from the queen to Lady Hamilton,¹ from Ferdinand to Nelson, and from Acton to Sir William Hamilton² respectively, and all bore the date of 25th of June. The king's letter is missing, but its contents can be deduced, with almost absolute certainty, from those of the other two letters.

The queen's letter is most characteristic, and shows how violent was her hatred towards her rebel subjects.

'Here are the conditions,' she writes, 'which we

¹ *Post*, p. 210.

² *Post*, p. 225.

submit to the excellent judgment, heart and head of our dear Admiral Nelson. . . . To treat with such rebels is impossible, it must be put an end to. . . . The rebel patriots must lay down their arms and surrender at discretion to the pleasure of the king. Then in my opinion an example should be made of some of the leaders. . . . Finally, my dear lady, I recommend Lord Nelson to treat Naples as if it were a rebellious Irish town. . . . I recommend to you, therefore, my dear lady, the greatest firmness, vigour, and severity ; our future tranquillity and position depend upon it.'

The policy of the court is no less clearly stated in Sir John Acton's letter ; the capitulation is to be of no effect, and the cardinal is definitely ordered to abide by 'whatever intimation Lord Nelson shall think proper to make.' The rebels 'are to have no conditions, but rely and depend only in his Majesty's mercy.'

It is thus clear that the seizure of the polaccas on the 28th was an operation carried out by Nelson in obedience to the royal mandate, and that Ruffo was given due notice of the reasons which had prompted it. Its immediate effect was to reopen the breach between the cardinal and Nelson ; and the former declined to take any further part in the preparations which were being made for the reduction of St. Elmo.¹ In fact, the situation had once more become exceedingly critical and difficult, and Nelson found himself confronted by the twofold problem of keeping the *lazzaroni* in order and of reducing the castle of St. Elmo, at a time when he was bereft of

¹ Hamilton to Acton, 29th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 279.

the advice and assistance which the cardinal could have afforded him. Moreover, if Ruffo were to carry out his threat and withdraw his army from the city, the British would find themselves in an extremely unpleasant predicament. Nelson and Hamilton seem to have seriously contemplated arresting and despatching him to Palermo; for, not content with assuming an attitude of neutrality and refusing to support Nelson, the cardinal appears to have actively interfered in the measures which were being taken for the seizure of the Jacobins who were still at large in the city.¹ It was only by the exercise of great self-restraint on both sides that a collision, the results of which might have been unspeakably disastrous, was prevented, 'Had I followed my inclination,' writes Nelson on the 28th of June, 'the capital would have been in a worse state, for the cardinal would have done worse than nothing.'²

The great danger undoubtedly was the absence of any regular government, and of any central authority recognised by all parties. Although Ruffo was not at open variance with the British, still it must have been patent that his relations with Nelson were far from being harmonious. Herein lay the peril: for there was always the possibility that the disorderly section of the community might take advantage of the deadlock between the two rival

¹ 'The last paper of the cardinal was that no person should be arrested without his order—this is saving the rebels. In short, it was a toss up yesterday whether the cardinal would not have been arrested.' Nelson to Acton, 29th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 278.

² Nelson to Acton, 28th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 271.

representatives of the central government, to renew the scenes of horror which had followed the entry of the army of the Holy Faith into Naples.

Under these circumstances Nelson and Sir William Hamilton invited the court to return to the capital as soon as possible, but in the meantime they decided to disregard the sulkingness of the cardinal, and to avoid giving him even the slightest cause for offence or complaint; in other words, 'to keep matters tolerable,'¹ as Nelson himself phrased it. At the same time they determined to keep the information that the king had been invited to come to Naples to themselves, lest it might make the cardinal desperate and drive him to extremities. It was to this policy which Sir William Hamilton referred when he informed Lord Grenville, in a letter written a fortnight later, that 'the cardinal finding soon that the whole confidence of the people was withdrawn from him, and reposed entirely on Lord Nelson and his Majesty's fleet, endeavoured to throw the whole weight of affairs on his lordship, and by that means cause inevitable confusion; but we contrived to keep everything going on decently by supporting the vicar-general until we had answers from their Sicilian Majesties at Palermo, to whom we had painted exactly the state of affairs, and the confusion at Naples, preventing at the same time his Eminence from doing any essential mischief, and recommending to their Majesties in the strongest manner to show themselves in the Bay of Naples as soon as possible, by which means, and by that alone,

¹ Nelson to Acton, 29th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 279.

all would be calmed, and the cardinal's dangerous power die of a natural death.'¹

Ruffo no doubt hoped that if he could pursue his policy of masterly inactivity for a sufficiently long period, Nelson would have to give way to him ; by which means a severe blow would have been struck at the influence of the British at the Neapolitan Court, and more especially at the predominant position in the council of state occupied by Acton. How this plot was thwarted will appear presently.

On the 29th of June a big budget of letters arrived at Naples from Palermo. Amongst these was one from Sir John Acton to Hamilton, dated the 26th of June, stating that the court had at last received the text of the capitulation, and informing Nelson that the king was about to send off a substitute to Naples 'to relieve the cardinal, and order him to come and give account for his disobeying so openly the commands and strict instructions of his own sovereign.'² The contents of this letter were in all probability not communicated to the cardinal, for on the same day Hamilton writes that the cardinal had declined to interfere in the reduction of St. Elmo, and had sent the Duca della Salandra 'to consult with Lord Nelson the operations for the attack of that fortress.'³

On the following day, the 30th of June, Hamilton received two other letters from Acton, both dated the 27th, one of which was written at 10 P.M.,⁴ the other at midnight.⁵

¹ Hamilton to Grenville, *post*, p. 314.

² *Post*, p. 242.

³ Hamilton to Acton, 29th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 276.

⁴ *Post*, p. 256.

⁵ *Post*, p. 258.

The first of these letters contained an authority for Nelson to arrest the cardinal if he refused to recognise the cancelling of the capitulation, and to send him to Palermo. The second enclosed a number of documents for use in case Nelson should desire to avail himself of the power given to him above. The most important one was a letter from the king to Ruffo, ordering the cardinal to conform to the measures which had been taken by Nelson.¹

There was also a letter from Acton to the cardinal² ordering him to come at once to Palermo, and three despatches were addressed to De Gambs, Salandra,³ and Tschudy respectively, which last were, however, only intended to be used in case the cardinal should prove recalcitrant, or should rally a faction among his followers to his support. In addition to these various documents, Nelson himself received a very flattering letter from Ferdinand, the contents of which are at present a matter for conjecture, as this document is not to be found among the Nelson papers.

It is clear, therefore, that on the 30th of June Nelson was placed in a position to make things very unpleasant for the cardinal. Hitherto his great difficulty had been the absence of a written commission, such as would beyond doubt have prevented the lamentable breach between himself and Ruffo; but now he was in possession of indisputable evidence that he—and not the cardinal—was the plenipotentiary and *alter ego* of Ferdinand. Had Nelson been a vindictive or small-minded man, here

¹ *Post*, p. 260.

² *Post*, p. 261.

³ *Post*, p. 263.

was an excellent opportunity to avenge himself for all the trouble and anxiety of the past week.

The generosity towards his opponents which was one of Nelson's most conspicuous virtues was never more brilliantly illustrated than on this occasion. Far from making use of the unlimited powers given to him by these letters to remove a troublesome antagonist from his path, he not only refrained from publishing the fact of the cardinal's disgrace, but in his reply to Ferdinand's letter he even went out of his way to intercede for Ruffo.

'I really do not believe,' he writes, 'that his Eminence has a disloyal thought towards overthrowing your Majesty's monarchy, but that his Eminence's wish was to have everything his own way.'¹

The policy adopted by Nelson and Hamilton produced the most satisfactory results, chiefly in consequence of the great tact displayed by the latter. The conciliatory attitude taken up by the British representatives appears to have considerably mollified the cardinal; in any case he no longer stood aloof from the siege of St. Elmo, and unbent so far as to accept Nelson's hospitality on board the *Foudroyant*. Sir William Hamilton writes on the 30th to Acton: 'I think everything is going on towards a happy conclusion.'²

The close of the transaction was not far distant. On the 10th of July the king arrived at Naples on board the Neapolitan frigate the *Sirena*, and one of the heaviest burdens which Nelson ever had to bear

¹ Nelson to Ferdinand, 30th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 287, and cf. Hamilton to Acton, *post*, p. 285.

² *Ibid.*

during the whole of his career was now lifted from his shoulders.

The first charge brought against Nelson by his accusers is that his conduct throughout these transactions was unjustifiable owing to the absence of any right on his part to overrule the proceedings of Cardinal Ruffo, who, as the king's vicar-general and *alter ego*, had full powers in virtue of the commission granted to him on the 25th of January, when he left Palermo for his famous expedition to Calabria.

The treatment of this extremely intricate question is facilitated by grouping the arguments under three heads, namely :

1. Was Ruffo justified in negotiating with the Jacobins?
2. Was Nelson on his arrival in the Bay of Naples invested with authority to cancel all engagements entered into by the cardinal?
3. How far had the capitulation been carried into effect when Nelson arrived at Naples?

As to the first point, it has been very generally assumed that Ruffo's commission as the king's plenipotentiary invested him with full powers to enter into engagements of all descriptions with the enemy, and that therefore, whatever may have been the nature of the authority conferred on Nelson, the latter was guilty of flagrant illegality in ordering the annulment of the capitulation, though he himself, in writing to Mr. Alexander Stephens on the 10th of February, 1803, said that neither Cardinal Ruffo

nor Captain Fozze nor any other person had any power to enter into any treaty with the rebels.¹ It was not, in fact, until Dr. Hüffer had made a careful and exhaustive analysis of the instructions delivered to the crown prince and the generals by Ferdinand, on the 10th of June, that the existence of supplementary rules for the cardinal's guidance was suspected.² In the 5th clause of these instructions, reference is made to regulations drawn up for the guidance of Ruffo on the 29th of April.³ The crown prince is ordered to take these regulations as his guide in all his dealings with the rebels. The following clause (6th) goes on to say: 'But in the military capitulations which it may be necessary to conclude with the enemy who is in possession of St. Elmo, this authority may be extended so far, according to circumstances, that the departure of certain rebels and even of their chiefs may be conceded if the public weal, the rapidity of the operations, or any important grounds should demand it.'

A close examination of these two clauses brings out the following facts:

1. The earlier instructions of the 29th of April had forbidden Ruffo to negotiate directly with the rebels, and it is significant that clause 5 only speaks of 'intimations' to the rebels to surrender.

2. Clause 6 authorises the crown prince to treat with the enemy (*nemici*), by which the French in St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta are meant. As a

¹ *Post*, p. 336.

² Hüffer, *Die neapolitanische Republik des Jahres, 1799*, in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1884, pp. 378-9.

³ *Post*, p. 69.

consequence of such a treaty with the French, a certain number of the republicans (*ribelli*) are to be allowed to depart, but nowhere do we find any authorisation of direct negotiation with the rebels, though it is true that clause 9 allows the crown prince to use any means within his power to procure the evacuation of the forts; but in any case this did not confer any powers on Ruffo. The 10th clause expressly reserves the right of pardoning the rebels to the king. Dr. Hüffer's arguments are borne out by two letters written to Hamilton by Sir John Acton from Palermo on the 25th and 28th of June respectively. In the latter we are told that: 'When the cardinal went to Calabria for raising there in January last a necessary insurrection in favour of his Majesty, he might have from the king a phrase in general words *to do the best he could for his service*. As soon, however, as he had successes and the insurrection broke in all the other provinces, some regulations were sent to him. He was directed how to behave especially with the rebels; those were distinguished in different classification, and in every one of those a proper and different way of acting with them was explained and fixed by his Majesty.' . . .¹

What the 'regulations' mentioned above were can be learnt from the earlier letter of the 25th of June [12 A.M.]. Acton writes as follows: 'I must, my dear sir, entreat and beg of you to be so good to consign to Lord Nelson the enclosed letter of his Majesty, and declare to him that by his Majesty's

¹ *Post*, p. 272.

orders the cardinal, as vicar-general in Calabria and authorised to act with the same faculties in all the kingdom when restored and submitted, was commanded to make a separate classification of the criminals which he should take as rebels, some were to be judged militarily. . . . But never any capitulation or conditions could be made nor granted to rebels, if they surrender to no military intimation without resisting they are to be prisoners, and confide in his Majesty's mercy. The king, far from admitting a capitulation with rebels, nor any dishonourable capitulation and articles with the French—and amongst these dishonourable ones is to be reckoned a truce of twenty days so much prejudicial to his Majesty's interests, security, honour and dignity—disapproves entirely such a condition, and writes to the cardinal that no capitulation is to be admitted without his Majesty's ratification in regard to the French.'¹ The supplementary instructions of the 29th of April are to be found in a letter written to the cardinal by Ferdinand on the 1st of May, in which the rebels are classified according to the degree of their guilt. The king declares it to be his intention and will that all those who had at any time held an office, whether executive, legislative or administrative, under the republic should be arrested and carefully guarded. All the officers who had passed from the royal service into that of the Jacobins were to be shot within twenty-four hours, 'and without any formality of trial,' if they were captured with arms in their hands, and the same procedure was to be adopted in the case

¹.*Post*, p. 225.

of any nobles who had fought against the king and his allies.¹ These limitations placed on the powers of the cardinal were perfectly well known to Nelson, as they were communicated to him for the information of Troubridge.² Further than this, Ruffo had over and over again received orders from both Ferdinand and Caroline that on no account was he to give terms to the Jacobins. A few instances of such instructions will suffice. 'There must be no compassion for those who have clearly shown themselves rebels to God and to me,' writes the king as early as the 11th of April.³ On the 5th of April the queen writes in the same strain: 'Rebellious Naples and her ungrateful citizens may make no terms.'⁴ And again on the 14th of June: 'You may negotiate with St. Elmo and its French commandant, but there must be no treaty with our rebel vassals! The king may forgive them, he may in his mercy mitigate their punishment; but he will never negotiate or conclude a capitulation.'⁵ It is impossible in face of this overwhelming evidence to deny that Ruffo's action in signing the capitulation of the 21st of June was *ultra vires*. Nelson's statement that Ruffo had no right to conclude a capitulation with the rebels is therefore shown to be in full agreement with the actual facts of the case.

¹ Ferdinand to Ruffo, 1st of May, 1799, *post*, p. 45.

² Acton to Hamilton, 28th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 273.

³ *Post*, p. 38.

⁴ *Post*, p. 36.

⁵ *Post*, p. 82. See also Caroline to Ruffo, 23rd of May, 1799, *post*, p. 58. 'The king . . . must not make a bargain or armistice which would have the appearance of fear.' Ferdinand to same, 26th of February, 1799, Dumas, vol. v. p. 219, and 17th of June, 1799, Dumas, vol. v. p. 253.

The next question which presents itself is this: Was Nelson on his arrival in the Bay of Naples invested with authority to annul the capitulation? Here we meet with the difficulty that there is no written commission extant, but there is strong presumptive proof that Nelson and the Hamiltons were at all events verbally entrusted with viceregal powers. Nelson himself, in a letter written from Malta to his friend Davison, and dated 9th of May, 1800, says, 'The whole affairs of the kingdom of Naples were at the time alluded to absolutely placed in my hands.'¹ Sir William Hamilton, in a letter to his nephew Greville of the 14th of July, says, 'We [*i.e.* Nelson, Hamilton, including, perhaps, Hamilton's wife] had full powers.'²

On the 10th of June the king confided the crown prince to the care of Nelson, at the same time authorising him not only to second his efforts, but also to take a leading part (*agire principalmente*). The same letter further empowers him to adopt force to recall the rebels to their duty, and to 'put into execution every means which may best tend to attain that necessary end.'³

Since Nelson was given such wide and discretionary powers when acting in support of the crown prince, it is only reasonable to infer that at all events commensurate authority would be conferred on him when he left Palermo for the second time, on the 21st of June, as champion of the cause of the Bourbon monarchy.

It has been suggested that there was 'no loss of

¹ *Post*, p. 334.

² *Post*, p. 318.

³ *Post*, p. 64.

confidence in Ruffo' till the 27th of July, and that Sir William Hamilton's despatch to Grenville of the 14th of July is mistaken in imputing suspicions of Ruffo to the Sicilian Court on the 21st. In point of fact, however, it can be shown that the court did suspect the cardinal long before the 27th.¹

On the 17th of June Hamilton writes to Nelson at Palermo, 'Your lordship observes that what we suspected of the cardinal has proved true.'² Acton, in a letter of the 1st of August, also says, 'The meanings of this man in advancing to Naples, the corrupted people that flocked round him, his brother especially known for bad and dubious dispositions, gave room to entertain an equivocal opinion, but single doubts and no facts were properly ascertained.'³

In spite of the absence of a written commission⁴ it is practically certain that Nelson received a verbal authorisation endowing him with the fullest of powers. It seems that on his return to Palermo on the 21st of June an informal council was held⁵ at which a plan of action was decided on, such as is described in the queen's letter to Ruffo of the 21st of June. 'Unless the other two [*i.e.* Nuovo and Uovo] surrender immediately and unconditionally at the

¹ The king to Ruffo, the 20th of June. 'It is said that when the castles surrender the rebels in them will be allowed to leave them safe and sound. . . . I do not believe this,' &c., *post*, p. 140.

² *Post*, p. 98.

³ *Post*, p. 326.

⁴ The non-existence of a written commission is to be inferred from Nelson's never having produced it to Ruffo, and from the fact that no such document has been found among his papers.

⁵ *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 384. Headnote to observations, and Nelson to Keith, 27th of June, *post*, p. 264.

intimation of Admiral Nelson they will be taken by storm . . . ' ¹

How entire the confidence placed in Nelson by the court was is shown in Acton's letter to Hamilton of the 19th of June. 'All their trust is in Lord Nelson certainly.' ² On the 21st of June the queen writes to the empress:—'Admiral Nelson does us the pleasure of hastening there (*y courir*) and of restoring order by summoning them to surrender.' ³ And on the 24th to Lady Hamilton as follows:—'I count on your arrival with the squadron and on the firmness of the admiral. . . . I trust entirely in you all. . . . The cardinal will be astounded and overwhelmed, for you know how guilty the whole of the upper classes are. . . .' ⁴

On the 20th of June Acton sums up the situation in writing to Sir William Hamilton:—'The cardinal seems in a disagreeable position. His Majesty on this circumstance especially accepts of the kind offer of Lord Nelson to present himself before Naples, and procure the intimation for surrendering, to be supported by the English fleet, its appearance and the certainty of the French being distant would certainly produce the desired effect.' ⁵

Sir John Acton's correspondence with Hamilton proves clearly that the court at Palermo regarded Nelson as being invested with full representative powers. In the letter of the 25th of June, 12 A.M. we read the following account of the king's wishes: 'Whatever intimation Lord Nelson shall think fit to make, the cardinal is to abide by it, and every pre-

¹ *Post*, p. 167.

² *Post*, p. 137.

³ *Post*, p. 173.

⁴ *Post*, p. 195.

⁵ *Post*, p. 143.

cedent is to be void and without effect. His Majesty confides entirely in the operations which Lord Nelson shall think convenient to determine for the reddition of St. Elmo and Gaeta, and that of the castles with the rebels, which last, however, are to have no conditions, but rely and depend only in his Majesty's mercy. . . . I beg of you, my dear sir, to present Lord Nelson with these declarations of his Sicilian Majesty, who puts and confides his authority as to every military operation, and his own dignity, into the excellent and brave Lord Nelson's hands.'¹ In another letter, written early on the same day, Sir John Acton says:—'Lord Nelson and you, my dear sir, are perfectly acquainted with their Majesties' intentions . . . therefore, we rely entirely in his lordship's determination and operations, and in your good and friendly advice.'² Two days later (27th of June) he writes still more emphatically, 'His Majesty sends the following orders: a letter to the cardinal, wherein his Majesty tells him that he hears with the fullest satisfaction of the arrival of the British fleet before Naples, and hopes it is come in time for saving a shameful capitulation against every reason from taking place. . . . If the letter does not bring the cardinal to break the truce immediately and follow Lord Nelson's directions, his

¹ *Post*, p. 225.

² *Post*, p. 224. On the 23rd of June Hamilton writes to Acton, showing clearly that some definite result was expected from Nelson's mission to Naples. 'If time and a prolongation allows it Lord Nelson will be there, and we hope in him for a relief of what is against his Majesty's dignity and interest. The cardinal alone ought to send the treaty to the king for his Majesty's approbation.'
Post, p. 179.

Majesty encloses here an order for the cardinal to come immediately to Palermo ; . . . but if the cardinal should make some difficulty, his Majesty begs Lord Nelson to arrest and send the cardinal to Palermo.’¹

It is now almost universally conceded that Ruffo acted illegally in concluding the treaty, and that Nelson was fully justified in claiming the authority to cancel it, but these admissions do not finally settle the question at issue. There still remains the further point as to whether the treaty had been effectually carried into execution when Nelson appeared before Naples on the afternoon of the 24th of June.²

It has been contended that the execution at that time was ample, and that a partial embarkation of the Jacobins had taken place.³ This allegation rests principally on a despatch from Sir William Hamilton to Grenville, dated the 14th of July, 1799, in which the former states : ‘ When we anchored in this bay the 24th of June, the capitulation of the castles had in some measure taken place. Fourteen polaccas had taken on board the most conspicuous and criminal of the rebels that had chosen to go to Toulon. . . . There was no time to be lost for the vessels were on the point of sailing.’⁴ This would appear at first sight to be an almost

¹ Acton to Hamilton, the 27th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 256. Acton to the same, the 1st of August, 1799 : ‘ It was in your Lordship’s power to arrest the cardinal and send him to Palermo.’ *Post*, p. 325.

² It must be conceded that the hostages had been handed over to Méjean in accordance with the treaty, but this is by itself not a matter of great importance.

³ *Eng. Hist. Review*, No. 50, p. 271.

⁴ *Post*, p. 312.

conclusive piece of evidence in support of the view that the treaty had been practically executed in its entirety when Nelson arrived. It must be remembered, however, that this despatch was written more than a fortnight after the events which it narrates had taken place ; and that Sir William Hamilton was also at the time in a state of complete nervous prostration. Captain Mahan has given good grounds for holding this despatch to be quite inaccurate as a whole,¹ and in any case there had not been time between the completion of the formalities attending the signature of the treaty and the arrival of Nelson for the preparations to be so far advanced that the polaccas were 'on the point of sailing.'

The evidence of Sir William Hamilton himself, as contained in a letter he wrote on the day following the arrival of Nelson, contradicts his despatch of the 14th of July, and proves conclusively that no effective execution of the capitulation had taken place on the evening of the 25th of June. 'I find,' he writes to Acton, 'that the royalist and Jacobin parties keep possession of the parts of the city they possessed at the moment of the signing the armistice, so that the Tree of Infamy is opposite the Castel Nuovo, and I saw with my glass that the giant opposite the palace wears still a red cap of liberty.'²

To sum up: a critical examination of the evidence shows :

(a) That Ruffo had been expressly instructed on more than one occasion not to negotiate with the Jacobins.

¹ Mahan, *Life of Nelson*, p. 434.

² Hamilton to Acton, the 25th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 215.

(b) That Nelson received authority (probably oral) to annul the acts of Ruffo, when he left Palermo on the 21st of June.

(c) That the capitulation had not been effectively executed when Nelson arrived in the Bay of Naples.

Dealing with the various charges which have been brought against Nelson in respect of his transactions with Ruffo in June 1799, we come next to the only one which is of any real importance, and which is still a matter of bitter controversy : namely, the charge that on the 26th of June he enticed the Jacobins out of the castles of Nuovo and Uovo by making a promise to Ruffo that he would recognise the capitulation ; a promise which he violated on the 28th by seizing the polaccas on which the surrendered republicans had embarked in reliance on his good faith.

The starting point for the discussion of this question is the famous interview on board the *Foudroyant* on the afternoon or evening of the 25th of June. It is admitted on all hands that on this occasion Ruffo and Nelson parted on the very worst of terms. Subsequently, a *modus vivendi* was arrived at between them, and the point at issue is this : One or both of the parties must have receded from the irreconcilable attitude which had been assumed on either side. Did Ruffo therefore give way to Nelson, and agree to a compromise by which the armistice was to be recognised, pending the arrival of further and more definite instructions from Palermo ; or did Nelson submit to the cardinal's terms, and agree absolutely and unconditionally to the execution of the capitulation in its entirety ?

It has often been taken for granted that Ruffo did not yield in the slightest degree to Nelson's opposition. That this was not so can, however, easily be shown. On the 27th of June Hamilton, writing to Ruffo, refers to a proposal (made on the 26th by Nelson) to the cardinal with regard to the fate of Caracciolo and other rebels.¹ That this proposal was accepted appears from a letter written that same day by Hamilton to Acton, in which Hamilton states that Caracciolo and twelve other rebels were shortly to be given up to Nelson.² It is therefore probable that, in one respect at least, Ruffo had on the 26th of June receded from the irreconcilable attitude he had taken up at the interview on board the *Foudroyant* on the afternoon of the 25th.

Avoiding everything which is purely controversial, it appears that at an early hour on the 26th of June some arrangement was come to between the cardinal and the British admiral, under which the latter agreed not to oppose the 'armistice' which had been granted. Hereupon the castles were evacuated by the republicans and taken over by the British marines. What were the reasons which had led Nelson to consent to this step?

It would seem that on the morning of the 26th of June, Nelson came to a compromise with the cardinal. There is no evidence to show that he submitted entirely to the cardinal's terms. He only promised to refrain from violating the armistice; all mention of the capitulation is carefully omitted in Hamilton's note to Ruffo,³ and if we accept Sacchinelli's facsimile as genuine, it only mentions the

¹ See *post*, p. 254.

² See *post*, p. 251.

³ *Post*, p. 231.

'*embarkation*' of the rebels, and not their departure. Nelson was well aware that the cardinal had acted *ultra vires*, and it was in Nelson's power to force him to cancel the treaty. To have resorted to such extreme measures would, however, have created an extremely critical situation. Ruffo's Calabrese were devoted to him, and would have followed him implicitly even if he had resisted Nelson by force of arms. In any event, the cardinal might have withdrawn from the city, leaving to the British the unenviable task of reducing the castles and of bridling the riotous *lazzaroni*. Nelson had, in fact, no alternative but to yield to Ruffo's pretensions as far as possible, without sacrificing his own position, until he should receive from Palermo such further authorisation as would bring the cardinal to reason.¹

It is essential that the distinction between the armistice of the 19th and the capitulation of the 23rd should be clearly recognised. As has already been pointed out, the negotiations with the republican garrison passed through two phases: (1) armistice, (2) capitulation. Nelson's promise to Ruffo was only to respect the armistice and permit the embarkation of the rebels. This promise he scrupulously observed till the 28th, when orders arrived from Palermo which justified the seizure of the polaccas. The garrisons were perfectly well aware of Nelson's attitude towards the capitulation; and the only ground on which it could be held that they came out believing that the treaty was to be executed in its entirety would be the intimation to

¹ See *post*, p. 233. Nelson to Ruffo, 26th of June. 'I hope your Eminency will be satisfied that I am supporting your ideas.'

them *by Nelson himself* that he had modified his terms.

The assertion that the Jacobins were tricked into believing that they were to go to Toulon now rests entirely on the statement made by Micheroux, that he received two documents containing an assurance to that effect from Nelson. But Micheroux himself admits that he did not make use of these documents. This is surely very remarkable; and, in any case, puts it beyond dispute that the garrisons evacuated the castles, either with the knowledge that the execution of the treaty was in suspense till the wishes of the king had been ascertained, or else that they did so relying solely on Micheroux's statement that Nelson had guaranteed the treaty. Nowhere is there one jot or tittle of evidence to prove that they abandoned their positions in reliance on an explicit assurance of Nelson's, that they were going to be sent to Toulon in due course.

There is, on the other hand, Nelson's explicit statement, made on three separate occasions, to the effect that the rebels surrendered unconditionally to his terms:—

(a) To Lord Keith, dated 27th of June, 1799: 'Under this opinion the rebels came out of the castles.'¹

(b) To Earl Spencer, dated 13th of July, 1799: 'The rebels came out of the castles with this knowledge.'²

(c) To Mr. Davison, dated 9th of May, 1800: 'I sent in my note, and on which the rebels came out of

¹ *Post*, p. 266.

² *Post*, p. 307.

the castles . . . to be hanged or otherwise disposed of as their sovereign thought proper.'¹

The Rev. Cooper Willyams, the chaplain of H.M.S. Swiftsure, and an eye-witness of these events, declares the surrender of the castles to have been unconditional.² Cimbalo, a Neapolitan historian, states that it was decided to embark the Jacobins in order to determine their destiny.³

Putting the case of Nelson's accusers at the very highest it only amounts to this: that there is some evidence that the garrisons were tricked into surrendering, and there is no direct evidence of an overt surrender on the part of the Jacobins on the terms of the compromise arranged between Ruffo and Nelson. But there is not the slightest proof at present of any foul play on Nelson's part; and if the garrisons were deceived, it was only because Ruffo was willing that they should be.

There now only remains the charge which has been brought against Nelson in relation to the trial and execution of Francesco Caracciolo, the Jacobin admiral, for high treason and desertion. As has already been stated, it is not proposed to deal with this question in any detail, as the facts are not themselves in dispute, though the inferences to be drawn from them are still a matter of controversy. The story in outline is as follows. Caracciolo, who had learnt his seamanship under Rodney, was by far the most brilliant and competent officer of the Neapolitan marine. He served with credit against the Algerine pirates, and also took part in the naval

¹ *Post*, p. 307.

² Cooper Willyams, p. 204.

³ *Itinerario*, p. 54.

operations in the Lion's Gulf under Admiral Hotham in 1795. When the court fled to Palermo in 1798 Caracciolo accompanied them, but shortly afterwards obtained permission to return to Naples. He joined the republican forces and was appointed to the command of a flotilla of gunboats, which had been created with a view to checking the activity of the British men-of-war at Procida, and on one occasion he came into conflict with the Sicilian frigate *Minerva*, which sustained some damage from his fire. After the army of the Holy Faith had entered Naples he went into hiding, but was captured on the 25th of June.¹ On the 29th he was handed over to Nelson by Cardinal Ruffo, and was summarily tried by a court-martial of Neapolitan officers assembled on board the *Foudroyant*. He was found guilty of firing on the *Minerva*, on evidence which left no doubt as to his guilt, and by the orders of Nelson² he was hanged on the yard-arm of the *Minerva* that same evening. Technically, at all events, this sentence cannot be impeached, but the haste with which he was executed is more open to criticism. One can only say with regard to this episode that it must be judged by the standards and according to the exigencies of the times.

The origin of the long controversy which has

¹ Some doubt has been expressed as to the date of Caracciolo's arrest (see Badham, *Nelson at Naples*, p. 32). The authorities for it are, however, numerous. See the *Diario Napoletano*, *post*, p. 185; also the letters on pp. 249 and 253, from which it is clear that Nelson on the 26th knew of Caracciolo's arrest.

² For views of the court at Palermo see the king to Ruffo, 20th of June, *post*, p. 141, and the queen to Ruffo, 21st of June, 1799, *post*, p. 166.

raged round this episode is to be found in the publication of Harrison's *Life of Nelson* in the year 1806. In this work the fact that Foote had signed the capitulation was commented on with some severity. Foote took objection to these reflections on his conduct, and, failing to obtain a retraction, published a pamphlet entitled the *Vindication*, in which he defended his action in signing the treaty, and incidentally attacked Nelson for his conduct in disallowing it. Foote's treatise came into the hands of Southey, and inspired the latter's vehement denunciation of what he termed 'a deplorable transaction, a stain upon the memory of Nelson and upon the honour of England.'

The policy of abusing the attorney on the other side is one which is generally to be deprecated, but it is difficult in this instance to refrain from commenting on the hypocritical character of Foote's attack on the memory of Nelson. Although his ship, the *Seahorse*, actually assisted in the seizure of the polaccas on the 28th of June, Foote at the time made not the slightest protest either by word or by deed against a transaction which he so loudly and so unctuously denounced after Nelson's death.¹ On the other hand, he interceded successfully for the garrisons of Revigliano and Castellamare, which had capitulated to him on the 15th of June, and in

¹ It has been asserted that Foote left Naples before the infraction of the treaty. This is not so. The *Seahorse* left Naples at 7 P.M. on the 28th. The polaccas had been seized that same morning by the barges from the fleet, including the *Seahorse's* barge. It is ridiculous to suppose that under these circumstances Foote did not know what was going on. See *Log of the Seahorse, post*, at p. 81.

this he was supported by Nelson, who took the line that as the promise in this case had emanated from a British officer it must be scrupulously observed. No attempt was, however, at any time made by Foote to secure the safety of the garrisons of Uovo and Nuovo.

Apart from the controversy, publicity was first given to these accusations in a speech made by Fox in the House of Commons on 3rd of February, 1800.¹ They were also voiced by Miss Williams in a book entitled *Sketches of Manners in the French Republic*, and on a copy of this work coming into the hands of Colletta they obtained European currency in the pages of the latter's *History of Naples*. Since then foreign historians of every school have taken part in the controversy, which has been stirred into life again recently by the discovery of a considerable quantity of fresh matter.²

It was not till early in the forties that a courageous attempt was made by Commander Jeaffreson Miles³ to reply to the attack contained in Foote's *Vindication*. Miles was animated by a passionate devotion to the memory of Nelson, and no one can read his little book without being deeply impressed by his earnestness and sincerity. Unhappily, however, he had no material at his disposal with which to rebut the evidence of Foote and Sacchinelli, and therefore his intervention cannot be said to have left a lasting mark on the controversy.

¹ *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxiv. p. 1394. This speech was delivered immediately before the division was taken, and no reply was therefore made to it. Moreover, Fox did not charge Nelson or anyone else with bad faith.

² See *Bibliography*.

³ *Vindication of Lord Nelson's Conduct*.

The first weighty counterstroke which was delivered against Nelson's accusers came from Sir Harris Nicolas,¹ who brought a mass of new documents from the Nelson Papers to bear on the problem. In so far as the means at his disposal went, no more effective reply could then have been made to the charges of Foote and Colletta. But Sacchinelli's work was apparently unknown to the learned editor of Nelson's despatches, and the analysis of the documents it contained was not made till many years later.

The case against Nelson rests primarily on the evidence contained in the *Life of Cardinal Ruffo*, by Sacchinelli, and on the so-called *Compendio*, an epitome of these events which was compiled at the time by the Chevalier Micheroux. Sacchinelli is generally supposed to have been Ruffo's private secretary, but in point of fact he was in the year 1799 merely a subordinate clerk attached to the cardinal's staff.² Nearly thirty years after these events had taken place he published his book, which is avowedly a panegyric of his patron, and which was moreover compiled with the strictest regard to the requirements of the Bourbon press censorship. His object is therefore twofold. In the first place he strives to defend the cardinal from the attacks which have been made on him by patriotic writers of the extreme school. In the second place, he is concerned to place the conduct of Ferdinand and

¹ *The Despatches and Letters of Nelson*, London, 1845.

² The cardinal's secretary was the Abbé Sparziani, with a salary of fifty ducats per month. Sacchinelli was under-secretary, with a salary of twenty ducats per month. *Archivio Storico*, vol. viii. p. 228 (note by the Marchese Maresca).

Caroline in as favourable a light as possible. It follows, then, that he stood in need of a scapegoat, and Nelson, having been dead for many years, was fastened on for this purpose. The misdeeds of the cardinal and the Bourbon monarchs are either overlooked or else palliated; any blame which has to be apportioned falls either on the Jacobins or on the English. Two facts must be borne in mind when weighing Sacchinelli's evidence: it must be remembered that he is a strong partisan, and that he wrote many years after the events which he describes. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of most of the documents which he reproduces, though the sources from which he drew them are now no longer accessible. Much of his evidence is however totally inadmissible, and it would be perhaps convenient to point out here in what respects it is unsatisfactory.

To begin with, Sacchinelli had an unfortunate habit of paraphrasing letters and other documents. This may be due to the fact that he was relying on his memory, or it may be because he was only guided by rough notes made at the time. It is difficult to see how he can have had a first-hand acquaintance with the documents which he sets out, for many of them were not of a nature to be confided to a subordinate clerk. This perhaps also explains why his evidence is full of *lacuna*, and why some of his documents are not what he alleges them to be. Where he sets out facts without the corroboration of documents he is to be mistrusted, for he is then obviously dependent either on hearsay or on his own recollection of events which had taken place

long before, and as to which he was, even then, but imperfectly informed.

In particular, there are three documents relied on by Sacchinelli which can only be regarded with the gravest suspicion. The first of these in point of time is an ultimatum, alleged to have been sent to Nelson by Ruffo on the 25th of June, threatening the withdrawal of the army of the Holy Faith in the event of any interference by the British with the capitulation. No corroborative evidence of the existence of such a document can be found anywhere; neither Hamilton nor Micheroux, both of whom were well acquainted with the course of the negotiations, make the slightest reference to such a document, which, from the very nature of the case, would be of capital importance.

Still more open to suspicion is Sacchinelli's account of an interview which took place on the 26th of June between the cardinal and Troubridge and Ball, who brought Hamilton's and Nelson's letters containing an assurance that the armistice would be respected. According to Sacchinelli, Troubridge wrote a declaration in his own handwriting to the following effect: 'Rear-Admiral Nelson does not oppose the execution of the capitulation of the castles of Uovo and Nuovo,'¹ but he refused to sign it on the ground that the authority given to the two captains by the letter of the 24th of June only extended to the discussion of military operations, and not to the negotiation in writing of affairs pertaining to diplo-

¹ See *post*, p. 234. It may be remarked in passing that if Troubridge had written this, he would have written 'Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson.'

macy. According to Sacchinelli, Ruffo's suspicions were aroused by Troubridge's refusal to sign this document, but as he was reluctant to argue with them, he contented himself with ordering Micheroux to go with the two captains to the castles for the purpose of carrying out the articles of the capitulation in concert with the republican commanders. 'The English,' so Sacchinelli alleges, 'themselves carried out the treaty which they had refused to recognise at first. They landed some hundreds of their marines, and having embarked the republicans, they took possession of the Castel Nuovo, of the Darsena, and of the Royal Palace.'¹

An analysis of Sacchinelli's narrative reveals many mistakes and inconsistencies. To begin with, the facsimile of the declaration is not in Troubridge's handwriting at all, and differs in a most material respect from the declaration as set out in the text. A reference to the facsimile shows that the undertaking there is limited to a guarantee of non-interference with the *embarkation* of the rebels, not a word being said as to the capitulation. Nor is this the only discrepancy. The letter of the 24th of June, to which Sacchinelli refers, explicitly authorised the two captains to negotiate with Ruffo as to the capitulation;² it was a subsequent letter, that of the 26th of June from Nelson to the cardinal, which cut their powers down to the arrangement of military operations against the French at St. Elmo.³ Finally, Sacchinelli's account does not tally with the

¹ Sacchinelli, p. 256.

² *Post*, p. 205.

³ *Post*, p. 233. This letter is not referred to by Sacchinelli, a fact which in itself shows how imperfectly he was informed.

statements in Micheroux's *Compendio*. Micheroux tells us that two documents from Lord Nelson were sent to him in great haste at 10 A.M. on the 26th of June; he does not mention the presence of the two captains, nor does he bear out Sacchinelli's statement that he accompanied them to the castles, where they assisted in the execution of the treaty. The English marines were in point of fact not landed till six that afternoon, and no honours of war were rendered to the rebels by them, as provided by the treaty.¹ Another document contained in Sacchinelli's work only helps to increase the confusion. This is the so-called *Verbale* of Minichini, which purports to be a minute of the proceedings which took place on the surrender of Castel Uovo to the Neapolitan troops. Both the *Compendio* and the Log of the Foudroyant state that this castle was occupied by the British, and it is certain that two days later Minichini had to obtain a pass to visit this very castle.²

The most salient point in Sacchinelli's evidence is that he admits that Ruffo was not satisfied with Nelson's concessions. If that were so, the cardinal knowingly allowed the Jacobins to go to their doom without making a serious attempt to save

¹ According to Ricciardi the Russians rendered such honours at Castel Nuovo. See *post*, p. 322. Troubridge's account of his share in the business is contained in a letter written by him to Nelson from Antignano on the 13th of July. 'Agreeable to your Lordship's orders, I landed with the English and Portuguese marines of the fleet on the 27th of June, and after embarking the garrisons of the castles Uovo and Nuovo composed of French and rebels, I put a garrison in each' (P.R.O. Adm. Sec. *In Letters*, 400). Troubridge does not in any way refer to an acknowledgment of the treaty.

² *Post*, pp. 239 and 275.

them, and it is difficult to avoid the suggestion that he deliberately deceived them in order to extricate himself from a difficult position.

The *Compendio* of Micheroux is a document which is believed by many, including the Marchese Maresca, a distinguished authority on the history of this period, to bring the controversy to a final and definite conclusion.¹ It takes the form of an epitome of the events which transpired between the entry of Ruffo's army into Naples on the 13th of June and the surrender of St. Elmo by Méjean on the 11th of July, and is in effect a vindication by Micheroux of his conduct during that time.

Antonio Micheroux (born 1755) was descended from a Walloon family which had settled in Naples, most of whose members had served in the foreign regiments of the Neapolitan army. Antonio himself received a commission in the regiment of Hainault in 1771, but was compelled by ill-health to abandon a military career. He then entered the diplomatic service, where he attracted the favourable notice of the Duca di Gallo, by whom he was appointed an attaché to the Neapolitan embassy to the King of Sardinia. In the year 1785 he was selected as minister resident in Venice, where he remained till the fall of the republic in 1797. He was almost immediately thereafter sent to Milan on a secret mission for the purpose of detaching the Cisalpine Republic from its alliance with France, an object which was defeated by the outbreak of war in 1798, and in February 1799 he rejoined the court at Palermo. As we have already seen, he was then sent

¹ *Archivio Storico*, vol. xxiv. p. 447.

to Corfu in the capacity of minister plenipotentiary to the Russian and Turkish fleets in the Adriatic, an enterprise which ultimately led to his joining the army of the Holy Faith.

Micheroux has received great praise for the humanity and generosity of his policy towards the Neapolitan Jacobins. He seems to have stood almost alone on the royalist side in his opposition to the adoption of rigorous measures in dealing with the patriots. In fact it is practically certain that the capitulation of the 21st of June was inspired, if not actually drafted, by him, and it was to a large extent owing to the ascendancy which he acquired over Ruffo that the republicans were able to secure terms from the cardinal. We have already seen how on the 19th of June he forced the cardinal's hand by granting an armistice, and throughout the negotiations which ensued he appears to have been Ruffo's *alter ego* and mouthpiece. His personal character is not necessarily relevant to the present inquiry, but it is impossible to avoid commenting on his shiftiness, and on the somewhat underhand manner in which he out-manceuvred Ruffo, in spite of the fact that the limitations placed on the cardinal's powers by the court were well known to him.¹ His credit also suffers very considerably from an examination of the part played by him in relation to the surrender of St. Elmo. It appears that for some reason or other he was so completely under Méjean's influence that he was induced to bolster up a deliberate falsehood by a solemn declaration on his word of honour that Méjean had consistently

¹ Maresca, *Il Cavaliere Micheroux*, p. 152.

refused to be bribed.¹ The inference is that he was so involved in the pecuniary transactions connected with the bribing of Méjean that he was absolutely at the mercy of the latter.²

Micheroux was suspected by the court, and it is highly probable that he was brought to book for his conduct while serving under Ruffo. At all events the *Compendio* shows on the face of it that it was written by him for the purpose of exculpating himself from a charge of being the prime mover in the conclusion of the capitulation of the castles of Uovo and Nuovo. It is noteworthy that in this document he executes a complete *volte face*. He no longer attempts to justify the treaty, but denounces, not Nelson for having overridden it, but Ruffo for having concluded it. Considering his attitude towards the Jacobins at the time, it is difficult to avoid a feeling of contempt for the eagerness with which he endeavours in the *Compendio* to fix Ruffo with the sole responsibility for the conclusion of the treaty. It is, however, only fair to add that he does admit his inclination to grant terms to the rebels, though he dissociates himself from the capitulation on the ground that it contains specific mention of the republicans.

It is most unfortunate that only the rough draft of the *Compendio* has been discovered, for with the fair copy were enclosed a number of extremely important documents. Micheroux's story is that

¹ Cf. Mahan (*English Historical Review* for October 1900); Maresca (*Il Cavaliere Micheroux*, pp. 242-3); Bertaux (*Archivio Storico*, vol. xxiv. p. 477); and *post*, p. 119, note.

² Acton considered him weak, but honest. See *Paget Papers*, vol. i. p. 328). Paget himself formed a very poor opinion of him (*ibid.* p. 318).

about 10 A.M. on the 26th of June a messenger came to him in great haste with two documents, purporting to be assurances by Nelson that the capitulation would be carried into effect. It is impossible to say what these two papers were. The Marchese Maresca holds that they were the documents published by Sacchinelli, one in the text, the other in facsimile ;¹ whilst Professor J. K. Laughton thinks that Hamilton's letter of the same morning² may have been one of them. Captain Mahan has given the best of reasons for doubting the Marchese Maresca's view,³ and, in the absence of the original MSS., the matter must remain one for conjecture. It is difficult to see why this statement of Micheroux's should be regarded as conclusively proving Nelson's guilt, for Micheroux himself tells us that he did not show the documents to the garrisons. This can only have been because he doubted whether there had in effect been a recognition by Nelson of the capitulation, and he therefore substituted a statement of his own, which he had no authority from Nelson to make. In fact Micheroux's story, if it is insisted on, would show that he and Ruffo, though well aware that Nelson had only agreed to the embarkation of the rebels, deliberately deceived the Jacobins, either by *suppressio veri* or *suggestio falsi*, into the belief that the capitulation had been definitely recognised by the British, thus avoiding the unpleasant consequences to the pair of them of an open rupture either with Nelson or with the Jacobins.

Dumas's *History of the Bourbon Kings of*

¹ *Archivio Storico*, vol. xxiv. p. 451.

² *Post*, p. 231.

³ *English Historical Review* for October 1900.

Naples also contains a number of important documents, of which the most noteworthy are the letters written by Hamilton and Nelson to Acton between the 24th and the 30th of June. Dumas had a great opportunity when, during the dictatorship of Garibaldi, he held office as Director of the National Museum at Naples, a post which procured for him the very freest access to the State Papers of the defunct dynasty. Unfortunately his research work was both unsystematic and incomplete; it was largely carried out by his understudies, and Dumas himself was not a trained historian. The material collected was considered entirely in the light of its adaptability to the requirements of the innumerable works of fiction which flowed from the indefatigable pen of the prince of romancers. Moreover, English MSS. which passed through his hands underwent the twofold process of translation into Italian by a Frenchman, and how severely they suffered thereby can be seen by a comparison with the originals, now published for the first time in this volume. It cannot be pretended that these documents furnish the complete solution of the mystery which hangs over this episode, but the path of the future investigator will be rendered less thorny by the removal of the textual difficulties which have hitherto been caused by the garbled and mangled form in which Dumas presented these letters to the public. It should be noted that in more than one instance Dumas, with a reprehensible want of candour, suppressed passages which are injurious to his case.¹

¹ Dumas, when in need of documentary evidence, was not above manufacturing it. In a work entitled *Le Corricolo* he

Almost all the MSS. which I examined in the State Paper Office at Naples bore traces of having been through other hands: for instance, many of them had notes pencilled in the margin; others were marked in various ways, ostensibly for the purpose of future identification. In one case, that of the correspondence between Ferdinand and Ruffo, the *fascio* which, according to the catalogue, should contain these letters, is in point of fact composed of Spanish documents dating back to the reign of Charles III. The inference is almost irresistible that Dumas is responsible for this state of affairs, and that it is very largely owing to his carelessness that the *lacunæ* are so numerous. Dumas asserted that he was throughout guided by original MSS., and although this is a statement which may perhaps be doubted, the fact still remains that he had in his hands many documents which cannot now be traced. The work of collating these manuscripts appears to have been done by him or his deputies in an exceedingly slovenly and perfunctory manner, and it is to be regretted that the opportunities which he enjoyed were not vouchsafed to some more competent and painstaking investigator.

There are two series of documents the discovery of which would probably furnish the solution to the

evolved an entirely new version of these events from his inner consciousness. There he causes Lady Hamilton to go in pursuit of Nelson, carrying with her the following letter to the British admiral from Caroline: 'Providence has entrusted you with the fate of the Neapolitan monarchy. I have no time to write you a detailed letter as to the very great services we expect from you. My Lady my ambassadress, and my friend, will convey to you my prayers and my gratitude' (*Impressions de Voyage, Le Corricolo*, vol. i. p. 128).

problem. These are, firstly, the letters written to Caroline by Lady Hamilton from Naples between the 24th and the 30th of June, 1799; and secondly, the *pièces justificatives* which were sent to Palermo by Micheroux with the *Compendio*. Unfortunately these have not yet come to light, in spite of the efforts which have been made by numerous independent investigators to unearth them. The fate of a large number of the MSS. connected with the revolution of 1799 is at present shrouded in mystery. After the restoration of the monarchy Ferdinand ordered the archives of the defunct republic to be destroyed, and several cartloads of documents were burnt in public by the common hangman.¹ This conflagration did not, however, in all probability include any MSS. having any bearing on the question now under discussion.

The disappearance of these papers is most puzzling and vexatious. Where, for instance, are the documents which were reproduced in print by Sacchinelli? It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that a find which would include these MSS. might also yield further fruit in the shape of others of the missing documents. Conjectures are rife: according to one story Queen Caroline before her death confided her private papers to the custody of Count Ludolf, the Neapolitan ambassador to the Sublime Porte. They are alleged to have remained in his possession till they were accidentally destroyed by fire. It seems almost certain that there are in existence at the present moment a large number of MSS.

¹ See proclamation of the 24th of January, 1800, Dumas, vol. i. p. 4.

relating to this period, access to which is steadfastly denied to the public. The story runs that they were at one time preserved in the household archives of the royal palace at Naples, and that some Neapolitan penny-a-liner who had gained access to them misused his opportunities by publishing scandalous matter relating to Queen Caroline in the Neapolitan press. The late king of Italy was chivalrously indignant at the insult thus offered to the memory of a fallen dynasty, and directed the sequestration of these papers. I have myself conversed with persons of standing and credibility who allege that they have seen such documents ; but, be this as it may, it is quite clear that it is at present hopeless for the private investigator to endeavour to procure access to them.

As has already been pointed out, the object of this volume is to bring together the large mass of evidence which has been accumulated, and to arrange it so as to allow English readers to form their own judgment on the question at issue. There is, however, a certain amount of new matter contained in these pages, of which the most important is the correspondence which passed between Hamilton and Nelson on the one hand, and the court at Palermo on the other, from the 21st to the 30th of June. Some of these letters have been published by Dumas in an Italian translation, but they were so mangled and garbled in the process as to materially increase the difficulties of what was already a sufficiently involved problem. The Logs of the Seahorse and the Foudroyant, two extremely useful and important documents, also appear in these pages in print for the first time. In some cases it has been possible

to collate reprints, of a more or less unsatisfactory character, with the original MSS. ; in others gaps have been filled up by the insertion of letters which have been omitted from a series either by design or by accident.

Several of the original letters of Nelson to Foote, and some other documents used by Foote in preparing his *Vindication*, have recently come into the possession of the Society, to which they were presented by a member of the Council—the late Mr. W. F. Sinclair, I.C.S.—who found them in a box of old family papers, but without any idea of how they got there. The internal evidence of their genuineness is, however, quite sufficient, and the collation with them of Foote's printed text places his character for accuracy of quotation in a more favourable view than I have been able to take of his judgment.

With regard to two series of documents contained in this volume, some explanation is necessary. The first of these consists of forty letters written by Nelson to Sir John Acton in the early part of 1799, now in the archives of Naples and hitherto unpublished. Though these have no direct bearing on the controversy, no apology is needed for their insertion. The second series consists of Queen Caroline's correspondence with Lady Hamilton in June 1799. Caroline's letters, though marked by great facility of expression, are lacking in clearness and method. Like many others of the crowned heads of Europe during the eighteenth century, she was totally indifferent to grammar and orthography, and the words literally flowed from her mind on to paper in a chaotic stream without the least endea-

vous on her part to arrange or to punctuate the sentences. Her fiery energy found vent in a redundancy of epithets which is perhaps the most striking characteristic of her style, and which, though it is the despair of the translator, at the same time gives vigour and piquancy to her phraseology. Thus, for instance, in writing to Lady Hamilton she signs herself '*votre plus que tendre attachée reconnaissante amie*'; and when urging the emperor to send reinforcements she says: '*Je conte a votre loyauté vérité.*' Then, again, she often breaks off in the middle of a sentence and rushes off on another train of thought, leaving the reader to imagine what it was she meant to say in the first instance. In point of fact she was in the habit of thinking and writing in three, if not four, languages; and the result was that, when making use of Italian, she was often guilty of Gallicisms, and *vice versa*. For these reasons the translation alone of her letters into English is a matter of great difficulty, but the correction and punctuation of the French text is a Sisyphean task, which I have thought it best to leave untouched lest I might unwittingly misconstrue the sense of the original.

The documents have so far as possible been arranged chronologically, but in the case of those which, like Micheroux's *Compendio*, extend over several days, the plan adopted has been to place them under the date on which they commence, so that they may to some degree serve as an introduction to the matter which follows. The logs are dated according to the old nautical calendar, and in this connection it is important to bear in mind that the old sea-day began at midday. Thus 4 P.M. on the

25th (sea-time) would be 4 P.M. on the 24th by the ordinary computation. Sea-time was never used in dating letters, but was strictly confined to the logs. It should further be noted that time was at this period calculated in Naples from sunset to sunset; thus 20 o'clock would be roughly speaking 4 P.M. by the ordinary computation.

I owe a debt of gratitude, in the first place, to the late Lord Acton, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, who most ungrudgingly placed both his unique knowledge of the bibliography of the period, and the contents of his library, at my disposal. The idea of bringing these documents together into book form originated with the late Professor Gardiner, who took a sympathetic interest in the progress of the work up to the moment of his lamented death. Professor Laughton has given me the benefit of his mastery of the naval history of the eighteenth century, and also of much invaluable criticism and assistance. I am indebted to Captain Mahan for many useful and helpful suggestions.

I am under a great obligation to the Marchese Maresca who most unselfishly supplied me with information as to the matter available in the Archives at Naples. Mr. George Buchanan, C.B., C.V.O. and Mr. Stephen Leech, of the British Embassy at Rome, and Mr. Neville Rolfe, M.V.O., H.B. Majesty's Consul-General for Southern Italy, spared no effort to procure for me the assistance of the Italian Government in my researches. I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Oscar Browning, Mr. J. E. Hodder Williams, Professor Croce, and

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The Società di Storia Patria of Naples have most willingly and unselfishly permitted me to reproduce copious extracts from that veritable treasure-house of Neapolitan history the *Archivio Storico per le province Napoletane*, and in particular I should mention the *Compendio* of Micheroux. The Freiherr von Helfert has also most courteously allowed me to reprint two letters contained in the Life of Cardinal Ruffo of which he is the author.



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MAPS AND PLANS

THE CITY OF NAPLES	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THE BAY OF NAPLES	<i>To face p. xlvii</i>



DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE
JACOBIN REVOLUTION AT NAPLES
JUNE 1799

1. *NELSON TO SIR JOHN ACTON.*

[Grande Archivio di Stato di Napoli. Affari Esteri, 3^o Riservato,
fascio 624.]

I

Palermo, 1st of January, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I know full well how much your Excellency's time is occupied in this very difficult crisis, and should have been sorry that a moment of it had been wasted on me. I am truly sensible of your goodness, and I most heartily wish you many many *happy* returns of the day, and that each may be happier than the last and none so unhappy as the present is the sincere prayer of your Excellency's

Most obedient servant,

NELSON.

II

16th of January, 1799.

My dear Sir,—In consequence of the information received from Naples this morning, do you now wish to send your despatches this day by the

B

Alcmene? The wind is directly contrary, and you may to-morrow rather send the vessel of the king which has arrived this morning.

Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON.

III

14th of February, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I presume to send you my note on my conversation with Niza.

Ever yours, &c.,

NELSON.

IV

15th of February, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I am of opinion that a confidential person going to Corfu may do good and can do no harm, as he may remove difficulties as they arise; letters, and strong ones, should certainly be got from the Russian minister¹ and Italinsky.² I fear for Messina, and long myself to be in the citadel with an English ship's company, when the devils might roar, but should not get in without a struggle from your most obedient servant,

NELSON.

The wind is fair for Corfu. I long for Captain Troubridge's return, when he shall go to Messina.

V

15th of February, 9 P.M. [99].

My dear Sir,—I wish to see the Chevalier Micheroux: the wind is fair and time propitious. The El Corso as a faster sailer I have ordered to go to Corfu instead of the Mutine.

Ever, &c.,

NELSON.

¹ Count Mussin-Pushkin.

² The Chevalier Italinsky, councillor of state, had many years employed by the tsar in a diplomatic capacity at Naples, and had been ordered to follow Ferdinand to Pa-

VI

19th of February, 1799.

My dear Sir,—The deputies from Malta have just been here, and are very anxious to get an answer from the king to their memorial, as they want to arrange how the various things they have desired for the service of reducing the town of La Vallette are to be got to Malta; and as they state the great anxiety of their countrymen to know the success of their mission, I presume to hope that your Excellency will have the goodness to facilitate their departure with content.

I have the honour, &c.,

NELSON.

I understand the deputies have seen the Prince Trabia.¹

P.S.—I thank your Excellency about the pine. I have this day wrote to Syracuse to order on his arrival from Egypt Captain Troubridge to Messina, and there to wait for my further orders. I hope all prisoners confined in that fortress on suspicion of Jacobinism are removed, for in my opinion the first step towards the defence of that place is to purge it of bad characters.

I send you a paper I have just received, and as I have it so I send it.

VII

Palermo, 24th of February, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I beg leave to enclose your [Excellency] a paper containing a list of arms and ammunition requested by the Maltese deputies, and, indeed, I think the desire so very moderate that I hope if possible there will be no difficulty in complying with what they have asked.

I have the honour, &c.,

NELSON.

¹ Minister of the interior.

VIII

Palermo, 25th of February, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I thank you for the letters from Syracuse, and for keeping the messenger in order that I might have the opportunity of writing to the officer who has brought the despatches from Captain Troubridge off Alexandria, which are dated 6th February. I wish it was in my power to have told you that Troubridge had been successful, but all the points and heights round the harbour are so well fortified that he does not think it practicable, and he will therefore leave ships for the blockade and return here with three ships of the line, which shall either go to Messina or come here—either all or part of them as the king may wish; and I beg you will ask that. I mention for me, as things are at present I think they had better come here. I shall wait their Majesties' pleasure before I write for Captain Troubridge at Syracuse. Captain Troubridge knows nothing in particular about the French army except that they are reported to have the plague amongst them. Have you any reports about Malta? There [are] some in town, but I do not believe them, viz.—that the Corrodine had been taken by assault.

Ever, my dear Sir, &c.,

NELSON.

The Russian frigate which was with our ships off Alexandria is going to Corfu, and the Turkish gunboats to Rhodes.

IX

26th of February, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I thank you for your two letters, and herewith I take the liberty of sending two letters for Syracuse, where I hope Captain Troubridge is by this time arrived. It is hard that England must

keep up that distant blockade whilst 20 sail of the line and as many frigates of Turks and Russians are in the Levant seas. Was the blockade raised I am confident St. Jean d'Acre would fall in a week, and the rich treasure of the bey fall into the hands of the French. Scanderoon, &c. &c., would soon follow, the Greek Islands would be bought, and then farewell to the good Turk and Constantinople. Russia would play a *good game* or *I am mistaken*. Thus Great Britain must support the Grand Signor on his throne.

NELSON.

X

Palermo, 2nd of March, 1799.

The deputies from Malta are naturally very anxious to return to that island with the good accounts of their favourable reception, and of all their desires being complied with. And as I have no ship not appropriated for a particular service at present at my disposal, I beg leave to submit to your Excellency the propriety of sending Captain Shankey¹ (who I see is arrived) with them. The Dorothea frigate will sail in 48 hours after her arrival with a convoy for Gibraltar. If the court has any letters for that channel for England they shall be taken care of. The moment your Excellency hears anything relative to the ships which reports say passed Trepano on the 20th ult., I beg you will have the goodness to let me know, for I am very anxious about them.

Ever your Excellency's, &c.,

NELSON.

XI

7th of March, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I wish the Lion packet to take this day, if possible, the powder and all the stores

¹ Nelson's phonetic spelling of the name of one Cianchi, an officer in the Neapolitan marine.

promised the Maltese deputies, who Captain Ball tells me are anxiously expected by all the people of the island. Captain Ball appears to have well-founded hopes that the garrison must soon surrender. I send you extracts of Captain Ball's letters ; you will see his opinion about taking 3,000 Maltese into pay, but whether this can be done by his Sicilian Majesty you are the best judge. At the same time I really think a sum of money should, if possible, be sent to be at Captain Ball's disposal in order to counteract the plans of the French. Their Majesties may be assured I will do everything in my power to serve them, and have no views separate from their interest. The emperor must move sooner or later ; all will yet be well. Adieu, my dear Sir, &c.

NELSON.

Pray give me as much time as you can to write to Constantinople.

Your letter for M. Circello¹ shall be taken care of.

XII

7th of March, 9 P.M. [1799.]

My dear Sir,—I have considered your letter of yesterday and of this day, and have determined that the *Bonne Citoyenne* shall on Saturday carry the Deputies to Malta, and I hope the money which is absolutely necessary for that island shall go in her. If the powder, lead, &c., is put on board her she will take it. Considering also the very great importance of this court's speedy communication with the Sublime Porte, I have determined that the *Bonne Citoyenne* shall pass from Malta to Constantinople. Therefore pray have your letters ready by Saturday

¹ Neapolitan ambassador in London. Afterwards succeeded Acton as prime minister, 1806.

noon. Indeed I am as anxious in the cause of his Sicilian Majesty as of my own sovereign. We must all be active and exert ourselves ; trifling forms must give way to great occasions.

Yours faithfully,
NELSON.

XIII

8th of March, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I send you a memorial which has made our hearts in this house bleed with sorrow ; so it will your Excellency's. For God's sake ; for the sake of a virtuous king and queen, stop this cruel process ! send away *Mandels, Grassetti, Puget, &c.*, but for a poor old man *seventy-five years of age, blind*, and who has lived fifty years in Palermo, let him here die in peace. This favour is requested of his Sicilian Majesty, by your Excellency's faithful servant,

NELSON.¹

XIV

10th of March, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I send you a letter from Mr. Tough² relative to the *old and blind man*. If you have proofs of his infamy, send him to the Devil ; if not clear proofs of his guilt, pray let him remain. This is a grace asked by

NELSON.

XV

Palermo, 11th of March, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I beg you will have the goodness to send over to Messina the enclosed letter as it relates to the ships of war which carried the troops.

¹ This 'poor old blind man' was a French resident of Palermo, by name Samelin, apparently accused of Jacobinism and high treason. See Acton to Nelson, 8th March and 10th March, 1799. B.M. Add. MS. 34909, ff. 374, 385.

² The British consul at Palermo.

Sir Charles Stuart¹ desires that proper means may be taken for the acceptance of bills on the English Government ; also that an order may be issued for the extraction of cattle, corn and oil for Minorca.

Ever your faithful servant,
NELSON.

XVI

Palermo, 11th of March, 1799.

From a new captain being appointed to the *Bonne Citoyenne*, and Captain Nisbet's ship not being arrived, I am sorry it is not in my power to send the *Bonne Citoyenne* at present to Constantinople. The moment I have an opportunity I shall be happy in offering it. Being with the greatest esteem your faithful servant,

NELSON.

XVII

Palermo, 12th of March, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I thank you sincerely for your letter of this morning and for the perusal of the pamphlets. I beg your Excellency will have the goodness to direct the letters sent herewith to be delivered as directed. Ever your faithful servant,

NELSON.

P.S.—If General Harman² should arrive with 12,000 men, I am of opinion if a bold push was made for Naples it might be recovered in the moment. Is it not worth the trial? I am ready to assist in the enterprise ; I only wish to die in the cause.

N.

¹ The commander of the British troops sent to Sicily from Minorca. Defeated the French at Maida.

² *I.e.* Hermann, the commander of the Russian army corps which was to embark at Zara for Taranto under the treaty of St. Petersburg, 29th of December, 1798.

XVIII

15th of March, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I thank you for your very interesting letter of this day. Their Sicilian Majesties are sure of me individually, and I wish by every means in my power to make all other officers have the same interest for their service as myself. I send a letter for Mr. Wyndham¹ at Florence. I rejoice at the arrival of the troops from Orbitello, and that his Majesty's arms may in the end triumph is the fervent wish of your Excellency's faithful servant,

NELSON.

XIX

19th of March, 1799.

My dear Sir,—The ships necessary for Minorca I shall compromise. Niza shall go on the coast of Tuscany and the ship at Leghorn shall go to Minorca, if it is approved of. I do not do all Lord St. Vincent desires, but he will approve my conduct I am confident. I have nothing to send to Syracuse. Many thanks for your goodness.

Ever your faithful servant,

NELSON.

XX

23rd of March, 1799.

My dear Sir,—The ships under my orders have so many wants that I am truly ashamed to keep on asking in the way I do, but I am obliged. All our boats are out of repair, and we have no elm plank to fit them; I therefore beg your Excellency will request his Majesty's goodness to give us an elm tree for that purpose, of which there are several laying at the arsenal. Ever your obliged

NELSON.

¹ British minister at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Sir William showed me your letters and papers last night. I certainly agree with you that the Russian ships are more useful where they are, till they bring troops for Naples. I pray that time may very soon come.

XXI

31st of March, 1799.

Dear Sir,—The *Minotaur* parted her cable in the night, and this morning Captain Troubridge, who would not detain the squadron on that account, sent to the arsenal to request they would send out a proper vessel to weigh the anchor. The buoy at present swims well, and as the top of an anchor under our present circumstances is of very great consequence, I must beg your Excellency's interference that every exertion may be made from the arsenal for its recovery. As an encouragement a salvage shall be given. I have to thank you for your elegant letter of last night. I feel confident your Excellency always represents my services in the best point of view. Our letters for Corfu, &c., are ready. Ever your most obedient servant,
NELSON.

XXII

Palermo, 3rd of April, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I beg leave to send you our letters for Corfu; mine for Constantinople I have this day sent off in an American ship bound to Smyrna. I long to hear even of 3,000 Russians arriving; they would be invaluable with the cardinal; but if 12,000 ever arrive, the city of Naples directly is our object. To say how happy I should be to carry back their Majesties is impossible. With God's blessing I think there is a prospect of this happening. I hope Chevalier Micheroux will prevent the Russian and Turkish ships coming here without troops, for they can be of no use. The Balloon brig is waiting to

convoy the vessels with the slaves whenever they are reported ready. I do not see any vessel from the arsenal to weigh the Minotaur's anchor, and I am afraid the buoy's rope may be cut away. Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON.

XXIII

7th of April, 1799.

The king has now possession of the islands in the Bay of Naples, the inhabitants of which have returned to their allegiance. If his Majesty loses them again it will be very difficult to recover them.

Therefore it is my opinion that the very greatest care should be taken that the islanders are supplied with the greatest abundance of provisions, and at the *very* cheapest rate. Those who cannot afford to buy it should be given [it]. In short, the greatest care should be taken that those people who retain their allegiance should have plenty to eat, and that the rebels should be forced to confess the difference of situation.

N.

XXIV

14th of April, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I send a letter from Malta, and one for the king; the distress of those poor people is great, either on the re-establishment of the order, or of the falling under the dominion of Russia. But we cannot help this matter; it is a sacrifice of a *sprat* to catch (I hope) a *whale*. The San Leon shall remain till noon to-morrow for the governor of Ischia and your letters. Pray let me have them by that time. If Troubridge has these gunboats he will take all the gunboats of Naples now laying in security at Baia. Pray let me be informed of what flour, corn, &c., is already gone to the islands; every hour vessels should be sailing. In a week, if

matters keep well, I shall hope that their Majesties will go to the Bay of Naples.

Ever, &c.,
NELSON.

XXV

22nd of April, 1799.

My dear Sir,—The field-pieces are not yet on board the Mutine. If they are not ready the Emerald will be here in two days and shall take them. Troubridge is in alarm about provisions, the Hyena not being arrived when he wrote. It is to be recollected 50,000 mouths are to be fed from Sicily, therefore a calculation is not difficult of what ought to be sent. I hope the emperor has been successful in Italy. Troubridge thinks he has, as the French say there has been a battle, and do not claim a victory. Adieu, my dear Sir, and believe me, &c.,

NELSON.

XXVI

25th of April, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I send you Captain Troubridge's last letters, and those from Hood. I hope now that the supply of provisions being constant, we shall hear no more complaints. If two good soldiers are sent this day to the Vanguard, the felucca shall carry them; if not, they shall go the next opportunity.

Ever, &c.,
NELSON.

XXVII

25th of April, 1799.

My dear Sir,—Corn, the property of the English squadron, has been this morning seized; it was landed by permission; how *curious*! There must be some mistake; no English property should be seized in this certainly very unjustifiable manner. I take the liberty of sending Mr. Noble's note to my

secretary, that the business may be settled without having recourse to Sir William Hamilton in his ministerial capacity, which must bring forth a very unpleasant paper.

Ever, &c.,
NELSON.

Sir William knows of my writing your Excellency this private note. I heartily hope the news brought from Tuscany is true.

XXVIII

25th of April, 1799.

My dear Sir,—There will be to-morrow evening a ball and supper on board the *Vanguard*; may I request the honour of your company? which will be an obligation conferred upon your Excellency's obedient servant,

NELSON.

I hope also to have the pleasure of seeing the baron ¹ and baroness.

XXIX

30th of April, 1799.

My dear Sir,—Although I send your Excellency Troubridge's letters received this day, containing some good, some indifferent news (which must always happen in a war like the present), it ought to have no other effect than to rouse exertion. The *Vanguard* and *Harlem* are ready to receive the troops; I rejoice their numbers are so respectable. This afternoon I have sent off a boat to Troubridge to say the troops will sail in 48 hours, and as circumstances offer, to be ready to retake Salerno. The *Zealous* of course will remain in the Gulf of Salerno, therefore the corvette should be ordered to go to Captain Hood. Although I send your Excel-

¹ Sir John Acton's brother.

lency at this moment not the news I could wish, yet the first good news which arrives I shall be happy in making you the instrument of communicating it to their Majesties. For believe me,

Your Excellency's most faithful servant,

NELSON.

XXX

30th of April, 1799.

My dear Sir,—The Harleem shall carry 800 troops to the Bay of Naples, and return here for our letters for England. Can these troops be embarked to-morrow at farthest? It must not be forgot that provisions must be sent to maintain them after landing, for you see what Troubridge says on that subject. Therefore I will only repeat that my exertions are at all times ready for their Majesties' service.

Believe me, &c.,

NELSON.

XXXI

Palermo, 2nd of May, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I send you, *rough* as it is, my friend Troubridge's letter. I had thought that corn in abundance had gone over, but it does not appear so. As to the Royalists being alarmed at the name of a Jacobin, I am not surprised; it is the system of *terror*, by which terror the French hold all Italy. The wind detains the Pallas; your letters for England will possibly be ready before the wind changes. If your Excellency will send them to me, I will take care I forward them to Lord St. Vincent.

Ever, &c.,

NELSON.

XXXII

3rd of May, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I send your Excellency several letters directed for you, and many for different

people at Palermo, which from particular circumstances of trade between this place and Genoa ought perhaps to be examined.

Believe me, &c.,
NELSON.

XXXIII

3rd of May, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I forgot one of your Excellency's letters this morning when I went to the palace. The queen said she could send for you to read her all the good news; a proper selection might be made and published with the greatest good effect. You will see by the letters from Genoa that care must be taken to prevent, as much as possible, corn from passing into the Genoese state, and also to look out for all letters passing from or to Genoa. The money sent to Malta, Captain Ball hopes, will keep up good humour till the arrival of the Russians; pray God it may be soon. The ships for England will not sail before Sunday evening. I find the troops will not be ready for three or four days.

Adieu, my dear Sir, and believe me, &c.,
NELSON.

XXXIV

4th of May, 1799.

My dear Sir,—Many thanks for your letter; all our appearances, thank God, are good. I send two letters of Troubridge. The Harleem, a frigate, can take shells for the bomb-boat. I am anxious for the sailing of the troops: pray push hard for their embarkation on Monday morning, or to-morrow if possible. Their appearance even in the islands will alarm Naples; but the French are gone in my opinion by this time, therefore the importance of the speedy arrival of troops is more than even their remaining.

Ever, &c.,
NELSON.

XXXV

8th of May, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I return you my sincere thanks for all your kindness, and I beg leave to assure your Excellency that my sincere respect for you cannot be exceeded by anyone. I have strongly recommended to Troubridge to prevent the landing of any small numbers of men around the Bay of Naples, which can only be cut off in a short time as experience has shown, but to take good care of the islands and to wait events. The Harleem will go from Procida to England if you chance to write by her. I long to have her sail.

Believe me, &c.,

NELSON.

XXXVI

8th of May, 1799.

My dear Sir,—We were at the Colli when Troubridge's letters came to us, or your Excellency should have had them sooner. There must be something wrong about your sending provisions. I believe the French have all left Naples, and I hope we shall soon get rid of the Jacobins. I participate with my friend Troubridge about *Yauch*¹; the king must instantly order his trial, and if guilty of cowardice or treachery he must be shot in the most infamous manner. What a *villain!* Good God! to see shot flying and not taking the post of honour entrusted to him by his gracious master! If an example is not made of this wretch—for he has not one inch of a man about him—the king will never be well served, for who does not

¹ The Neapolitan officer commanding the troops sent to Orbitello and Longone to relieve the garrisons which were holding out against the French. His offence was his refusal to disembark his men. A promise was given that he should be court-martialled, but he appears to have escaped punishment. (Cf. *Despatches*, vol. iii. pp. 349, 350, and 360.)

like to live if dishonour is no disgrace? Excuse my feelings, but I cannot bear such gracious monarchs should be so ill-served. More than ever hasten the troops. Think of Longone! *I am mad!* However, Captain Oswald tells me he is sure from the conversation of the Dane that a body of Austrians and Russians are in Tuscany, and the French evacuating Leghorn. I have your letters for Circello. Lay me at the feet of their Majesties; tell me how I can best serve them! Only degrade this *HOG* and my life is at their disposal, but neither mine or any Englishman's under me at the mercy of traitors, cowards, and scoundrels.

Ever, &c.,
NELSON.

XXXVII

9th of May, 1799.

My dear Sir,—The *Lion*, who has had pratique at Malta, has on board 20 bad sea ulcers, which I am told require to be on shore. If therefore it can be done, I shall be obliged to your Excellency to let me know it as soon as possible. This done, if his Majesty has any officers, men, or other things to send to Longone, the *Lion*, who will sail this night, shall carry them. It is essential at least to show we have not forgot them. From thence the *Lion* goes to Leghorn, that it may be blockaded; and—if the Austrians are happily arrived there—that we may know something. We shall be at the palace at 11 o'clock in the queen's apartments, if you will turn this in your mind. Captain Troubridge has all his boats stove, and begs that I will ask for three elm trees. Can we have them? If so, send the order to the arsenal. The *Perseus* sails for Procida this afternoon. *Minerva* I hope this morning. Ever your obliged,

NELSON.

c

XXXVIII

Palermo, 10th of May, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I am sorry your packet for England is too late, but another opportunity shall soon offer. I send your Excellency 5 packets, just arrived in the *Penelope* cutter from Gibraltar—13 days. I shall send you in the morning my letters from Tunis of May 5th; something must instantly be done. I will write my sentiments fully in the morning; in the meantime a proper person should be ready to go to Tunis to-morrow to conclude a truce, and with what money is collected for the redemption of slaves. I am, &c.,

NELSON.

XXXIX

16th of May, 1799.

Yesterday I signed for 8 passports for corn for Procida.¹

My dear Sir,—I send your Excellency Captain Troubridge's letter. If the general is condemned I hope for example's sake that his Majesty will order the sentence to be immediately carried into execution. I have the case of money mentioned as taken from the General Yauch. I beg you will send a carriage for it. I think to-morrow we shall see Troubridge, and the same ² the ships here will be under sail. Ever believe me, &c.,

NELSON.

XL

Palace, 17th of May, 1799: 10 P.M.³

Eight twenty-four pounders and some shot wanted immediately for the *Harleem*, when she

¹ Written upside down in the MS.

² A word illegible. Query—evening.

³ This note is unsigned, but is in Nelson's handwriting. The date was added by Acton.

will be equal to a 64-gun ship. Lord Nelson begs the order from Sir John Acton as soon as possible. All the French have left the kingdom of Naples.

2. SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY TO
EARL ST. VINCENT.

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 143.]

3rd of October, 1798.

I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint your Lordship, that in the present state of affairs in the Mediterranean their Lordships conceive that the objects principally to be attended to by the squadron employed there are—

1st. The protection of the coasts of Sicily, Naples, and the Adriatic, and in the event of war being renewed in Italy, an active co-operation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies.

2ndly. The cutting off all communication between France and Egypt, that neither supplies nor reinforcements may be sent to the army at Alexandria.

3rdly. The blocking up of Malta, so as to prevent provisions being sent into it.

4thly. The co-operating with the Turkish and Russian squadrons which are to be sent into the archipelago. . . . 'The ninth article of a treaty proposed to be concluded between his Majesty and the Porte (a copy of which is enclosed) will explain to your Lordship the nature of the engagements likely to be made between the two contracting powers; and it is necessary your Lordship should also be informed that a treaty has recently been concluded between the Porte and Russia, by which his Imperial Majesty has engaged to furnish a certain number of ships for the purpose of being

employed against the common enemy, part of which has actually arrived at Constantinople and joined the Turkish squadron.' . . . 'The protection of the coasts of Naples and Sicily, and an active co-operation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies are the objects to which a principal part of the squadron should be most particularly directed. If the superiority of the allied forces be such as to admit of their being divided into separate squadrons, which, from the great victory gained by his Majesty's squadron, under the command of Sir Horatio Nelson, their Lordships conclude will hereafter be the case, many of these objects may be attained by blocking up the enemy's ships of war in their own ports, as in such case few cruisers, and those of no great force, might then be sufficient to perform most of the other services. . . . Your Lordship will give such directions to the officer commanding the squadron in the Mediterranean as may be necessary for carrying effectually into execution these instructions, in which, however, from the nature of his situation and from the uncertainty of events which may occur, much must of necessity be left to his discretion. But he should be particularly directed in every possible situation, to give the most cordial and unlimited support and protection to his Majesty's allies, to exert himself to the utmost to preserve a good intelligence between them, and most carefully to avoid giving to any of them the smallest cause for suspicion, jealousy, or offence.'

3. *CARDINAL RUFFO'S COMMISSION.*

[Sacchinelli, p. 82.]

[25th of January, 1799.]

The necessity of promptly proceeding by all possible efficacious means to save the provinces of the kingdom of Naples from the many snares which the enemies of religion, of the crown, and of good order are preparing for their subversion, has determined me to entrust to your talents, zeal and loyalty the important commission of undertaking the defence of that part of the kingdom which has not yet been invaded, from the ruin and disorders of every kind which are threatening it in this serious crisis.

I charge your Eminence to proceed with all diligence to the Calabrias, which is the part which I am most anxious to place first of all in the best state of defence practicable, in order to combine your operations or other measures with those which are proper for the defence of the kingdom of Sicily, and carry them out in concert against the common

CARDINAL RUFFO.

La necessità di accorrere prontamente con ogni efficace e possibile mezzo alla preservazione delle provincie del Regno di Napoli dalle numerose insidie, che i nemici della Religione, della Corona e dell' ordine promulgano ed adoperano per sovvertirle, mi determina ad appoggiare a' di lei talenti, zelo ed attaccamento, la cura ed importante commissione di assumere la difesa di quella parte del Regno non ancora invasa da' disordini di ogni genere e dalla rovina che la minaccia nell' actual seria crisi.

Incarico pertanto Vostra Eminenza di portarsi sollecitamente nelle Calabrie, come la parte premurosamente ho a cuore di porre la prima nel massimo grado di praticabile difesa, per combinarne le operazioni, o misure con quelle che convengono alla difesa del Regno di Sicilia, e cammi-

enemy for the purpose of rendering both parts of the kingdom secure not only from hostilities, but also from such means of seduction as might be introduced into their extensive coast lands by the arts and wiles of evilly-disposed persons in the capital and the rest of Italy. The Calabrias, the Basilicata, the provinces of Lecce, of Bari and of Salerno, the remnant of the province of Terra di Lavoro and Montefusco, which has survived the scandalous cession, are to be the objects of your particular and energetic attention.

You may adopt to any extent all means which loyalty to religion, desire to save property, life, and family honour, or the policy of rewarding those who distinguish themselves, may suggest to you, as well as the severest punishments. Briefly, you are to rouse whatever motives seem to you capable of inciting and animating the inhabitants to a just defence. The fire of enthusiasm, in the proper

nare in esse di concerto contro il commune nemico, tanto per rendere immune l' una e l' altra parte da ostilità, come da' mezzi di seduzione, che si possono introdurre negli estesi loro littorali per arte e tentativi dei malintenzionati della Capitale, o del resto dell' Italia.

Le Calabrie, la Basilicata, le provincie di Lecce, Bari e di Salerno, l' avanzo di quella di Terra di Lavoro e di Montefusco, ch' è restato dopo la scandalosa cessione fatta, saranno l' oggetto delle di Lei massime ed energiche premure.

Ogni mezzo che dall' attaccamento alla Religione, dal desiderio di salvare le proprietà, la vita e l' onore delle famiglie, o dalle ricompense per chi si distinguesse, crederà di poter impiegare, va adoprato senza limite, ugualmente che i gastighi i più severi. Qualunque molla finalmente che giudicherà poter suscitare in quest' instante, e crederà capace di animare quegli abitanti ad una giusta difesa, dovrà eccitarla. Il fuoco dell' entusiasmo, in ogni regolar

sense, seems at the present moment best adapted for meeting and overthrowing not only the new ideas which flatter the ambitions of some with the hope of plunder, and the vanity and pride of others, but also the illusory hopes held out by the followers of modern opinions and revolutionary methods, of the afflicting results of which examples are to be found throughout Italy and Switzerland.

In order to give effect to any measures directed to the preservation of the provinces, and to the reconquest of the invaded districts and the disordered capital, I appoint you to be commissioner-general in the provinces, where you shall first display your commission, and to be vicar-general of the kingdom whenever you shall find yourself possessed of an effective force in the greater part of each province. You may make any proclamations you may consider likely to bring about the end you have been ordered to attain.

As my *alter ego* I grant you the right of dis-

senso, sembra nell' attuale momento il più atto a superare, come a contrastare con le novità, che lusingano l' ambizione di alcuni, con l' idea di acquistare per rapine, colla vanità e l' amor proprio di altri, e coll' illusoria speranza che offrono i fautori delle moderne opinioni e de' maneggi rivoluzionari, ma di cui gli esempi in tutta l' Italia ed Elvezia presentano il contrario aspetto e le più desolanti conseguenze.

Per mandare ad effetto ogni qualunque misura diretta alla conservazione delle provincie, al riacquisto benanche così delle invase, come a quello della disordinata Capitale, l' autorizzo come Commissario Generale nelle prime provincie, ove manifesterà la sua commissione, e con la qualità di Vicario Generale di quel Regno, allorchè si troverà in possesso e munito di attiva forza in tutte, e nella maggior parte delle medesime, a fare i proclami che stimerà meglio e conducenti più sicuramente al fine ingiuntole.

Le accordo coll' alterego le facoltà di rimuovere nel mio

missing in my name all governors, administrators, judges, and civil servants of any rank; also the power to suspend, banish or arrest, if necessary, any military officer, and to fill up any vacant posts provisionally, till I shall have approved of your appointments, so that all government servants may recognise your Eminence as their superior, appointed by me, and may act promptly without complaint or difficulty at the present arduous and critical time.

You may assume the character of commissioner or vicar-general at your discretion, in whatever manner and at whatever time you may consider proper, for my intention in bestowing on you the unrestricted quality of *alter ego* is to cause my sovereign authority to be respected, so that you may preserve my kingdom from further harm. . . .

nome ogni Preside, ogni Regio Amministratore, ogni Ministro di Tribunale ed inferiori impiegati in qualunque grado politico, come di sospendere ogni ufficiale militare, allontanarlo, o farlo arrestare, occorrendo, se ne troverà motivo, e d'impiegare interinamente chi stimerà per rimpiazzare le vacanze, e finchè le abbia io approvate per la proprietà, sulle di lei richieste, acciò tutti i dipendenti dal Governo riconoscano nell' Eminenza Vostra il Superiore primario da me destinato a dirigerlo, ed agiscano con vivacità senza remora, nè difficoltà alcuna a quanto necessita negli ardui e critici attuali momenti.

Questa caratteristica di Commissario, o di Vicario Generale sarà assunta a di lei scelta nel modo e quando crederà conveniente all' oggetto, perchè colle facoltà ed alterego, che le concedo nel più esteso modo, intendo che faccia valere e rispettare la mia Sovrana Autorità, e con essa preservi il mio regno da ulteriori danni.

Dovrà perciò adoprare con severità e prontuariamente ogni più rigoroso mezzo di gastigo, qualora a ciò la richiami la necessità del momento e della giustizia, sia per farla ubidire, o per ovviare a' serî sconcerti onde coll' esempio e col togliere di mezzo la radice o seme, che troppo rapida-

You will report to me regularly as to your plans or intentions, in all cases in which there is time to ascertain my wishes and to receive my orders. . . .

mente potesse estendersi e germogliare negl' istanti di disorganizzazione delle Autorità da me stabilite, o dalla disposizione di alcuni al sovvertimento, venga riparato a maggiori eccessi ed inconvenienti.

Tutte le casse regie, di ogni denominazione, dipenderanno da' suoi ordini: veglierà che non ne passi somma alcuna nella Capitale, mentre si trova questa nello stato di anarchia, in cui senza legittimo governo soggiace attualmente. Il danaro di dette casse sarà da lei adoprato pel comune e necessario bene delle provincie ne' pagamenti opportuni al governo civile, e ne' mezzi di difesa da provvedersi instantaneamente, come al pagamento de' loro difensori.

Mi darà conto regolare di ciò che sull' assunto avrà stabilito, o penserà di stabilire, e sopra di cui vi fosse tempo da sentire le mie risoluzioni e ricevere i miei ordini.

Sceglierà due o tre Assessori legali probi e di sua fiducia per affidare loro la decisione di alcune cause più gravi che per appello dovevano mandarsi ai Tribunali della Capitale, acciò essi terminino con finale decisione quelle pendenze nel modo il più breve. Potrà prevalersi di Togati della Capitale, o di Ministri delle provincie per tale commissione, autorizzandoli a decretare benanche le altre cause, che ai medesimi stimerà di commettere, come anche gli appelli che ne venissero portati; ed assicurerà colla dimissione di detti Ministri, se occorrerà, la più retta giustizia, che amministrerà in mio nome nelle provincie da lei dipendenti.

Dalle annesse carte che le riunisco, rileverà, che nella persuasione che non fosse del tutto sbandato il numeroso esercito che teneva in quel Regno, e da cui sono stato crudelmente servito, aveva ordinato che quegli avanzi si fossero portati in Salerno, e fino nelle Calabrie per difesa di esse e per un concerto indispensabile colla Sicilia. Nel momento attuale, qualunque sia il Commandante che si presenterà in esse provincie con qualche truppa, dovrà andare d' accordo in ogni parte di servizio e movimenti con V. Eminenza, cessando necessariamente le disposizioni

I shall hereafter send you such further instructions as appear to be necessary in consequence of the news received from you. . . .

FERDINAND.

enunciate negli annessi fogli ; ma il Duca della Salandra, o altro Generale, che giungesse con detta truppa, seguirà le prescrizioni nuove che qui accenno. Le notificherà al medesimo, e spedirò in appresso quelle provvidenze ulteriori, che i lumi e notizie che mi manderà, potranno richiedere.

Rispetto dunque alla forza militare, dovendo io presumere che non n' esista della regolare, sarà di lei cura, ed è l' oggetto principale della sua commessione, di eccitare ogni mezzo ed ogni maggiore energia, perchè si riorganizzi un corpo militare qualunque, sia composto esso di soldati fuggiaschi, o disertori, che in patria riacquistassero il coraggio e l' animo, che ha distinto i bravi corpi de' Calabresi ne' recenti fatti col nemico ; oppure sia di quei buoni e ben pensati abitanti, che le sacre ragioni, esposti e patenti di valida difesa, come l' onore nazionale, posson indurre a prendere efficacemente le armi.

Per ottenere tutto ciò non le prescrivo mezzi, che tutti lascio al suo zelo, tanto in modi di organizzazione, che per la distribuzione di ricompense di ogni genere : se queste saranno in danaro, potrà accordarle subito ; se saranno in onori ed impieghi che prometterà potrà istallare interinamente quelli che giudicherà, e me ne renderà inteso per la conferma ed approvazione, come pei distintivi promessi.

Giungendo la truppa regolare che aspetto, potrò farne passare una porzione in Calabria, o in altre parti della Terra ferma, come egualmente quei generi in munizioni ed artiglieria, che potrò dividere fra quelle provincie e la Sicilia.

Sceglierà le persone di sua fiducia che nel militare, o in impieghi politici crederà di situare alla sua immediazione ; stabilirà per essi condizioni provvisorie, ed appoggerà loro quelle incumbenze che stimerà poter meglio convenire.

Per le spese di V. Eminenza, adoprerà la somma di ducati *millecinquecento* il mese, che possono esserle indispensabilmente necessarie ; ma le accordo ogni ulteriore

somma maggiore, che crederà convenire al disimpegno della sua commissione da un luogo all' altro, senza peso alcuno a que' popoli ed Università.

Le concedo parimente l' uso del danaro che troverà nelle casse (e che sarà sua cura di farsi entrare delle stabilite percezioni) per adoprarne porzione all' acquisto di notizie indispensabili alla sua commissione, sia dalla capitale o dalle provincie, sia anche da fuori per le mosse del nemico.

Siccome trovasi nel maggior disordine la detta capitale pei partiti che la lacerano, e de' quali è giuoco il popolo, farà vegliare da abili e adattati soggetti ad informarsi del tutto bene e giornalmente; e si procurerà ivi benanche delle corrispondenze ed intelligenze che fomentino, tra i buoni e cordati vassalli, i veri sentimenti di attaccamento ad ogni loro più sacro dovere: non risparmierà danaro per quest' oggetto, quando crederà poterselo proficuamente impiegare. In casi parimente da lei creduti necessari o opportuni, potrà adoprare somme e promesse per guadagnarsi soggetti, che possono rendere servizio utile allo Stato, alla Religione e Corona negli attuali momenti.

Non mi estendo in dettagli maggiori per le misure di difesa, che nel massimo grado da lei aspetto; molto meno per quelle contro le mozioni interne, attruppamenti, seduzioni, emissari e mala volontà di alcuni. Lascio al discernimento di V. Eminenza il prendere le più pronte determinazioni, e per la giustizia subitanea contro tali delinquenti. I Presidi (quello di Lecce specialmente), alcuni ben cordati vassalli ed abitanti in quelle parti, i Vescovi, Parrochi ed onesti Ecclesiastici, la informeranno di tutto, de' bisogni, comme de' mezzi locali; e questi ultimi saranno certamente adoprati tutti straordinaria ed energica vivacità, che prescrivono le circostanze.

Attendo dall' Imperatore soccorsi di ogni genere: il Turco me li promette ugualmente: così la Russia; onde le squadre di questa ultima Potenza, prossime al litorale di queste regioni, sono pronte a soccorrermi; ne avviso lei perchè nelle occasioni possa prevalersene ed ammettere benanche porzione di quelle truppe nelle provincie, se il caso lo richiedesse, come ricevere pure dalle loro squadre quegli aiuti, che la natura delle operazioni facessero considerare utili alla sicura loro difesa.

Le accenno queste misure dipendenti dall' esterno per ogni buon fine, mentre le farò passare indi quelle ulteriori notizie che riguarderanno un più sicuro concerto. Lo stesso saprà relativamente agl' Inglesi, la squadra dei quali veglia asseverantemente alla salvezza delle Sicilie.

Ogni modo di ricevere nuove e di spedirmele regolarmente, almeno due volte la settimana, sarà da lei stabilito ed assicurato con precisione, perchè le notizie concernenti la importante sua commissione mi giungano spesso ed opportunamente, come necessarie ed indispensabili benanche alla difesa di questo Regno.

Confido nel suo attaccamento, e nei suoi lumi, ed attendo che ella corrisponderà, come ne sono sicuro, a quanto vivamente e pienamente da lei spero.

FERDINANDO.

Palermo, 25 gennaio, 1799.

4. KING FERDINAND TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 21515, f. 12 ; Dumas, vol. iii. p. 199.]

Palermo, 30th of March, 1799.

My Lord Admiral Nelson,—Whilst promising myself, with the help of God, every success from the blockade of Naples, and from the operations against the islands adjacent to the Bay of Naples, which a detachment of the British squadron under your command is about to undertake, I cannot refrain from expressing to you my gratitude for the facilities you have afforded me in the preparation of this expedition, which prove to me more than ever how

Milord Ammiraglio Nelson,—Nel ripromettermi coll' ajuto di Dio ogni più felice successo dal Blocco di Napoli, che una porzione della Squadra Britannica sotto i vostri ordini va ad intraprendere, e da ciò che la medesima va ad eseguire relativamente alle Isole adjacenti al Golfo di Napoli, non posso io non testimoniarvi tutta la mia riconoscenza per le facilitazioni, che per questa spedizione mi avete apprestate, le quali mi provano sempre più quanto

much I am able to rely on my good friend and ally the King of Great Britain, and on your excellent dispositions on my behalf, which are such as I have constantly experienced at your hands.

After paying you this well-deserved tribute, I proceed to authorise you to take possession, in my royal name, of the aforesaid islands, through the English commander whom you have chosen as the leader of this important expedition.¹

I desire for the present that the reconquest of all, or a part of, the aforesaid islands should be carried out as a military measure by a portion of that detachment of your squadron which is destined for the blockade of Naples; and that the English commander, approaching them with his ships, should order my royal standard to be hoisted, the tricolour and all republican symbols to be pulled down, and a deputation composed of six or eight individuals, of those best affected to my royal crown, to be elected

io posso contare sull'ajuto ed assistenza del mio buon Amico ed Alleato il Re della Gran Brettagna, come sulle ottime vostre disposizioni a mio prò, le quali ho sempre costantemente sperimentate in tutte le occasioni. Dopo questa ben dovuta dichiarazione vengo ad autorizzarvi a riprendere il possesso delle suddette Isole nel mio Real nome per mezzo di quel Comandante Inglese, che voi avete destinato come Capo di questa importante spedizione.

Per ora questa ripresa di tutte, o parte delle Isole suddette, desidero che venga eseguita come una misura militare per parte della porzione della vostra Squadra destinata al blocco di Napoli, ed abbordando la medesima alle dette Isole, potrà il Comandante Inglese ordinare che venga inalberata la mia Real Bandiera, ed abbattuta la Tricolore, e tutte le altre Repubblicane Insegne, e Simboli, ordinando alle rispettive Popolazioni di eligere una Deputazione composta di Sei o otto Individui dei più ben affetti

¹ Captain Troubridge.

by each island for the purpose of preserving order and public tranquillity ; and this as a temporary measure until I shall have been instructed as to the situation, and as to the result of these preliminary operations ; to the end that I may thereafter establish in the aforesaid islands such regular government as I may consider to be most suitable under the circumstances, awaiting in the meantime the particulars which the aforesaid commander shall, through you, communicate to me.

For this purpose there will be consigned to the aforesaid commander a detachment of my troops to garrison the posts in those islands which he shall see fit to secure by a military force.

I have gladly acceded to the request made to me by the worthy Chevalier Hamilton, that I should send with the commander selected by you, the judge of the Vicaria D. Michele de Curtis, who before the outbreak of the revolution was governor of the island of Procida, and who in his devotion to my royal person made it his duty to follow me here.

alla mia Real Corona per mantenere il buon ordine, e la pubblica tranquillità ; e ciò infino a che io non sia istrutto dello stato delle cose, e dell' esito di codeste prime operazioni, per quindi stabilire in dette Isole quel regolare Governo, che creda io più adattato alle circostanze, aspettando su di ciò quelli riscontri che per vostro mezzo il detto Comandante mi farà pervenire. Viene a questo effetto consegnato al Comandante suddetto un distaccoamento di mie Truppe per presidiare quei Posti nelle Isole che stimerà egli di assicurarsi con quella custodia militare.

Ben volentieri ho poi aderito alle richieste fattemi dal degno Cav. Hamilton di spedire col Comandante da Voi destinato il Giudice di Vicaria Dn. Michele De Curtis, che è stato fino al momento della rivoluzione Governatore del Isola di Procida e che per il suo attaccamento alla mia Real Persona si è fatto un dovere di qui seguirmi. È

He is an individual who has always conducted himself with zeal, capacity and intelligence, and I cannot but flatter myself on his conduct ; and as the island of Procida may be the most suitable point at which to station that detachment of your squadron which you are sending to blockade Naples, I am certain that he may be of great assistance to the English commander on account of his knowledge both of the country and of the persons in whose loyalty reliance may be placed.

De Curtis may further be employed on such missions as the commander selected by you may in his discretion entrust to him, both in the other islands and in the kingdom of Naples, where, with his knowledge of individuals, he may, with ease, open communications and correspondences, which may be of the greatest advantage to the future operations which, with the favour of divine providence, we shall undertake as soon as we have a sufficient landing force, such as I am constantly awaiting from my good allies.

questi un soggetto che si è sempre comportato con zelo, capacità, ed intelligenza, e non posso che lodarmi della Condotta da Lui tenuta ; e siccome l' Isola di Procida potrà essere il punto il più importante per stazionarvi quella porzione di Squadra, che spedite per il Blocco di Napoli, così sono sicuro che potrà egli essere di molto ajuto al Comandante Inglese, tanto per l' indicazione dei luoghi, che per sapersi da esso lui le Persone in Procida, che possono meritare fiducia. Potrà benanche venire impiegato il de Curtis in quelle Commissioni, che il Comandante da voi destinato, crederà opportuna di affidargli, tanto nelle altre Isole, che per il Regno di Napoli, dove conoscendo i Soggetti, potrà con facilità aprirsi delle comunicazioni, e delle corrispondenze, che possono essere di sommo vantaggio alle future Operazioni, che col favore della Divina Provvidenza, e subito che avremo sufficiente

I beg you to consider whether it would not be best to warn the commander of the expedition not to penetrate too far with his squadron into the Gulf of Naples, except in extreme and undoubted cases, in order to avoid encouraging my faithful subjects in the capital, by such a demonstration, to risk the setting on foot of a counter-revolution, in which, owing to the want of a sufficient landing force, they may all remain victims of their loyalty to me, which would cause me infinite regret, both because of the loss of so many who are true to me, and because they could then no longer assist me when the time has come to attempt a landing in force for the purpose of seizing Naples, and of using their efforts in the interior to drive out from the capital and suppress the French and the rebels against my crown.

I submit this reflection to your consideration. I am persuaded that you will see the force of it, and that

forza da sbarco, speriamo di intraprendere. Finche però la Truppa di sbarco, che dai miei buoni alleati io aspetto incessantemente, non sia giunta, vi prego di riflettere se non convenisse di avvertire il Comandante dell' attuale spedizione, di non internarsi con la Squadra nell' interno del Golfo di Napoli, se non in estremi, ed assoluti casi, affine di evitare che una tale Dimostrazione, potendo dar coraggio ai miei Fedeli nella Capitale, li faccia arrischiare ed avventurare a formare nel momento la controrivoluzione ; ma non essendo essi sostenuti da un numero di Truppe da sbarco sufficiente, possino rimanere tutti vittima della loro Fedeltà verso di me, lo che mi sarebbe d' infinito rammarico, e per la perdita di tanta Gente a me Fedele, e perchè poi non potrebbe questa servirmi all' uopo, quando si dovrà tentare in forza uno Sbarco per impossessarsi di Napoli, e valersi dell' opera loro nell' interno per scacciare dalla Capitale, e reprimere i Francesi, ed i ribelli della mia Corona. Rimetto questa riflessione, milord, alla vostra considerazione ; sono persuaso che ne sentirete la conseguenza,

with your prudence and wisdom you will determine on this point what will be for the best, and that you will give to the commander selected by you all those orders which you may consider best adapted to carry out with safety the true and necessary intention. I authorise Captain Troubridge for the present, and until I shall have restored regular government, to make all such other arrangements of a military character in the aforesaid islands as he shall consider best adapted for the speedy restoration of order and for their security, as well as for their return to their allegiance to me, and for the extirpation of the rebels.¹

FERDINAND.

e che colla vostra prudenza, e sommi Lumi, determinerete sull' assunto quello che meglio conviene, e darete al Comandante da voi prescelto tutti quelli ordini che crederete i più adattati a conseguire con sicurezza il vero, e necessario intento.

Autorizzo inoltre il Comandante Troubridge a dare militarmente per ora nelle Isole suddette, ed insino a che io non vi ristabilisca un regolare Governo, tutte quelle altre Disposizioni che egli crederà più adattate tanto per ripristinarvi l' ordine, che per renderle sicure, ridurle alla mia obediienza, ed estirparne i ribelli. E qui rinnovandovi le proteste della mia sincera riconoscenza, e somma stima, prego Iddio che vi abbia nella sua santa e degna Guardia.

FERDINANDO B.

Palermo, 30 Marzo 1799.

¹ The rough draft of this letter has been published by Dumas (*I Borboni di Napoli*, vol. iii. p. 199), but differs slightly from the original. A copy of this letter was sent to Troubridge by Nelson.

5. NELSON TO TROUBRIDGE.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34963, f. 83; Despatches, vol. iii. p. 310.]

Palermo, 30th of March, 1799.

Dear Sir,—I herewith enclose you the final instructions of his Sicilian Majesty, and request you will have them copied and the originals returned to me, and as far as lies in your power to carry them into execution, always bearing in mind that speedy reward and quick punishment is the foundation of good government.

Wishing you every success in your expedition, I am, &c.,

NELSON.

6. ACTON TO RUFFO.

[Archivio Storico, vol. viii. p. 607.]

Palermo, 4th of April, 1799.

. . . The power of pardoning is a peculiar and natural prerogative of the crown, as is well known; but the republican governors, the notorious traitors, and those who have actually abetted in office that infamous rebellion and insulted their own sovereigns with such dreadful wickedness, both by their acts and by their proclamations, must be distinguished from those who, as I have said, have been either seduced or coerced into joining, but without becom-

. . . La clemenza certamente è propria e naturale del Re, come è troppo noto; ma li governanti repubblicani, i noti traditori, e quelli che con effetto hanno seguitato in officii quella infame rebellione ed insultato i proprii Sovrani con tante ed orrende scelleratezze nei fatti e nei proclami, dovranno essere distinti da quelli, che come ho detto sono stati o sedotti o strascinati ad aderire, ma senza

ing leaders in that impious form of government, villainous both through immorality and through irreligion and extravagance. The barons who are absent from their estates and in the centre of rebellion must certainly suffer a just sequestration. Felons, perpetual forfeiture. . . .

P.S.—His Majesty desires your Eminence to lay before him a scheme for a basis of punishment to be established for the aforesaid rebels who usurped sovereignty by taking office under the republic, and for those amongst them who were formerly in the royal service. His Majesty desires that the penalty be either death or transportation beyond the realm, excluding imprisonment or banishment to the islands, provided that this measure—to which his Majesty would give general application—should seem to your Eminence to be adapted to the purpose.

[J. ACTON.]

divenire membri dirigenti nell' empia forma di quel governo distruttore e scellerato nell' immoralità come nell' irreligione e dilapidazione. I Baroni non presenti nei feudi e che si trovano nel centro della ribellione devono certamente soffrire il giusto sequestro. I felloni la perpetua confiscazione. . . .

P.S.—Desidera S. M. che V. Em^a voglia proporre un piano sul castigo da stabilirsi per base ai citati ribelli, che con impieghi nella Repubblica usurparono la Sovranità, e per quelli che tra questi già erano al real servizio. S. M. desidererebbe che le pene fossero o la morte o la deportazione fuori dei regni, senza condannarsi alla prigionia o relegazione nelle isole, se parerà a V^a Em^a propria ed addattata questa misura che S. M. stabilirebbe per generale.

7. QUEEN CAROLINE TO RUFFO.

[Archivio Storico, vol. v. p. 345 ; Dumas, vol. v. p. 140.]

5th of April, 1799.

. . . . I wish to warn you about another matter. Rebellious Naples and her ungrateful citizens may make no terms. Order is to be re-established in that monstrous city by rewarding the faithful and inflicting exemplary punishments on the wicked. Order and a good tone must be restored, and future tranquillity must be evolved from this atrocious misfortune. Your Eminence sees that I speak of it as a thing already achieved ; but that is my firm belief. The transports have arrived to take all the fresh provisions to the British squadron, which is now before Naples. I am very anxious to hear what effect its appearance has produced. I have worried your Eminence, who has so much other serious business, at sufficient length, and I hardly know how to express it all briefly ; but my desire to communicate our news to you has made me so prolix. I am, however, abandoning the hope of

. . . . Un altro punto di che la voglio prevenire : nessuna condizione la ribelle Napoli ed i suoi ingrati concittadini potranno fare ; ci va in quella mostruosa città ristabilito l'ordine, con premiare i fedeli e castigare per esempio i cattivi ; rimettervi ordine e tuono e tirare da questa atroce disgrazia una felice tranquillità futura. V.E. vede che io parlo come di una cosa già conquistata, ma tale è la mia sicura credenza ; il più o meno presto è la differenza. Sono arrivati i trasporti per portare tutte le provisioni fresche alla squadra Britannica, che oramai è avanti Napoli, e sono molto impegnata a sentire la sua apparizione avanti il porto che effetto avrà prodotto. Io ho bastantemente a lungo annoiata V.E. che ha tanti altri serii affari che non so come fa per supplire a tutto, ma il desiderio di comunicarle tutte le nostre nuove mi ha fatto essere così prolissa. Abbandono però la speranza di

ever being able either to express all the gratitude which my heart feels towards you or to assure you of all the thankfulness I am sensible of towards your worthy self. You would be touched if you could see how everyone admires, applauds, and speaks of you here. 'Our cardinal' is on everyone's lips: the heroic cardinal, the man of courage, genius, zeal! In fact, what they say is always less than you deserve.

Now that the season is improving I hope that your operations will all become easier, and that I shall have the consolation of continuing to hear of your triumphs. I beseech you, however, to take every care of your precious person, and to let me know if your brother has arrived. Please greet him in my name. I continue, with my dear innocent children, to pray for the prosperity of your Eminence, &c.

CAROLINE.

poterle mai ben esprimere tutta la gratitudine, che il mio cuore per lei risente, e di assicurarla di tutta quella riconoscenza che provo per la sua degna persona. Sarebbe intenerita se vedesse come qui ognuno lo ammira, applaude e ne parla: il nostro Cardinale e la voce di tutti; l'eroe Cardinale l'uomo di coraggio, genio, zelo, in somma quanto si dice sempre è meno di quello che si merita. Adesso che la stagione migliora spero che le sue operazioni le verranno tutte più facili, ed io avrò la consolazione di continuare a sentire i suoi trionfi. La prego però di aversi tutta la cura della sua preziosa persona, come pure di farmi sapere se suo fratello è arrivato, il quale, la prego, di salutare in mio nome. Continuo con tutta la mia innocente e grata famiglia a fare dei voti per la prosperità di V.E., e sono con vero rispetto e stima sua affezionatissima e grata amica.

CAROLINA.

Palermo, li 5 Aprile, 1799.

8. KING FERDINAND TO RUFFO.

[Dumas, vol. v. p. 231.]

Palermo, 11th of April, 1799.

Eminence,—On the evening of the day before yesterday I received your letter of the 29th of last month, written to me from Cotrone, and I am grieved to learn from it of the pillaging which has taken place, even though, to tell you the truth, the inhabitants had deserved it by the resistance they offered, and whilst I repeat to you that no pity must be shown to anyone who has openly proved himself a rebel against God and against me. As for the Frenchmen whom you have found, I am despatching an order at once that they are to be sent home, which I also find to be the best thing to do, as they are to be regarded wherever they may be as an absolutely infected breed. Your account of what has been told you of the death of the Governor of Lecce has made me shudder, but I still like to believe, for the honour of his family,

Palermo, 11 Aprile, 1799.

Eminentissimo mio,—Avant' jeri sera ricevei la Vostra lettera del 29 dello scorso, scrittami da Cotrone, dove mi fa pena di sentire il saccheggio dato in quel modo benchè a dir il vero se l'avessero ben meritato quegli abitanti colla resistenza fatta, mentre vi replico non ci vuol misericordia con chi dichiaratamente si è mostrato ribelle a Dio, ed a me. Per i Francesi che ci havete trovato spedisco immediatamente l'ordine perchè si mandino a casa loro, che anche io trovo che sia il miglior, che si possa fare dovendosi riguardare dov' unque si tengano, come un genere assolutamente impestato. Quanto mi dite esservi stato narrato della morte del Preside di Lecce, mi ha fatto inorridire, ma ancora voglio credere che non sia vero, per l'onor della sua famiglia, e che il pover

that it is untrue, and that the poor man died of illness, having been ailing for a long time past. As for the business of the blonde prince, who was at first believed to be my son, and who gave you to understand that he was the Chevalier of Saxony¹— you will by this time know all about him and his history, and he is now here in Palermo on his return from Tunis. We have received two posts from Commodore Troubridge at Procida; the first arrived here on Sunday, the other the day before yesterday. I had the letters written by him to Nelson translated at once, and hasten to send you copies so that you may be informed of the exceedingly fortunate result which that expedition has had up to the present; I also send the news I have been able to collect up to date, which I am sure will not displease you.

uomo sia morto di malattia essendo già da gran tempo molto mal' andato. Per l' affare del Principe biondo, che si era creduto primo mio Figlio, e a Voi si era fatto supporre esser il Cavalier di Sassonia, già a quest' ora saprete chi sia e tutta la sua storia, ed ora si trova qui in Palermo ritornato da Tunisi. Due spedizioni già ci sono state fatte dal Comodoro Troubridge da Procida, la prima giunta qui Domenica, e l' altra avant' jeri. Subbito ho fatto traddure le lettere da lui scritte a Nelson, che copiate mi affretto di spedirvi acciò siate inteso del felicissimo esito che fin ora ha avuto quella spedizione, e le notizie che ho potuto raccogliere fino al giorno dell' ultima data, che son certa non vi faranno dispiacere: tutto quanto

¹ The Chevalier of Saxony was a German soldier of fortune, Count Joseph Zabeltitz, who had been severely wounded in the recent campaign against the French in the states of the Church. The blonde prince was a certain De Cesare, a Corsican adventurer, who was believed by the royalist insurgents to be the Chevalier of Saxony. His companions, Corbara and Bocchiampe, posed as the hereditary Prince of Naples, and the brother of the King of Spain respectively. The court appears to have acquiesced in the deception, as it materially assisted the development of the counter-revolution in Calabria.

All they have asked for has been sent at once, especially the judge. They make no bones about it; therefore by the time you receive this letter, they will have strung up many of the rebels.¹ I request you therefore to act under these circumstances with the greatest activity in conformity with the instructions given to you both by myself and Acton in the last despatches, which he repeats in the present ones: 'Sticks and cakes make good children.'² We are at present, with the greatest anxiety, awaiting news of the dear little Russians; if they come quickly, I hope we shall soon be rejoicing, and with divine assistance put an end to this cursed business. I am infinitely disappointed that the weather continues to be so rainy, as this will always be a great obstacle to your operations. You tell me that whilst advancing on Matera, you

hanno richiesto si è spedito immediatamente specialmente il Giudice, non facendo essi cerimonie, per cui quando riceverete questa, molti casicavalli avranno fatti. Vi raccomando perciò su quest' assunto di agire in conformità di quanto vi scrissimo lo scorso ordinario, tanto io, che Acton, ed egli vi replica in questa e colla massima attività: Mazzi e pannelle fanno li figlie belle. Stiamo ora, colla massima premura aspettando notizie de' cari Russicelli; se quelli vengono presto, spero tra breve faremo la festa, e col Divino ajuto finiremo questa maledetta istoria. Mi rincresce infinitamente che il tempo continui così piovoso, perchè questo sarà sempre di un grand' intoppo per le Vostre operazioni. Mi dite che andando avanti verso Matera, vi tratterrete nelle terre del

¹ See the original. Literally 'they will have made many cheeses.' 'Casicavallo' is a Neapolitan cheese shaped like a bottle, which is usually suspended from the ceiling by a string tied round the narrow part. This is one of the dismal jokes not infrequently indulged in by Ferdinand.

² A Neapolitan proverb.

will stay on the estates of our friend the prince at Potenza. If he should by any chance be there, you will remember that he was one of those two famous heroes—and I believe the principal one—who negotiated and concluded that magnificent armistice, and is in consequence as sharp as he could be.¹ Our health is, thanks be to God, perfect, the better news which reaches us every day being no slight restorative. May the Lord preserve you, and bless your operations more and more, &c. &c. &c.

FERDINANDO B.

I enclose only the first letters from Troubridge, the second batch not having been translated yet, but Acton in his letters gives you an idea of their contents.

Principe nostro, a Potenza, quando mai egli ci stasse spero vi ricordarete, esser stato un di quei due famosi eroi, e credo il principale, che trattarono, e conchiusero quel superbo armistizio, e che per conseguenza non sarebbe stato mai più accorto. La nostra salute è grazie a Dio perfetta, non picciolo ristorativo essendo, le migliori nuove che ogni giorno ci pervengono. Il Signore conservi Voi e benedica sempre più le Vostre operazioni come indegnamente ne lo prega e ve lo desidera, il Vostro Affezionato,
FERDINANDO B.

Le prime sole lettere di Troubridge vi acchiudo, le seconde non essendo state tradotte ancora, ma Acton nella sua lettera ve ne dà un' idea del contenuto.

¹ Prince Moliterno; see *post*, p. 56. The armistice referred to is the armistice of Sparanise; see Introduction, p. xxvii.

9. RUFFO TO MICHELE DE CURTIS.¹

[B.M. Add. MS. 34910, f. 294.]

Rossano, 12th of April, 1799.

Sir,—In answer I am to tell you that the fear for these parts and Salerno is very distant, not to say imaginary. I have sent and sent succour to a certain D. Gherardo Curcio, who is chief of a party residing at Polla, with whom the English may correspond, and he with me and with other chiefs that are inland—that is, a Mr. Stotuto, other messenger, and my adjutant Falbo, all residing in Valle di Diana, and who have frequently engaged the French and more frequently the Jacobins, who are between Eboli, Cava, Salerno, but always to their disadvantage.

The fear comes from another quarter. The Count Ruvo² is come in Puglia with 200 cavalry and 1,000 rascals from the prisons, and has burnt, first his own fiefs and Trani, with the best part of the towns on the Adriatic, which were first in the hands of the royalists, owing to the interest of two unknown but faithful officers, who had recovered Bari and the province of Lecce to his Majesty. Now that a French vessel, which naturally comes from Ancona, is arrived at Brindisi, so that if an English force does not go at once into the Adriatic, or at least a frigate, half of the kingdom is again lost, half the kingdom precisely because no force has been kept in the Adriatic.

The Russian forces in the meantime they are hoped for, but never arrive; therefore in those countries people is in great consternation, and I am forced to march that way to strengthen our party, little fearing for Calabria, for the valour of

¹ Governor of the Island of Procida. ² See *post*, p. 172, note 1.

these people and those of the mountains assure us that their oath will have no effect, and precisely because they swear I don't believe they intend to keep the oath.¹

I am glad, &c.

[F. CARD. RUFFO.]

10. CAROLINE TO RUFFO.

[Archivio Storico, vol. v. p. 347; Dumas, vol. v. p. 145.]

14th of April, 1799.

I am taking advantage of an opportunity which has just presented itself to send these few lines to your Eminence in Calabria, and to assure you that I am full of admiration for your conduct in all respects. May the Lord bless you, preserve you, and bestow on you all the happiness which you so richly merit. I know that the king is sending you a copy of the letters of Admiral Troubridge, who is blockading Naples; and there remains therefore little for me to say. I see from everything that the majority in the capital consists of good and loyal

Profitto di un' occasione che va a dirittura in Calabria da V.E. per scriverle questi pochi versi, ed assicurarla che non fo che ammirarla in tutta la sua condotta. Il Signore sia quello che la benedica, conservi e la colmi di tutte le felicità che tanto merita. So che il Re le manda la copia delle lettere dell' Ammiraglio Troubridge, che blocca Napoli, e perciò mi resta poco a dirle, ma vedo da tutto che in quella capitale il maggior numero è dei buoni ed

¹ A translated copy in the British Museum, which was forwarded to Nelson by Captain Troubridge from Procida on the 23rd of April, 1799, together with a letter from Ruffo to Hood, which is missing. Troubridge remarks: 'Your Lordship will see the Cardinal is quite frightened and appears to me to be quite dejected; has the court any hopes of a Russian force landing in the Adriatic?'

people, but there must be no mercy, and it will be necessary to root up, destroy, stamp out and remove the noxious herbs which are poisoning the others. The numerous printed proclamations signed by them are sufficient to identify them. The bishops, priests and monks are those who, to my mind, are the most guilty; their position itself should have warned them against such wicked thoughts. I think the nobles are mad and crazy; in fact, I am continually amazed at the great and profound corruption. But your Eminence will put everything right; my whole trust is in your person, and I am living in the greatest peace of mind. Naples seems to be on the point of starting a counter-revolution for itself, and if only it could see a force which would support it the thing would be done. I always await news of you with an impatience which you can well imagine; and I most sincerely pray to heaven that the Lord may bless and assist you in accordance with my supplications. We are living here in a state of continuous anxiety, and are longing for news from Naples and Calabria. We bless

attaccati; ma non vi vorrà pietà e bisognerà cacciare distruggere annientare e deportare la cattiva erba che avvelena gli altri. Per conoscerli bastano i loro numerosi stampati da loro stessi firmati. I Vescovi, i Sacerdoti, ed i Monaci sono quelli, a mio senso, più rei; il loro stato stesso avendoli dovuto premunire contro simile scellerato pensare. I nobili mi paiono matti insensati: insomma continua ammirazione sulla grande e profonda corruzione; ma V.E. riparerà tutto; la mia intera fiducia è nella di lei persona, e ne vivo tranquillissima. Napoli pare vicino a fare da se la contrarivoluzione, e per poco che vedesse forze che la sostenessero, la cosa sarebbe fatta. Aspetto sempre le sue notizie con un' impazienza immaginabile, e fo dei ben sinceri voti al cielo affinché il Signore la benedica ed assista secondo i miei voti. Qui viviamo in continua ansietà e speranza per le notizie di Napoli e di Calabria.

your Eminence's name whenever it is mentioned. I do not wish to detain the bearer of this letter, but must close with the assurance that I am, &c.,

CAROLINE.

Il nome di V.E. non si proferisce che per benedirlo. Io non voglio trattenere il latore di questa, ma termino con assicurarla che sono piena di rispetto, fiducia e gratitudine sua ben affezionatissima e vera amica,

CAROLINA.

Li 14 Aprile, 1799.

Scipione la Marra freme pel desiderio di servire sotto gli auspicii di V.E. Tre uffizialetti esteri fuggiti da Napoli, dove mai hanno voluto prender servizio, hanno l'istesso vivo desiderio; due si chiamano Zumtobel, uno Vochenger sono alfiere e tenente, ma pieni di fuoco e buona volontà. V.E. mi dirà sinceramente se li vuole o no. Tschudy comanda quattrocento esteri nelle Isole, mille e mille complimenti miei al degno suo fratello.

11. *KING FERDINAND TO RUFFO.*

[Dumas, vol. v. p. 239.]

Palermo, 1st of May, 1799.

Eminence,—I have read and re-read and most carefully considered that part of your letter of the 1st of April which deals with the plans to be made with reference to the fate of the many criminals who have fallen or who may fall into our hands, both in the provinces and in the capital,

Palermo, 1° Maggio, 1799.

Eminentissimo mio,—Dopo di aver letta e riletta, e colla massima attenzione considerata quella parte della Vostra lettera del 1° Aprile, che riguarda il piano da formarsi sul destino de' molti Rei, caduti o che possono cadere nelle nostre forze sia nelle Provincie, sia quando col Divino ajuto, ritornerà sotto il mio dominio la Capitale; debbo

when the same shall, with divine aid, return under my dominion. I must first of all tell you that I find what you have written to me on the point full of wisdom and of that enlightenment, intelligence and fidelity, of which you have given me, and are still assiduously giving me, the most certain and convincing proofs. I therefore proceed to lay my views on the matter before you. I agree entirely with you that it will not be necessary to make any very searching inquiries, all the more so because, as you very truly say, the bad characters have so effectively revealed themselves that it will be easy to find out all about the most depraved of them.

My intention and desire, therefore, is that the following classes of those who are most guilty should be arrested and carefully guarded, *i.e.*: All the members of the provisional government, and of the executive and legislative commissions of Naples. All the members of the commission of the army and police, founded by the republicans. All the members of the different municipalities which have

prima di tutto dirvi che ho trovato quanto mi scrivete sull' assunto, pieno di saviezza e di quei lumi, intelligenza ed attaccamento, delle quali cose, mi havete dato, e state dando indefessamente le più certe e non equivoche riproove. Vengo quindi a palesarvi quali sieno le mie determinazioni sull' assunto.

Convengo pienamente con Voi che non bisogna inquirere molto, tanto più che come molto bene Voi dite, si sono svelati in modo, i cattivi soggetti, che è facile in breve tempo essere al giorno de' più perversi.

La mia intenzione e volontà dunque si è che sieno arrestati, e cautamente custoditi le seguenti Classi di principali rei, ciò è: Tutti quelli del Governo Provvisorio, e della Commissione esecutiva e legislativa di Napoli: tutti i membri della Commissione Militare, e di Polizia, formata dai Repubblicani, quelli che sono delle diverse Municipalità e

received a general commission from the republic or from the French, and principally those who have formed part of a commission to inquire into the depredations alleged to have been committed by me and my government. All the officers who were in my service, and have gone over to that of the self-styled republic, or of the French; on the clear understanding, however, that should the said officers be taken with arms in their hands, in opposition to my forces or to those of my allies, they are to be shot within 24 hours without any legal formalities, and according to the usages of war; and the same applies to those of my barons who have offered armed opposition to my forces or to those of my allies. All those who have drawn up or printed republican gazettes, proclamations and other documents, such as pamphlets intended to excite my people to revolt, and to spread the maxims of the new government. The 'eletti' of the city and the 'deputies of the Piazza' must also be arrested, who took away the

che hanno ricevuta una Commissione in generale, dalla Repubblica o dai Francesi, e principalmente quelli che hanno formata una Commissione per inquirere sulle pretese depredazioni da me e dal mio Governo fatte: Tutti gli ufficiali, che erano al mio servizio, e che sono passati a quello della sedicente Repubblica o de' Francesi; ben inteso però, che è mia volontà, che quando i detti ufficiali venissero presi le armi alla mano, contro le mie forze o quelle dei miei Alleati, sieno dentro il termine di 24 ore fucilati, senza formalità di processo, e militarmente; come egualmente que' baroni che coll' armi alla mano s'opponessero alle mie forze ed a quelle dei miei Alleati: Tutti coloro, che hanno formato, e stampato Gazzette Repubblicane, proclami ed altre scritture, come opere per eccitare i miei Popoli alla rivolta e disseminare le massime del nuovo Governo. Arrestati egualmente debbono essere gli Eletti della Città e i deputati della Piazza che tolsero il Governo

government from my late Vicar-General Pignatelli,¹ and hindered him in all his operations with complaints, and measures contrary to the duty which they owed to me. I desire that a certain Luisa Molines Sanfelice² and one Vincenzo Cuoco,³ who

al passato mio Vicario Generale Pignatelli, e lo traversarono in tutte le operazioni con rappresentanze, e misure contrarie alla fedeltà che mi dovevano. Voglio che sia ugualmente arrestato una certa Luisa Molines Sanfelice, ed un tal Vincenzo Cuoco, che scoprirono la controrivoluzione.

¹ Francesco Pignatelli, general in the Neapolitan army. Appointed vicar-general when the court fled to Palermo, but proved himself to be devoid of courage and unfit for the responsible duties of his post. Concluded an armistice with the French at Sparanise on the 11th of January, 1799, and was driven out of the city by the infuriated mob, who chose Moliterno and Roccamorana for their leaders. The 'eletti' and the 'sedili' constituted the municipality of the city of Naples. Of the 'eletti' only one represented the citizens. The threat here made by the king was carried into effect after the restoration.

² Luisa Sanfelice, the daughter of a distinguished officer in the Neapolitan service. She married her cousin, Andrea Sanfelice, at an early age, and was banished with him from Naples as a punishment for their extravagant mode of life. They returned on the outbreak of the revolution. The royalist plot of April 1799 was revealed to her by her lover Gerardo Baccher, one of the conspirators, and she in turn gave information of it to Vincenzo Cuoco, for which service she received the thanks of the republic. Sentenced to death in the reaction for her conduct on this occasion, she was reprieved on the 15th of September, 1799, but executed by special order of the king, after the proclamation of the general amnesty, on the 11th of September, 1800. See Croce (*Studi Storici sulla Rivoluzione Napoletana*). The Bacchers were a Swiss family settled in Naples, and devoted to the royalist cause.

³ Vincenzo Cuoco, author of the *Saggio Storico sulla Rivoluzione di Napoli*. The first edition of this work was published in 1801, the second in 1806. Cuoco subsequently renounced Jacobinism and entered the service of the Bourbons. In 1821 he published a third edition, in which his revolutionary sentiments are considerably toned down, and a different complexion is put on the events which he describes.

betrayed the counter-revolution of the royalists, headed by the Bacchers, father and sons, should also be arrested. When this has been done it is my intention to nominate an extraordinary commission of a few selected and safe public servants, who shall try the most guilty among those arrested, by court-martial with all the rigour of the law. Those who are believed to be less guilty are to be economically transported for life out of my dominions, and their property is to be confiscated. Whilst I am on this topic I must tell you that I have found your remarks with regard to transportation very sensible, but after giving due weight to all the disadvantages, I find that it will be better to get rid of these vipers than to keep them at home. If I had an island far distant from my continental dominions I would willingly adopt the system of sending them there, but the vicinity of my islands to the two kingdoms would favour any plot which they might concoct with the scoundrels and malcontents whom it will

zione de' Realisti, alla testa della quale erano i Backer padre e figli. Fatto questo, è mia intenzione di nominare una commissione straordinaria di pochi ma scelti Ministri sicuri, i quali giudicheranno militarmente i principali Rei fra gl' arrestati, con tutto il rigor delle Leggi; e quelli che verranno creduti meno Rei, saranno economicamente deportati fuori de' miei domini loro vita durante, e gli verranno confiscati i beni. E su questo proposito, debbo dirvi, che ho trovato molto sensato, quanto mi havete rappresentato rispetto alla deportazione, ma bilanciati tutti gli inconvenienti, trovo, che val meglio, di disfarsi di quelle vipere che di guardarle in casa propria, giacchè se io avessi un' Isola di mia pertinenza, molto lontano dai miei domini del Continente adotterei volentieri il sistema, di rilegarveli, ma la somma vicinanza delle mie Isole ai due Regni, renderebbe possibile qualunque trama che costoro potessero ordire, coi scellerati, e malcontenti, che non si sarà riuscito

be impossible to extirpate from my states. Moreover, the serious reverses which the French, thank God! have suffered, and which we hope they will continue to suffer, will prevent the exiles from harming us. It will, however, be as well to think of a suitable place for transportation, and of the way in which it can be carried out with safety; and it is this I am now occupied with.

With reference to the commission which is to try the more guilty ones, I shall not fail to think of it as soon as we have secured possession of Naples, as it is my intention to send them to the capital from here. With regard to the provinces, de Fiore may remain in the places where you now are, provided you are satisfied with him and agree to it. Further, those of the provincial advocates and royal governors who have not sided with the republicans, who are attached to the crown, and are persons of intelligence, may be invested with extraordinary delegated powers, not to be appealed from. I do not desire that public servants, both from the capital

a stirpare dai miei stati: D'altronde, i rovesci considerabili, che i Francesi grazie a Dio hanno sofferti, e che speriamo abbiano maggiormente a soffrire, metteranno i deportati nell' impossibilità di nuocerci: Converterà però ben pensare al lungo della deportazione ed al modo col quale effettuarla con accerto: e a questo mi sto ora occupando.

Riguardo alla Commissione che dovrà giudicare quelli che sono maggiormente Rei, subito che avremo in mano Napoli non mancarò di pensarci, contando per quella Capitale farli andare da qui. Rispetto poi alle Provincie, per i luoghi dove Voi state può continuare de Fiore, quando Voi ne siate contento, e così crediate. In oltre, quelli tra gli avvocati Provinciali, e Reggi Governatori, che non han preso partito coi Repubblicani, che sono attaccati alla Corona e che siano persone di intelligenza possono venir destinati con tutte le facoltà straordinarie inappellabili, e delegate, non volendo che Ministri tanto Provinciali che

and the provinces, who have served under the republic (even though driven thereto, as I hope, by an irresistible necessity), should try felons, with whom it is only due to my clemency that they are not associated. In the case also of those who are not included in the classes specified above, I give you liberty to take proceedings against them with all the rigour of the law, if you should judge them really to be prominent criminals, and should consider their prompt and exemplary punishment to be necessary.

The judges of the courts of the capital are not to be molested, provided they have not received special commissions from the French and the rebel republic, and have done nothing beyond continuing to administer justice in the courts in which they sat.

These are my wishes for the present, which I charge you to have executed in whatever way you consider feasible, and in whatever places it may be possible to do so.

I reserve to myself the right, as soon as I shall

della Capitale i quali hanno servito sotto la Repubblica (anche come voglio sperare, spinti da un irresistibile necessità) giudichino i felloni, coi quali la mia clemenza soltanto non li situa. Anche per quelli che non sono compresi nelle Classi che in questa vi ho specificate, Vi lascio la libertà di far procedere con tutto il rigor delle Leggi, quando li giudicherete veri e principali Rei e che crederete necessario il loro pronto ed esemplar castigo.

I Ministri Togati dei Tribunali della Capitale, quando non abbiano accettato commissioni particolare da' Francesi, e dalla ribelle Repubblica, e non hanno fatto che continuare le loro funzioni, di render la giustizia ne' Tribunali ne' quali sedevano, non verranno molestati. Queste sono per ora le mie determinazioni, che v' incarico di far eseguire nel modo che giudicherete possibile, e ne' luoghi nei quali ne avrete la possibilità.

Mi riserbo subito che riacquisterò Napoli, di fare

have reconquered Naples, of giving any further orders which may be required owing to the course of events and the receipt of more accurate information. It is my intention thereafter, in accordance with my duty as a good Christian, and the loving father of my people, to forget the past entirely, and to grant to all a full and general pardon, which will protect them all from any consequences of any past transgression. I shall also forbid any investigation, believing as I do that their acts are due not to natural perversity, but to fear and cowardice. It is, however, necessary that public offices in the provinces should only be entrusted to persons who have always behaved well towards the crown, and who, in consequence, have never wavered in their allegiance, for thus alone can we be sure of preserving that which has been reconquered. My prayer is that you may be preserved for the good of my service, and that I may be able at all times to show you my true and sincere gratitude, &c. &c.

FERDINANDO B.

qualche altra aggiunzione, che gli avvertimenti e le cognizioni, che si acquisteranno potranno determinare. Dopo di che è mia intenzione, seguendo i doveri di buon Cristiano e di Padre amoroso de' miei Popoli, di dimenticare intieramente il passato, ed accordare a tutti un intero e general perdono, che possa rassicurare tutti da ogni traviamiento passato, che proibirò ben' anche di indagarsi, lusingandomi che quanto hanno fatto sia provenuto, non da perversità di animo, ma da timore è pusillanimità. Bisogna però, che le cariche Pubbliche nelle Provincie sieno soltanto affidate a persone che si siano sempre ben condotte colla Corona, e che in conseguenza, non abbiamo mai vacillato, perchè così solo potremo esser sicuri di conservare quello, che si è racquistato. Prego il Signore, che vi conservi, pel bene del mio servizio, e per potervi dimostrare in tutti i tempi la mia vera e sincera gratitudine. Credetemi intanto sempre lo stesso Vostro Affezionato.

FERDINANDO B.

Postscriptum.—As I learn from De Curtis' letters that some old soldiers, who had been forced to join the rebels and the enemy, have offered to rejoin my troops and have deserted for this purpose, and that others, although situated among the rebels, have intimated their readiness actively to second the operations of my forces when attacking; I therefore proceed to except from the penalties decreed against soldiers who have taken service with the enemy the following:—

Those who shall at once offer their services spontaneously, and, giving proofs of their good disposition and penitence, shall serve courageously and usefully with my troops.

Also those who shall co-operate in accordance with their declarations by means of definite, manifest and unequivocal acts to the true advantage of my arms, either by destroying the enemy or by obtaining possession for my troops of forts or important posts.

Post-scriptum.—Siccome rilevo dalle lettere di de Curtis, che alcuni antichi militari che erano stati forzati ad incorporarsi fra i Ribelli, e con il nemico, si sono presentati per unirsi alla mia truppa, abbandonando i loro posti a quest' effetto, ed altri hanno partecipato di voler secondare attivamente le operazioni della medesima negli attacchi benchè situati fra i ribelli: Vengo pertanto ad eccettuare dalle pene comminate contro i militari che han preso servizio tra essi coloro i quali,

O che si presentassero spontaneamente subito e dando pruove delle loro sincere disposizioni, e pentimento, servissero coraggiosamente ed utilmente colle mie Truppe.

Oppure coloro i quali cooperassero come lo hanno dichiarato con fatti precisi e clamorosi, e non equivoci al vero vantaggio delle mie armi, nella distruzione del nemico, o nel l'acquisto procurato alle mie Truppe, di forti o posti importanti.

Whilst sending Troubridge a copy of the instructions laid before you in this letter, I have left it to his sense of justice for him to adopt such exceptions as he may think fit with respect to the exercise of the prerogative of mercy.

From the above-mentioned latest letters from Procida, we have learned with real grief that Castellamare and Salerno have been recaptured by the rebels, who have repulsed the handful of troops which had been too hastily sent there. Please God Curcio's corps¹ will have arrived in time to help them, as is rumoured. I enclose the name of one who I hear has distinguished himself, and I also recommend to you the late Governor of Aversa, a subject who has always done himself honour.

Nel mandar copia di tutto quanto ho a Voi prescritto in questa lettera ho lasciato alla Giustizia di Troubridge l'adoprarne quelle eccezioni, ne' casi che stimerà convenire, pel godimento della Grazia. Dalle sopradette ultime lettere venute da Procida, con vero dolore abbiamo inteso che dai Ribelli sieno stati ripresi Castellamare e Salerno, respingendo quella poca Truppa che colà troppo precipitamente se ci era mandata. Dio faccia che il Corpo di Curcio sia giunto in tempo, come si vocifera, per darli ajuto. Acchiudo in questa il nome di uno che sento siasi distinto, se è così ve lo raccomando, come vi raccomando il fu Governatore di Aversa, soggetto che si è sempre fatto onore.

¹ Curcio was one of the cardinal's lieutenants.

12. CAROLINE TO RUFFO.

[Archivio Storico, vol. v. p. 562; Dumas, vol. v. p. 164.]

Palermo, 17th of May, 1799.¹

. . . I am with the greatest impatience awaiting news of your Eminence, and of all that you are saying and doing. I am full of admiration for the depth of your thoughts, and the wisdom of your maxims. I must nevertheless confess that I am not of your opinion as to the advisability of dissembling and forgetting, or even of giving rewards, for the purpose of winning over the chiefs of the rogues. I do not hold this view from any spirit of revenge; that is a passion which is unknown to me. If, through anger, I speak as if I were possessed by that spirit, I feel that I have in reality no vengeance in my heart, but that I am carried away by my great contempt and indifference for these scoundrels, who are unworthy of being bought or won over, or of anything else but banishment from society so that they may not corrupt the others. Instances of mercy, pardon, and above all of rewards, would not

. . . Aspetto con somma impazienza le notizie di V.E., tutto quello ch' ella fa e dice, facendo sempre la mia ammirazione per la profondità del pensare e saviezza delle massime. Malgrado ciò devo confessarle di non essere del suo parere circa il dissimulare ed obbliare anzi premiare per guadagnare i capi bricconi nostri. Non sono di questo parere, non per spirito di vendetta: questa passione è ignota al mio cuore, e se per rabbia parlo come se ne avessi, nell fatto provo e sento non avere vendetta nel mio cuore, ma parlo per il sommo dispregio e poco conto che fo dei nostri scellerati, che non meritano nè comprarsi, nè guadagnarsi, ma allontanarsi dalla società per non corrompere gli altri. Gli esempi di clemenza, di perdono, e

¹ Dumas gives the 16th of May as the date of this letter.

inspire any feelings of gratitude in a nation so cowardly, corrupt and selfish as ours is; but would only rouse feelings of jealousy and regret at not having done likewise, which would do more harm than good. I say it with sorrow, but those who have served the king, as, for instance, Caracciolo,¹ Moliterno,² Roccaromana,³ Federici,⁴ &c. &c., and have been found fighting against him with arms in their hands, are deserving of the death penalty. The others must all be transported on an undertaking signed by them to suffer, in the event of their

soprattutto di remunerazione ad una nazione così vile corrotta ed egoista come la nostra non ispirerebbero gratitudine e riconoscenza, ma invidia e pentimento di non averne fatto altrettanto, e farebbe più male che bene. Lo dico con pena, ha da essere punito di morte chi avendo servito il Re, come Caracciolo, Moliterno, Roccaromana, Federici, ec. ec. si trovano con le armi alla mano combattendo contro di lui: gli altri tutti deportati, con obbligo da loro sottoscritto, secondo i gradi del reato o dell'impiego, di avere la pena

¹ Francesco Caracciolo, the Jacobin admiral; see Introduction, p. xcii.

² Prince Moliterno, one of the most distinguished soldiers of the Parthenopean republic. Served with credit in the campaign of 1798 against the French. The mob of the city elected him as 'general of the people' after the vicar-general, Pignatelli, had fled to Palermo. Joined the revolutionists, and became commander-in-chief of the Parthenopean army. Sent to Paris in February 1799 on a mission to the French Directory, and remained there till after the fall of the republic.

³ Lucio Caracciolo, Duke of Roccaromana, elected a 'general of the people' in company with Moliterno. Went over to the republic and succeeded Moliterno as commander-in-chief. Subsequently deserted to the army of the Holy Faith, and was entrusted by Ruffo with the blockade of Capua.

⁴ Marshal in the Neapolitan army. Studied the art of war under Frederick the Great, and rose rapidly to high rank. Went over to the republic, and became a general in the Parthenopean army. Executed on the 23rd of October, 1799.

returning, either an extraordinary or a perpetual punishment, or else penal servitude, according to the nature of their employment or their offence. Their property must be confiscated, and they must be taken to America ; or should this be too difficult or expensive, to any place in France agreeable to them—always, however, on their signed undertaking not to return to the kingdom.

These men will not increase the fighting strength of France, for they have neither courage nor energy. For the same reason they will not do us any further harm, and we shall get rid of a set of pernicious and low fellows, who will never really mend their ways. In any case the loss of some thousands of individuals of this sort is a gain to the state. . . .

CAROLINE.

straordinaria o perpetua ; carcere severo se ritornano, confiscazione di beni, e portarli o in America, o le difficoltà e spese essendo soverchie, in Francia, luogo di loro piacere, ma con l'obbligo e giudizio fatto e sottoscritto di non tornare in Regno.

Questi non aumenteranno la Forza Francese, non avendo nè coraggio nè energia ; non aumenteranno i danni a noi per la stessa ragione, e ci libereremo di genti perniciose e scostumate, che mai di buona fede si emenderanno ; e la perdita anche di qualche migliaio di simili individui è un guadagno per lo stato. . . .

CAROLINA.

Palermo, li 17 Maggio, 1799.

13. CAROLINE TO RUFFO.

[Archivio Storico, vol. v. p. 566 ; Dumas, vol. v. p. 168.]

23rd of May, 1799.

. . . The king can and must, as a Christian and the father of his people, pardon his infamous, wicked

. . . Il Re può e deve da cristiano e padre perdonare ai suoi infami, scellerati ed ingrattissimi sudditi e bene-

and ungrateful subjects, on whom he has bestowed so many benefits; but he must not enter into a bargain or armistice, which would have the appearance of fear or of inability to retain them. He is safe; the Russians, who have been so often promised to us, and the Austrians, have in fact ensured his safety within a fortnight more or less. I therefore think that your Eminence should take no risks with a handful of peasants against people who have arms, artillery, &c., but should wait for an effective force in order to co-operate with it for the good of the cause. For my part I think that you should look for an advantageous position so as to avoid the bad air and the heat, and to be near to supplies. There you should halt and wait for orders. It would have to be somewhere near the capital, so that the same could be reached in a two or three days' march. The king must retake his kingdom as conqueror and absolute master, and it will require all his power and strength to pacify it. If he cannot take it in this manner, let him abandon it to anarchy and to internal dissensions, and wait

ficati; ma non deve fare un patto o armistizio che avrebbe l'aria di timore o di non sapere come riprenderli. Lui ne è sicuro: i Russi tante volte promessi, gli Austriaci, tutto in somma glielo rende sicuro quindici giorni più presto o più tardi; dunque siccome lo credo ancora io, V. E. con un stuolo di paesani non deve rischiarsi contro gente che hanno armi, artiglieria ec, ma aspettare la forza effettiva per insieme con essa cooperare al bene. Per me credo che dovrebbe pensare ad una vantaggiosa posizione per evitare mal'aria, caldo, ed essere vicino ai viveri; li fermarsi ed aspettare l'avviso. Avrebbe da essere in una certa vicinanza dalla Capitale, che in due o tre giorni di marcia vi si possa trovare. Il Re deve riprendere il suo regno da conquistatore e da padrone assoluto, mentre ci vorrà tutto il potere e forza per riordinarlo; e se non lo può prendere così che lo abbandoni alla sua anarchia, ed alle dissensioni

for the moment when necessity and despair will compel them to come and beseech him to retake it. I confess that when I left Naples, and for a long time afterwards, my sentiments were different; but their unworthy and perverse conduct has caused me to alter my views with regard to a gang of rebels without feeling or gratitude, without courage or energy, permeated with all the vices, and lacking in virtue. Pardon and mercy would be despised and regarded with indifference; harshness and fear will render them docile, humble and obedient; and they will walk in the way marked out for them by severity, as a flock of sheep is driven along by the shepherd's crook.

I have made a careful study of Naples and the Neapolitans; they are always the same, even in this revolution. . . . In a word, I certainly believe that Naples will be conquered, and that the rascals will either change their masks and their manner of conversation, or fly. I prefer the latter, because I should never have any faith in the former. This

intestine, ed aspetti il momento che la necessità e la disperazione li facciano venire a pregar lui medesimo a riprenderlo. Confesso che partii da Napoli e mi sono mantenuta molto tempo in sentimenti diversi, ma la condotta indegna e perversa mi ha fatto cambiare sentimenti con una masnada di ribelli senza cuore o gratitudine, senza coraggio, nè energia, riempiti di tutt' i vizii e nessuna virtù. Il perdono e la clemenza sarebbe dispregiata e poco apprezzata; il rigore ed il timore li renderà docili, umili ed ubbidienti, e cammineranno nel cammino che la severità gli assignerà, come una mandra di pecore appresso al bastone del pastore.

Ho molto studiato Napoli ed i Napolitani: anche in questa rivoluzione sono sempre i medesimi. . . . In una parola credo e sono certa che Napoli sarà conquistato, e che i bricconi cambieranno maschera e linguaggio, o fuggiranno: preferisco l' ultimo, perchè al primo mai avrò fede nè fiducia: questo è

is what I feel. In Naples only the populace have remained loyal, and they are to be rewarded by having the acquisition of articles of first necessity made pleasant and easy for them. Justice must be introduced in a clear, precise and expeditious form ; but the rest of the nation must be dealt with from the height of the throne with justice, but also with severity. . . . I am firmly decided never to live again in Naples. This grieves me, for the country, the climate, and the situation please me, and thirty years of life there have accustomed me to it ; but I shall never show myself there again, nor do I wish to see a country again where my honour has been so put to scorn and defamed. It is my wish that the king should recover it, and I will do all I can for that purpose. If it is absolutely necessary I shall even return, but only for a time, and I will never again live there. Every object, every face would recall all these horrors to my mind. I can never again see Naples, or show myself there. This is a point on which I have made up my mind. I cannot say what my fate will be, or where I shall

il mio sentimento. In Napoli il popolo solo è restato fedele, e questo va premiato col rendergli dolce e facile l'acquisto dei generi di prima necessità : mettere una giustizia chiara netta e speditiva, una polizia ben regolata, ma trattare il resto della nazione dall'alto del trono, con giustizia, ma severità . . . Sono decisa, decissima, di mai e poi mai più vivere in Napoli. Il cuore me ne duole, il paese piacendomi, il clima, la situazione, e l'abitudine di trentuno anni ; ma non mi farò più vedere, nè rivedrò un paese dove il mio onore è stato così vilipeso e diffamato. Desidero, farò di tutto perchè il Re lo ricuperi ; se sarà assolutamente necessario anche ci andrò, ma sempre di passaggio, e mai e poi mai più ci vivrò : ogni oggetto, ogni figura, mi rammenterebbe tutti questi orrori, nè posso più vedere, nè farmi vedere a Napoli. Questo è un punto per me deciso : quale sarà la mia sorte o il mio tetto non si sà,

have a roof over me, but without hesitation I prefer a monastery to the prospect of being queen at Naples. . . .

CAROLINE.

ma preferisco un monastero senza esitare al vedermi fare la Regina a Napoli . . . Prego il Signore che l' accompagni in tutt' i suoi passi, e mi creda con vera ed eterna gratitudine sua attaccatissima e riconoscente amica.

CAROLINA.

Li 23 Maggio, 1799.

14. *PROCLAMATION TO THE REBELS.*

[*B.M. Add. MS. 34911, f. 267; Vindication, p. 125.*]

May 1799.

Foreign armies approach. In a short time the Russians and Austrians by land, and the British squadron by sea will block up Naples on all sides.

The king invites the rebels, and all who have been seduced from their allegiance, to have recourse to his clemency before the dreadful period arrives when the armies reach Naples. But it will be too late when foreign force is at their door—then it will be impossible to answer for the horrid consequences, nor will anyone be able to escape the severity of the law.

D. MI. DE CURTIS, Governor of Procida,
EDWARD JAMES FOOTE, captain Sea-
horse, and senior officer of H.B.M.
ships off Procida,
C^{TE} DE THURN.¹

¹ Commodore in the Sicilian navy, and in command of the frigate *Minerva*. It is doubtful whether he was of Portuguese or of Austrian nationality.

15. KING FERDINAND TO NELSON.

[Despatches, vol. iii. pp. 491 and 522.]

Palermo, 10th of June, 1799.

Very worthy Lord Nelson,—The various accounts which reach me from Naples, requiring a speedy resolution, and the present circumstances of this kingdom and of my family preventing me from leaving them, that I may take care of their safety and defence in any event, I place all my hopes of the wished-for recovery of that capital in the powerful assistance of the English forces under your command. The good and loyal among the inhabitants desire to shake off the yoke which treachery imposed upon them. A great number of the people here cannot tranquilly see the approach of the troops of Cardinal Ruffo, and the successes in the provinces of many chiefs rising in favour of religion and the crown, without burning with a like spirit and desire to unite their efforts with those of

Ben degno Milord Nelson,—Le varie notizie che mi pervengono da Napoli, richiedendo una pronta risoluzione e le attuali circostanze di questo Regno, e della mia Famiglia, imponendomi la legge di non allontanarmene per accendere, in qualunque evento alla sua sicurezza e difesa, vengo a riporre nella valida assistenza delle forze Inglesi sotto il Vostro Comando, tutte le mie speranze, per il sollecito riacquisto di quella capitale.

Bramano i buoni, ed affezionati, tra quegli' abbitanti, di scuotere il giogo, che loro impose il tradimento: un numero ben grande di questi, non può vedere tranquillamente l'avvicinamento delle forze del Cardinal Ruffo, ed i successi nelle Provincie, di più Capi insorgenti in favore della Religione, e della Corona, senza accendersi di ugual spirito, e desiderio, di unire i proprij sforzi per

the provinces for the same end. The efforts of my officers are not sufficient to restrain their (perhaps) premature ardour, but the Neapolitans must await the arrival of the troops of the line which I am preparing, and the reinforcements which, as you know, I am expecting from my good allies, in order that they may work together with greater certainty and the greatest energy to free the kingdom of Naples from oppression. Under these circumstances, an insurrection being on the point of breaking out in the capital, I must avoid the evident misfortune which the fury of the rebels might bring upon so many faithful subjects. I intend, therefore, to assemble such troops of the line as, without weakening this kingdom too much, may unite with the body already existing in the Islands of the Cratere, in seconding the disposition of those good people, in expectation always of the foreign forces, which will co-operate with them for the entire restoration of order. This measure, however, cannot produce the necessary result without your

lo stesso fine, a quelli dei Provinciali. Non bastano a moderare il, forse prematuro, loro ardore le premure dei miei Uffiziali, perche aspettino i Napolitani l' arrivo delle forze di Linea, che preparo, ed i Soccorsi, che attendo, come vi è noto, dai miei buoni alleati. Affine, di operar d' accordo, maggior accerto, e la massima energia, a liberar il Regno di Napoli dall' oppressione. Su tali circostanze manifestandosi già l' insurrezione nella Capitale, devo io evitare il danno evidente, che puol produrre contro tanti fedeli sudditi, il furore dei ribelli. Ho creduto perciò di radunare una forza di Linea, che senza troppo sguarnire questo Regno possa unirsi al Corpo già esistente nelle Isole del Cratere, e secondare le disposizioni, di quel buon popolo, in aspettativa sempre, delle forze estere, che coopereranno all' intiera ripristinazione dell' ordine. Questa misura però, senza l' efficace vostro concorso, e la vostra direzione non puol conseguire il necessario intento.

valuable assistance and direction. I have recourse, therefore, to you, my lord, to obtain both the one and the other, so that (if God will bless your efforts and ours), this kingdom being speedily delivered from the scourge it has experienced, I may henceforward be in a condition to perform the engagements contracted, which duty and reason prescribe. I send, therefore, a copy of the instructions which I am giving to the superior generals, and also forwarding to those on the Continent. At the head of these I have placed my son, whom I trust to your friendly assistance, so that his first steps in the present critical career which he will have to pursue may be guided by your wise advice, requesting that you will not only grant him your powerful assistance, but that you will always act principally, as your forces are the true means and support on which I rest my future hopes, as they have hitherto been my safety. The intention, as you will observe, of restoring quiet and order by acquiring possession of the capital through

Ricorro perciò a voi Milord, per ottenere l' uno e l' altro, affin che riparato speditamente, se Dio vorrà benedire le vostre, e nostre cure, al flagello, che ha provato quel Regno, io possa vedermi in grado, di soddisfare ulteriormente, agl' impegni contratti che mi dettano il dovere, ed ogni raggione. Vi accludo pertanto copia delle istruzioni, che do ai superiori Generali, e che spedisco, a quelli che nel Continente si rattrovano. Alla testa di questi ho collocato mio figlio, che affido all' amichevole vostra assistenza, perchè i primi di lui passi nella entica attual carriera, che dovrà egli percorrere vengano guidati dai savj vostri consigli, richiedendovi, di volerlo secondare non solo col potente vostro ajuto, ma di agire principalmente, per essere le vostre forze il vero mezzo ed appoggio in cui io riponga le future mie speranze, come lo sono fin qui state per la mia sicurezza. La mira come osserverete, di riacquistare la quiete, e l' ordine in quel Regno col possesso della Capitale, per mezzo degli stessi suoi abitanti, dediti alla

its own inhabitants devoted to the good cause, would not be with that expectation embraced by me at this moment if I were not obliged to encourage and take advantage of the good will of the people, with great caution, lest their ardour should either cool or they should become the victims of their devotion. The powerful and distinguished fleet with which you will support the expedition leads me to flatter myself with that happy result which will especially depend upon it, and to trust that, without doing injury to the greater operations which you have constantly in view for the common good, my safety and that of Sicily, you will proceed, as I request, to add this essential service to those other most important ones which with so much zeal and my most lively gratitude you have rendered me. I flatter myself also that the rebels, as well as the enemy, who still occupy St. Elmo, will yield to the measures which will be taken without injury to the capital. Whenever, therefore (after weighing every proper consideration relating to your squadron, and the purposes for which it

buona causa, non si sarebbe con quell' eventualità, da me in questo momento abbracciata, se non mi vedessi necessitato ad incoraggiare, ed approfittarmi della buona volontà del popolo, con un passo sollecito, perchè non si raffreddi la di lui disposizione, ne resti vittima del suo attaccamento. La potente e cospicua flotta, con la quale vorrete appoggiare la spedizione, m' induce a lusingarmi di un felice esito, che da essa specialmente dipenderà, ed a credere, che senza frastornare l' operazione maggiore, che avete in costante veduta per l' utilità comune, e per la difesa mia, e della Sicilia; vi parterete come ve lo chiedo, ad unire questo essenziale servizio a quegli' altri importantissimi, che con tanto zelo, e la mia più viva gratitudine, mi avete reso. Mi lusingo pure, che senza danno della Capitale, cederanno i ribelli, cederà il nemico, che tuttavia vi occupa St Elmo, alle misure, che si prenderanno. Quando poi, bilanciato ogni giusto riflesso relativo alla vostra Squadra, ed ai

may for the general good be required, as well as my own circumstances), you shall see fit to employ strong measures to bring effectually to their duty the obstinate oppressors of my people, and to extirpate, as is urgent, that nest of malefactors, you will put into execution every means which may best tend to attain that necessary end. I confide, my Lord (and I repeat it with pleasure and particular satisfaction), fully and entirely on the great zeal for my service, and the attachment to my person and family, which you have so loyally shown me by deeds, for which I am infinitely grateful and obliged. In the meanwhile I pray that God Almighty may have and preserve you, my Lord, in His holy keeping.

FERDINANDO.

destini, ai quali può per commun bene esser riservata come alle proprie mie circostanze giudicherete necessità, di adoprare la viva, ed estesa forza, per costringere al dovere, e con effetto gl' ostinati oppressori di quel mio popolo, ed estirpare come è urgente, il nido di quei malfattori, vi sarà tenuto, di porre in uso ogni mezzo che meglio tenderà a conseguire quel necessario fine.

Confido Milord, e ve lo ripeto con piacere, e particolar mia soddisfazione, pienamente, ed intieramente nel sommo zelo, per il mio servizio, e nell' attaccamento alla mia persona, e famiglia, che così lealmente mi avete dimostrato con i fatti, per cui vi sono infinitamente grato, e riconoscente. Prego intanto Iddio onnipotente, che vi tenga Milord, e conservi nella santa sua custodia.

FERDINANDO.

Palermo, 10 Giugno, 1799.

16. INSTRUCTIONS TO THE TROOPS.

Instructions to the troops of his Majesty, ordered to repair to the Bay of Naples. (Extracts.)

[Rose, vol. i. p. 231.]

Palermo, 10th of June, 1799.

The circumstances of Naples requiring the prompt expedition to that place of a force of infantry, with the design of aiding the inhabitants of that capital, devoted to the defence of religion and the crown, and to assist the operations of the vicar-general, Cardinal Ruffo, Admiral Nelson has thought proper, on mutual advice and in concert, to make arrangements to act conjointly and efficiently with the renowned British force under his command, to re-establish peace in this kingdom by the recovery of the capital, and to liberate this people from the yoke of anarchy and rebellion.

1st. The declarations and petitions of numerous subjects in Naples and its environs, who pant

Istruzioni per le Truppe di S. M. destinate a portarsi nel Cratere di Napoli.

Richiedendo le circostanze di Napoli la pronta spedizione a quella volta di una Forza di Linea all' effetto di secondare gli sforzi degli abitanti in quella capitale dediti alla difesa della religione e corona, ed a coadiuvare le operazioni del Vicario Generale Cardinale Ruffo: Ha stimato L' ammiraglio Lord Nelson, sull' avviso passato-gliene, e con concerto, di disporre l' occorrente per concorrere efficacemente con le rispettabili forze Britanniche sotto il suo comando, a ripristinare la quiete in quel regno, mercè il riacquisto della capitale, ed a liberare quei popoli dal giogo dell' anarchia e ribellione.

1°. Le dichiarazioni e suppliche di numerosi sudditi che anelano in Napoli e sue adjacenze, di scuotere il giogo

to break the yoke imposed on them by the most infamous treachery, have caused permission to be given to the good royalists, on the appearance of the squadron in the Gulf of Naples, to be ready all to take arms, and then make use of them at the signal that shall be given by Admiral Lord Nelson, either contemporaneously with or immediately after the intimation that will be made by a flag of truce for the surrender and submission of that capital to the royal army. For this reason several boats will convey trusty persons to meet the squadron as it approaches the islands.

2nd. Advices have in consequence been despatched to Cardinal Ruffo, of the determination taken by the aforesaid squadron to present itself before Naples, and to procure the possession of it to the royal arms, in order to accelerate his advance to the capital, with all the force that he thinks proper to lead there.

3rd. The forces of the cardinal will alone be permitted to enter the capital, in the number and

imposto loro dal più infame tradimento, hanno prodotto in replica la prevenzione ai buoni Realisti di dover essi al comparire della squadra nel Golfo di Napoli, trovarsi disposti a prendere tutti le armi, e farne poi uso al segno che verrà loro dato dall' Ammiraglio Lord Nelson, o contemporaneamente o in seguito della intimazione che si farà fare da un Parlamentario per la resa e sottomissione alle reali armi di quella capitale. Si porteranno a questo effetto varj battelli con persone fidate all' incontro della squadra nell' avvicinarsi di questa alle isole.

2°. Si sono spediti in conseguenza avvisi al Cardinale Ruffo della determinazione presa di presentarsi la squadra predetta avanti Napoli, e di procurarne il possesso alle reali armi, affinche acceleri esso il suo avvicinamento alla capitale con tutte le forze che crederà di dovervi portare.

3° Le sole forze del Cardinale potranno introdursi nella capitale in quel numero, e con la scelta che egli stimerà

selection which he may think fit to make from the appointed corps, in addition to the troops of the line.

4th. All the military and political operations shall be agreed upon by the prince royal and Admiral Lord Nelson. The opinion of this latter always to have a preponderance, on account of the respect due to his experience, as well as to the forces under his command, which will determine the operations, and also because we are so deeply indebted to him for the zeal and attachment of which he has given so many proofs. Therefore, should the attack take place, the employment of the royal forces and all other means tending to obtain the surrender of Naples shall be thus decided.

5th. The summons to the rebels to surrender, and any invitation or declaration to the people, and to the erring or misled, shall, for the base and rule of the expression, or promises, agree with whatever has been specified in the law given by his Majesty

di fare dei corpi destinati, in supplemento delle truppe di linea.

4°. Tutte le operazioni militari e politiche, saranno concertate tra il Principe Reale, e l'Ammiraglio Lord Nelson. Il parere di quest' ultimo sarà sempre di preponderanza per i riguardi dovuti alla di lui esperienza come alle forze da esso dipendenti, e che decidono dell' operazione ; e per quanto altresì devesi al medesimo per lo zelo, ed attaccamento, de quei ha dato tante riproove. Onde se avranno luogo gli attacchi, si deciderà con questo metodo l'impiego delle reali forze, ed ogni altro mezzo tendente ad ottenere la resa di Napoli.

5°. Le intimazioni ai ribelli per arrendersi, e ogni qualunque invito, o dichiarazione ai popoli, ed ai travati o sedotti, dovranno per la base e norma nelle espressioni o promesse, riferirsi a quanto viene fissato per legge data

to Cardinal Ruffo on the 29th of April last, as well with respect to the principal criminals generally, as with regard to the clemency to be shown them, which is and always shall be the right of his Majesty. The spirit of these new declarations shall therefore approximate as much as possible to the sense of the aforesaid general law.

6th. Therefore, in the military capitulation which may take place with the enemy who occupy St. Elmo, the power of stipulating for their departure may be extended to several rebels, even to the leaders, according to circumstances, if the general good, the promptitude of the operation and reasons of weight make it advisable. The same measures will serve also for Capua and Gaeta, if it shall happen that this same operation embraces the question of the surrender of those places.

7th. When Naples shall be entirely surrendered and subdued, the vicar-general shall at once take possession of the entire government of the kingdom; and to this intent will receive from the

da S. M. al Cardinale Ruffo nel 29 Aprile p^o; tanto per i rei principali in generale, che per la clemenza da usarsi; la quale è, e sarà sempre propria di S. M. Si dovrà pertanto approssimare il più che sarà praticabile, lo spirito di queste nuove dichiarazioni al senso della citata legge generale.

6^o. Nella capitolazione militare però, che occorresse farsi con i nemici che occupano S. Elmo, potrà estendersi secondo le circostanze la facoltà di stipulare la partenza a varj ribelli anche capi, se il bene pubblico, la prontezza dell'operazione, e ragioni di peso così facessero opinare. Tale misura potrà servire benanche per Capua, e Gaeta, se accaderà di intimarsene la resa nel complesso di questa stessa operazione.

7^o. Quando Napoli sarà resa totalmente, e sommessa, il Vicario Generale prenderà per ora il possesso dell'intero governo del regno, ed a quell'effetto riceverà dal

prince royal the king's new ratification of this his commission and charge, with all the particular determinations that the circumstance requires, and any rules that the importance of the time and special considerations indispensably demand.

9th. As it is the desire of his Majesty that the forts of Naples shall be speedily evacuated by the enemy and rebels, the prince royal is authorised to pursue this design at any cost, and, should it be necessary, to employ any other means besides force.

10th. The acts of clemency concerning the noted offenders, and the right of pardoning the same, are reserved for the king, excepting those stipulated in the article relating to the capitulation.¹

Real Principe il nuovo confermo del Re di questa sua commissione, ed incarico, con tutte le particolari determinazioni che la circostanza esige, e con alcune norme che il momento, e speciali considerazioni richiedono indispensabilmente.

9°. Siccome è mente di S. M. che con prontezza siano evacuati i castelli di Napoli dal nemico e ribelli di adoprare oltre la forza, altro qualunque mezzo, che sia necessario, viene autorizzato il Real Principe, a conseguire quell' intento ad ogni costo.

10°. Gli atti di clemenza che possono riguardare i rei conosciuti, e l' aggraziare i medesimi, sono riservati al Re, eccettuandosi quanto si è detto all' articolo della capitolazione.

17. CAROLINE TO LADY HAMILTON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 1616, f. 23.]

11th of June, 1799.

My dear Milady,—I hope you are well. I am anxiously expecting news from one moment to

Ma chère Milady,—J'espère que votre chère santé est bonne, et je vis bien empressé de nouvelles que nous

¹ *I.e.* article 6.

another. A speronara which has arrived brings us this news: I send you the original letter so that you and your husband may read it, and then send it back to me before a late hour this evening, [as I wish] to send it to the king. It would appear from this note that a second English squadron was in the Mediterranean. God grant this may be so, and that it may join the other squadron and seek out the infamous republicans and destroy them. That is my heartfelt prayer. Good night, my dear lady; take great care of your health, and rely on my constant friendship. Good-bye.

[CHARLOTTE.]

attendons d'un moment a l'autre. Une Speronara arrivée nous porte ces nouvelles, je vous envoie la lettre originale afin que vous et votre mari la lisiez et puis me la renvoyiez devant ce soir vers le tard l'envoyer au Roi. Il paroitroit de ce detail qu'une seconde escadre angloise fut dans la Mediteranée; Dieu le voulusse, fasse qu'il se rejoigne, retrouve les infames Republicains et les detruisent. Voilà mon vœux bien prononcé. Bon soir ma chère milady, ayez bien soin de votre santé et contez sur ma constante amitié. Adieu.¹

18. CAROLINE TO NELSON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 1623, f. 14.]

11th of June, 1799.

My Lord,—As a queen, and again as a mother, I commit to your care the expedition which is about to take place. This will be a further obligation, which we shall add to all those which we acknowledge ourselves to be under to you. I commit to

Milord je vous recommande et come Reine, et encore come mère, l'Expedition qui va avoir lieux, ce sera une obligation de plus que nous joindrons a toutes celles que

¹ In the queen's own hand, but unsigned. Cf. Pettigrew, i. 230.

your care ungrateful Naples, where I have been so misjudged, but which I still love in spite of all ; and I hope that the imposing force by sea, as well as the blockade on all sides, will cause them to return to their duty without their being compelled to do so by force, for I wish that there should be no shedding of blood, that of my enemies even being precious to me. I beg you to often send me news of yourself. I entrust to you my son, who feels honoured and contented at being on board your ship and under your orders. Good-bye, my Lord ; I would dearly have loved to make the journey with my son, but other duties oblige me to remain. I shall, however, never cease from praying to heaven for the prosperity of your enterprise and your speedy return, so that I may assure you of the eternal esteem and sincere and heartfelt gratitude of your sincere and devoted friend,

CHARLOTTE.¹

nous vous professons, je vous recommande l'ingrat Naples, ou j'ai été si meconue, et que malgré tout j'aime encore, j'espère que la force imposante de merr, come d'être entouré de tous côtés les fera rentrer dans leurs devoirs, sans que la force les y oblige, car je désire que cella ne coute point de sang, celui de mes Enemis, même m'étant précieux, je vous prie de me doner souvent de vos nouvelles, je vous recommande mon fils, qui se trouve honoré et content sur votre Bord, et direction. Adieu, mon respectable milord, il m'auroit été bien cher, de faire le trajet et voyage avec mon fils, mais des autres devoirs m'obligent de rester, je ne cesserois donc point de faire mes vœux au Ciel, pour la prospérité de votre Enterprise et votre prompt retour, afin que je puisse vous assurer de l'Eternelle Estime, et Sincère profonde reconnoissance de votre

Sincère et devoué amie

Le 11 Juin, 1799.

CHARLOTTE.

¹ On the envelope in Nelson's writing :—' We met the Powerful and Bellerophon in the night at sea, who informed us the

19. NELSON TO FOOTE.

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 129.]

12th of June, 1799.

[*Most secret.*]

The bearer, Prossidio Amante,¹ is charged on a business of great importance, and the queen desires me to recommend him to your notice. Keep your vessels ready to join me at a moment's notice.

Yours truly,

NELSON.

20. LADY HAMILTON TO NELSON.

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 491.]

Thursday evening, 12th of June.

I have been with the queen this evening. She is very miserable, and says that although the people of Naples are for them in general, yet things will not be brought to that state of quietness and subordination till the fleet of Lord Nelson appears off Naples. She therefore begs, entreats, and conjures you, my dear lord, if it is possible, to arrange matters so as to be able to go to Naples. Sir William is writing for General Acton's answer. For God's sake consider it, and do. We will go with you if you will come and fetch us. Sir William is ill. I am ill : it will do us good. God bless you. Ever, ever yours sincerely,

E. HAMILTON.

French fleet was out beyond T[oulon]. We returned with the prince royal to Palermo.'

¹ The name is written in a different hand.

21. NELSON TO ST. VINCENT.

[Despatches, vol. vii. App. p. clxxxv.]

12th of June, 1799.

My dear Lord,—To-morrow morning I receive on board the Prince Royal, &c. &c., with 1,700 troops, and sail for the Bay of Naples, the court being in expectation that the appearance of the squadron will enable the royalists to take possession of the city. They are 50,000 well-regulated royalists, and next Sunday is the day appointed. You may be assured that I will not risk a mast of any one of the squadron. God send us good luck, and may He bless us is the sincere prayer of your affectionate

NELSON.

22. SEAHORSE: MASTER'S LOG (M. SPRATT).¹

[Official Number, 3417.]

In Naples Bay.

1799:—*Thursday, June 13th.*—P.M. Fresh breezes and clear. At 2 P.M. weighed, made sail

¹ This log is dated according to the old sea time—*i.e.* from mid-day to mid-day, *e.g.* June 13th P.M. is June 12th according to the ordinary calendar. The captain's *Journal* (Official Number, 1270), which is quoted by Nicolas (*Desp.* iii. p. 479), is full of errors, the dates and the days of the week being frequently misplaced. One day has been lost by the omission of the entry for June 10th, under which date the transactions for June 11th are entered. This error runs through the months of June and July: *e.g.* Thursday, July 18th, is followed by Monday, July 19th, Sunday, July 25th, by Friday, July 26th, and so on. It is probably due to the carelessness of the captain's clerk. The captain's *Journal* of the Culloden is similarly one day out. It fills up both the 25th and 26th of June with the transactions of the 25th, places those of the 26th under the 27th, and continues one day wrong till the 4th of July, when the error is rectified by omitting the transactions of the 3rd of July.

with two Neapolitan gunboats in tow, and Minerve's launch in tow. Made the Sirene's signal to come within hail and the signal for a captain. Answered the signal from the San Leon for a sail WSW. At 11, a boat came off from the shore; sent her to Procida. Wore occasionally during the night. Half-past 6 A.M. made the San Leon's signal for the galleys to come out. At 9, bore up for Portici; supplied the royalists with 3 barrels of powder; cleared ship for action. The royalists was attacking the fort¹ by land. At 11, wore and fired several broadsides at the battery; after short time they struck; made the signal to the Neapolitan frigate and gunboat to discontinue the action; made the gunboat's signal to come within hail. At noon, close off Portici.

Friday, 14th.—P.M. Moderate breezes and fine. Took the Neapolitan gunboat in tow: tacked, wore and hove to occasionally close off Naples. At 5 P.M. fired several shot at two of the enemy's gunboats close in shore. The forts from Naples kept a constant firing at us. Saw the royalists take possession of a fort close to the entrance of the town. At 7 P.M. answered No. 52² from the Mutine. A heavy cannonading and musketry at Naples. At daylight saw Fort Carmine in possession of the royalists and keeping a brisk fire on the Mole-head. At 10 A.M.³ saw the king's colours hoisted on the Mole. The Mutine took an armed launch going to Naples from Castellamare. Made the Mutine's signal for a captain; supplied ditto with 9 bags of bread; sunk a vessel going from Naples to Castellamare. Several

¹ The fort of Granatelli.

² 'Cease firing.' The signals referred to are those used by Jervis in the battle of St. Vincent (*N. R. S.* vol. xvi. pp. 207, *et seq.*); some are interpreted in Captain Foote's *Journal* and the *Log of the Leviathan*.

³ Daylight, according to Foote's *Journal*.

small boats came off from Naples, informing us that the greatest part of the town was in possession of the royalists. At noon, fresh breezes off Castellamare.

Saturday, 15th.—P.M. Fresh breezes and cloudy. Wore occasionally off Castellamare. At 6 P.M. saw a strange man-of-war to windward, supposed to be a Neapolitan frigate with two gunboats in tow. Three galleys joined us from Procida. At day, made the San Leon's signal No. 93,¹ received 9 bullocks from her. Made the signal for a flag of truce. Captain Oswald went in the small cutter to Castel Revigliano. Shortly after the boat got there the king's colours was hoisted. Sent the launch and barge with men to take possession of the fort. At noon fresh breezes and squally; swamped the large cutter by the ship being taken aback, and getting under the counter, the painter broke; the boat's masts, oars, and sails was lost.

Sunday, 16th.—P.M. Fresh breezes and clear. A boat came off from Castellamare with a flag of truce to determine on the terms giving² by Captain Foote. At 4 P.M. the boat with the flag of truce returned. At 7 P.M. came to with the small bower in 18 fathoms water, the Mole-head at Castellamare bearing south, distant about two miles; Castle of Revigliano NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ E, distant one mile; west point of Capri, W by S $\frac{1}{2}$ S. Half-past 7, the flag of truce came off again, who agreed to the terms of capitulation. They hoisted English colours at the fort. Captain Oswald, with several other officers and marines, went on shore to take possession of the fort. A.M. Received 320 prisoners on board. San Leon brig in company; received sundry boatswains' stores from ditto.

Monday, 17th.—P.M. Fresh breezes and cloudy. Sent 95 prisoners on board the Perseus. A.M. Light

¹ 'Pass within hail.

² So in MS.

breezes and fine. Got all the seamen and marines on board from the battery. At 6 A.M. weighed, made all sail. Punished the following men for drunkenness and neglect of duty:—George Wildblood, marine, with 5 dozen lashes; John Fisher, ditto, with 4 dozen; Richard Brett, ditto, with 3 dozen; Visel Viley, ditto, with 2 dozen; Benjamin Clark with 18 lashes; George Ripley with 5; John Jeffrays with 6; Robert McDoual with 12 lashes. Tacked occasionally, working up to Naples.

Tuesday, the 18th.—Light breezes and fine weather. Standing in for Naples. Half-past 1 P.M. made the Perseus' signal to anchor. At 2 P.M. came to with the small bower in 24 fathoms water, black sand and clay bottom, distance about half mile from the village of Posilipo, south point of the Castel dell' Uovo E by N, distance about 2 miles; west point of the bay SW $\frac{1}{2}$ W, distance 3 miles. At 2 A.M. saw a heavy firing of musketry on shore, supposed to be between the royalists and Jacobins. Weighed, made sail, stood off and on in the bay. At 9 A.M. made flag of truce. Captain Oswald went on shore with it. At 11 the truce returned; fired a gun and hauled it down. At noon, off Naples.

Wednesday, 19th.—P.M. Fresh breezes and fine. Made the Perseus' signal for a captain. At 4 P.M. Captain Foote went on shore to Naples. Saw part of Castel Nuovo on fire, supposed to be by shell fire from the royalists. Half-past 4, made the Perseus' signal to anchor; at 5, shortened sail, came to with the small bower in 18 fathoms water, distance about half a mile from the shore; the west point of land brought to bear SW $\frac{1}{2}$ W; south point of Castel Uovo E by N, distance 3 miles. You must be careful when anchoring in this place not to go too close to the shore, as it shoals very quick; from

15 fathoms you get into 6 or 5; the ground is good for holding. The gunboats and mortar vessels kept a heavy fire on Castel dell' Uovo the first part of the night; at daylight the mortar vessels begun again. Received 10 bullocks on board and supplied the Perseus with 3. Castel dell' Uovo made a flag of truce. Hoisted a flag of truce; ordered the mortar vessels to leave off firing.

Thursday, 20th.—P.M. Moderate and fine weather. Sent all the prisoners to Procida and four marines to guard the vessel. A.M. Moderate and fine. Washed the lower deck; employed at sundry jobs; found the clinch of the small bower cable very much chafed; cut three fathoms off; bent the cable again.

Friday, 21st.—P.M. Light breezes and fine weather. His Majesty's sloop Bulldog arrived; at 10 P.M. ditto sailed to cruise in the bay. A.M. Moderate and clear. Employed pointing a new fore and main topsail. Punished the following men for drunkenness and neglect of duty:—William Belson with 12 lashes; James Brown with 18 lashes; James Kelly with 18 lashes.

Saturday, 22nd.—Moderate breezes and fine. Employed at sundry jobs; sent two barges and a large launch to Procida for stores. Washed the lower deck. Launch employed watering. Pointed a new mizen topsail.

Sunday, 23rd.—Light airs and fine weather. Received the under-mentioned stores on board for the squadron:—Three-quarter, 7 coils; $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, 5 coils; $2\frac{1}{2}$ inch, 2 coils; slops, 3 bales; pitch, 3 barrels; tar, 2 ditto; hawser, 6-inch, one; cable, $17\frac{1}{2}$ -inch, one; ditto of 16-inch, one; anchor 44 cwt. 25 lbs., one; iron bars, 3; oars, 8. Supplied the Perseus with her proportion. A.M. Carpenters employed stocking the anchor. Read divine service

and mustered the ship's company by divisions. Received 974 gals. of wine.

Monday, 24th.—P.M. Moderate breezes and fine weather. Sighted the anchor. Employed watering. A.M. Ditto weather. Perseus weighed; sent the Minerve's men on board of her. Employed on sundry jobs.

Tuesday, 25th.—P.M. Moderate breezes and fine weather. Half-past 12, saw several large ships in the offing; made the Perseus' signal No. 14¹ with a gun; shortly after, made general signal No. 117,² and repeated it with 3 guns. At 1, answered the Perseus' signal for 16 sail in the WSW. Quarter before 1 weighed, made sail, tacked occasionally in the bay. A boat came on board from the San Leon brig, who informed us that the strange fleet in the offing was Admiral Lord Nelson, with 18 sail of the line and other small vessels.³ At 8 P.M. the Admiral ship anchored. Stood off and on during the night. A.M. Ditto weather. The greater part of the fleet anchored close off Naples.

Wednesday 26th.—Moderate breezes and fine. Wore and hove to occasionally off the fleet. At 5 P.M. shortened sail and anchored inside of the fleet in 23 fathoms water. Mole-head NW, dist. 2 miles; west end off the granary N by E $\frac{1}{2}$ E, dist. $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. A.M. Fresh breezes with flying showers of rain. Washed the lower deck.

Thursday, 27th.—P.M.—Fresh breezes and clear. A large body of marines went on shore to take possession of Castel dell' Uovo and Castel Nuovo. Shortly after they landed saw the King of Naples'

¹ 'To reconnoitre.'

² 'All boats and persons to repair on board'

³ 'At 4 I went on board of the Foudroyant to wait on Lord Nelson' (Foote's *Journal*).

colours hoisted at the above two places.¹ A Portuguese line-of-battle ship and a brig arrived. Employed as most required.

Friday, 28th.—P.M. Fresh breezes and clear weather. A.M. Moderate and cloudy. Employed watering. Answered the signal for all barges manned and armed. Employed pointing a new fore topsail.

Saturday, 29th.—P.M. Fresh breezes and hazy. Half-past 12, answered the signal No. 97.² Received 18 bags of bread from the Foudroyant; received 17 bullocks; got all ready for sailing. At 7 P.M. weighed; made all sail out of the bay. . . .

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(*The following days are given in abstract only.*)

Tuesday, 2nd July.—(In Palermo Bay.) 7 P.M. shortened sail, came to with the small bower in 25 fathoms water. . . .

Monday, 8th July.—8 P.M. Island of Capri N $\frac{1}{2}$ W, dist. 5 or 6 longitudes. Fired several shot at the convoy to keep them in their station. A.M. The Neapolitan frigate Minerva joined the convoy. At noon, centre of the island of Capri, NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ W, dist. $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

Tuesday, 9th.—A.M. Hove to occasionally off Procida: waiting to see the whole of the convoy. Noon.

Wednesday, 10th.—At 3 P.M. the whole of the convoy got in [to Procida]. Bore up, made all sail for the fleet at anchor off Naples. At sunset answered the signal not to shorten sail.³ At 10 A.M.

¹ 'At sunset saw the king's colours flying off the forts of Uovo and Nuovo' (Foote's *Journal*).

² 'Prepare to weigh.'

³ So in MS.

made the signal to know whether we should anchor,¹ which was answered with the affirmative. Half-past 10, came to with the best bower in 27 fathoms water.

Thursday, 11th.—Answered the signal 162 :² shortly after the numeral flag No. 21.³ The King of Naples arrived from Procida in the Sirena ; his standard was hoisted on board the Foudroyant ; a royal salute was fired throughout the fleet
 $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 P.M. Weighed, made sail, Thalia in company.

23. CAROLINE TO RUFFO.

[*Archivio Storico*, vol. v. p. 571 ; *Dumas*, vol. v. p. 175.]

14th of June, 1799.

Your Eminence will, as I hope, receive this letter in Naples, having thus accomplished your glorious task of reconquering the kingdom. The ill-luck which never deserts us has obliged the English squadron to return this morning to Palermo. It started yesterday with the finest wind possible. We said good-bye about eleven, when it was already under sail, and at five o'clock the squadron was out of sight. The wind was so propitious that it would

Questa mia, Vostra Eminenza la riceverà secondo le mie speranze dentro Napoli, ed avrà così compita l' opera sua gloriosa di averci riconquistato il regno. Le fatalità che giammai non ci abbandonano hanno obbligato la squadra inglese questa mattina a ritornare a Palermo. Parti ieri con il più bel vento possibile : prendemmo congedo verso le undici⁴ già alla vela, ed a ventidue ore⁵ non si vedeva più la squadra, ed il vento era così propizio, che si

¹ 9.45 A.M. Seahorse to Foudroyant, Interrogative 63 : 'Am I to anchor?' (*Leviathan's Log*).

² 'Prepare to salute.'

³ 'Number of guns to be fired.'

⁴ French time.

⁵ Neapolitan time. See *Introduction*, p. cxi. Caroline changes here from French to Neapolitan time.

have been at Procida to-day ; but it met two English ships half-way, coming as reinforcements, inasmuch as the French squadron had left Toulon and was approaching the southern shores of Italy. A council of war was held, and Nelson decided that his duty was to think in the first place of Sicily, then, getting rid of the passengers, troops, and artillery which he had on board, to hasten to meet and to seek to beat the enemy. They returned with this intention. I can hardly tell you how grieved I was at this disappointment. The squadron was superb, beautiful, imposing. It would assuredly have produced a great effect, as my son was on board. It was his first expedition, and he was full of enthusiasm. In fact, it was a real sorrow to me. The letters of the 11th and 12th received from Procida show me that the bubble is about to burst. It is only to be expected. They are cut off from water, and the want of provisions permits of no delay.

sarebbe stato oggi a Procida ; ma a mezzo cammino rincontrò due vascelli inglesi che venivano di rinforzo, giacchè la squadra francese era sortita da Tolone e si avvicinava alle coste meridionali d' Italia. Fu tenuto consiglio di guerra e Nelson decise che il suo dovere era di pensare in primo luogo alla Sicilia, e poi sbarazzandosi di gente, truppa ed artiglieria che portava, correre ad incontrare e cercare di battere l' inimico ; e con questa decisione sono tornati ; stanno in tutta fretta sbarcando per correre ad incontrare il nemico. Quale dispiacere mi abbia dato questo disappunto non so bastantemente dirlo : la squadra era superba, bella, imponente, con tutti i trasporti ; avrebbe sicuramente fatto grande effetto, mio figlio imbarcato ; la prima sua spedizione della quale lui era tutto entusiasmato ; insomma mi ha fatto una sensibile pena. Le lettere degli 11 e 12 ricevute da Procida mi mostrano che la bomba sta per aprirsi, nè più si può aspettare ; le acque tagliate, la mancanza dei viveri non

I leave the direction of everything to the wisdom of your Eminence. I too am most anxious that they should be spared from massacre and pillaging. I am convinced that the Neapolitans will not defend themselves, for the rebellious classes have not the least courage, and the mob, which has given proof of courage, is on the side of the good cause. I therefore think that Naples will be recaptured without any, or with very little, trouble. I am concerned about St. Elmo alone. I should have demanded its surrender from the commandant, offering him these alternatives: either to surrender in a short time and to be taken under a safe-conduct whithersoever he wished (and even to take with him fifty or not more than a hundred Jacobins), leaving his cannon, fortifications, and defences in a good state; or, if he declined these terms, to be deprived of quarter either for himself or for his men. In this way, I believe, St. Elmo would have been paralysed. Should he remain obstinate, the Russians and the Turks should be called to the front at once, and a gold-piece should be promised to

ammette indugio. Lascio alla saviezza di Vostra Eminenza a dirigere il tutto; anche io desidero vivamente che si risparmiino i massacri ed il saccheggio. Sono convinta che i Napoletani non si defenderanno, mentre le classi ribelli non hanno verun coraggio, ed il popolo che ne ha mostrato, è della buona causa; e perciò credo che senza nessuna o pochissima pena si riprenderà Napoli. Il solo S. Elmo mi imbarazza; avrei intimata resa a quel comandante col dilemma subitaneo, in poco tempo, o rendersi, ed essere accompagnato con salvocondotto dove vuole, anche potersi a sua scelta portare cinquanta, fino a cento giacobini con se, ma di dover lasciare i cannoni, fortificazioni, difese tutto in buono stato; o non accettandolo, non esservi per lui quartiere, nè per i suoi; così crederei che si paralizzerebbe S. Elmo. In caso che si ostina, immediatamente russi e turchi avanti, e dei nostri un' oncia fosse

each one of our men who joined in the assault, as well as another on their return if they had done honour to themselves. I am certain that it would be ours in half an hour. We should have to keep our word to all, both defenders as well as assailants. The deputies should be appointed at once for the maintenance of order and for the victualling of the city. The *eletti* should no longer be elected save by the king; the *sedili* should be abolished on account of their felony in dethroning the king, driving out his viceroy, and assuming supreme authority without his permission. Then you should try to establish order and prevent plundering, and write to us here. This is what seems to me to be necessary at first.

Then you should consign St. Elmo to him who is the most honest, alert, and faithful. You should try to form and organise an army, distinguishing and trusting the many loyalists; then put the *Cratere*¹ into a state of defence, and make a careful enumeration at once of the maritime forces, of the

dato a chi va allo assalto, e un altra al ritorno avendosi fatto onore: sono certa che in mezz' ora è nostra. Mantenere la parola a tutti quelli che si difendono, come pure agli assaltanti; mettere subito i Deputati per l' ordine e per l' annona della città, gli Eletti non eligendosi più che dal Re, i Sedili restando abolito dopo la loro fellonia di avere detronizzato il re, cacciandone il suo Vicario, ed assumendosi senza suo permesso l' autorità di tutto; cercare l' ordine, impedire le rapine e scrivere qui: questo mi pare per il primo istante. Consegnare S. Elmo a quello che sia il più probò, attento e fedele; cercare di formare ed organizzare un' armata con distinzione e fiducia a tanti fideli; mettere il cratero in istato di difesa, e subito prendere esatto conto delle forze marittime, dell' artiglieria

¹ A term employed to denote the western extremity of the Bay of Naples.

artillery, and of the contents of the magazines. You should look to the finances. In fact, you should introduce a little humanity and good order. If the people could with the same enthusiasm be induced to invade the Papal States, in order to free Rome and to restore it to its shepherd, and if we could take the mountains as our frontier, then our wounded honour would be healed. If anyone else but your Eminence were entrusted with this matter I should be in a state of mortal anxiety, as I know full well how extensive and burdensome it is. But I am perfectly reassured by the talents, perspicacity, profundity, zeal, and activity of your Eminence.

I have received your letter of the 4th of this month from Bovino, and that of the 6th from Ariano. I have read your letter of the 6th to Acton, and have seen your wise and profound arguments; and, although my intimate convictions and my long and sorrowful experience prevent me from agreeing altogether with your Eminence, this letter has caused me to reflect more carefully and to

e di quello che i magazzini hanno; vedere per le finanze; insomma rimettere un poco di umanità e buon ordine. Se con quello stesso entusiasmo si potesse portare i popoli ad entrare nello Stato romano a liberare Roma per renderla al suo Pastore, e noi prendere le montagne per frontiere, sarebbe riparare in pieno al nostro lesa onore. Chiunque altro che Vostra Eminenza fosse di ciò incompensato viverei in mortale inquietudine, conoscendone tutta l'estensione e peso: ma con il talento, perspicacia, profondità, zelo ed attività di Vostra Eminenza sono perfettamente tranquilla.

Ho ricevuto la sua lettera dei 4 di questo mese da Bovino, e dei 6 da Ariano; ho letto la sua scritta ad Acton dei 6; ho visto i suoi sacri e profondi ragionamenti, e benchè non in tutto per mia intima convinzione e lunga e dolorosa esperienza d'accordo con Vostra Eminenza, mi ha fatto fare profonde riflessioni, e sempre più ammirarla.

admire you more than ever. I think the government of Naples will be a matter of the greatest difficulty, which will require all the knowledge, talent, and firmness of your Eminence. Whilst the memories of the past will render [the rebels] apparently docile, still their private hatreds and passions, and the knowledge that they are unmasked, will make the direction of affairs very difficult, though your Eminence will carry it through successfully. I long to hear that Naples is captured. You may negotiate with St. Elmo and its French commandant, but there must be no treaty with our rebel vassals. The king in his clemency will pardon them, will out of kindness reduce their punishments; but he will never negotiate or enter into capitulations with guilty rebels who are in their death struggle, and who, being caught in a trap like mice, are unable to harm us as they would wish to. I would fain pardon them, if it were for the good of the state, but I would not stoop to bargain with such low and contemptible scoundrels. Such is my view,

Credo che il governo di Napoli sarà di una difficoltà infinita; e che avrà bisogno di tutte le cognizioni, talenti e fermezza di Vostra Eminenza, mentre benchè il passato li renderà in apparenza docili, gli odii, le passioni private, i timori conoscendosi rei svelati, faranno la direzione ben difficile, ma il talento di Vostra Eminenza rimedierà a tutto. Desidero con vera ardenza di sentire Napoli presa: entrare in trattativa con S. Elmo ed il suo Francese comandante, ma nessuna trattativa coi nostri ribelli vassalli: il Re nella sua clemenza li perdonerà, diminuirà i loro castighi per sua bontà, ma mai capitolerà, nè tratterrà con dei criminosi ribelli che sono all'agonia, e volendo non possono far male, essendo come i sorci nella trappola. Io li vorrei, se conviene al bene dello Stato, perdonare, ma non patteggiare con simili bassi e dispregevoli scellerati: tale è la mia opinione che sottometto, come a tutte le altre

which I submit with the others to your careful and wise consideration. Believe me, your Eminence, I feel deeply grateful for all we owe to you; and if at times we disagree, I am nevertheless conscious that I can never be too grateful for the remarkable and most brilliant services you have rendered to us. For my part, I believe that the pacification and reorganisation of Naples will be the *crux* of the matter. In my opinion this will be far more difficult than the reconquest, which has been already so successfully carried out by your Eminence; but it will also be the crowning point of your faithful services, and will call for our eternal and heartfelt gratitude. I close, in the meantime, with a request that your Eminence will not fail to send us news of all that takes place at this critical and decisive moment, for you may imagine with what anxiety we await it.

Believe me, &c.,

CAROLINE.

ai suoi lumi e conoscenza. Creda pure Vostra Eminenza, che sento con viva gratitudine tutto quello che le dobbiamo, e se qualche volta sono in differenza di opinione non ne sento meno tutto l' eccesso della ben dovuta gratitudine, che le professo per gli unici e segnalatissimi servigi a noi prestati. Conto per me che il riordinare e il resistere Napoli sia il colmo, ed a parere mio, più grande difficile, che il riconquistarlo, già da vostra Eminenza così felicemente eseguito; ma sarà mettere il colmo ai suoi fedeli servizii, ed attirarsi l' eterna estesissima nostra riconoscenza. Finisco fra di tanto pregando Vostra Eminenza in questi critici e decisivi momenti di non farci mancare le sue notizie, potendo supporre con quanta premura le stiamo aspettando, e mi creda con vera ed eterna gratitudine sua riconoscente ed affezionatissima amica,

CAROLINA.

li 14 giugno, 1799.

24. CAROLINE TO LADY HAMILTON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 1616, f. 27.]

14th of June, 1799.

My dear Milady,—I am going to the Colli to take Francis to visit his father, and to give him an account of everything. I was exceedingly surprised to see the squadron return, though I felt sure that under the leadership of Lord Nelson it could only be on good grounds. I am sure to return at sunset, and I hope to have the consolation of seeing you and assuring you of my constant friendship. I am grieved at the news concerning your health. A thousand compliments to the chevalier and to our brave and virtuous admiral, from whom I expect great things.

[CHARLOTTE.]

Ma chère Milady,—Je vais aux Colli pour porter François à voir son père et lui rendre conte de tout. J'ai été excessivement frappé de voir l'escadre revenir, sur que sous la direction de milord Nelson cela ne pouvait être que pour le bien. Je serais de retour sûrement aux 24 heures, et j'espère d'avoir la consolation de vous voir et assurer de ma constante amitié. Les nouvelles de votre santé me tiennent en peines.

Mille compliments au Chevalier et à notre brave vertueux amiral duquel j'attends tout tout bien.

[CHARLOTTE.]

25. SUMMONS TO REVIGLIANO.

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 155.]

[15th of June, 1799.]

A considerable force being about to attack Castellamare, and the rebels being surrounded on all sides it is impossible they can escape ; yet being

stimulated by the desire of sparing the effusion of blood, and of opening a path to royal clemency, I pledge my word of honour that if the commandant of Revigliano and the people under his command, consign into my hands the aforesaid fortress with all its military stores, in good order, I will receive the troops composing the garrison. They shall be treated as prisoners of war, and I, moreover, promise to intercede with his Sicilian Majesty in their behalf. The squadron under Lord Nelson is in sight;¹ it will therefore be extreme folly to flatter yourselves with the hope of escaping. I expect your answer in a quarter of an hour, at the expiration of which period, if your colours are not struck, no quarter will be given.

E. J. FOOTE.

26. *SUMMONS TO CASTELLAMARE.*

[Sinclair MSS. *Vindication*, p. 156.]

[15th of June, 1799.]

Wishing to prevent the effusion of blood, and to give an opening to the clemency of his Sicilian Majesty, I do hereby intimate to the commanders of the republican forces that a considerable force is ready to attack them both by land and sea. It will be the height of madness in you to pretend to make any resistance, and I therefore only give you a quarter of an hour to come to a determination; at the expiration of which period, if the republican colours are not struck, you are to expect no quarter. If you surrender with all your naval and military stores, and do no damage either to the fortress or gunboats, you shall be received on board the ships

¹ Note by Foote: 'I was so informed by a boat just come from Procida.'

under my command, where you will be treated as prisoners of war, and I pledge my word of honour to intercede with your sovereign in your behalf. I judge it proper to inform you that Naples (with the exception of the castles of St. Elmo and dell' Uovo) have submitted to his Sicilian Majesty's arms, and those fortresses are treating for their capitulation; and that Lord Nelson's fleet is in sight. You must therefore see you have no resource left, but by accepting the terms I have offered.

E. J. FOOTE.

27. *ARMISTICE GRANTED TO CASTELLAMARE.*

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 157.]

Seahorse at anchor off Castellamare,
3.30 P.M., 15th of June, 1799.

The chiefs of the republican forces having been on board the Seahorse to request an armistice for two hours and a half to make known to their forces the terms of capitulation, I have consented to their request, which I trust will be observed by the chiefs of such royalists as may be in the neighbourhood of Castellamare, and that no attack will be made until that period is expired.

E. J. FOOTE.

28. *FIRST OFFER OF CAPITULATION.*

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 157.]

[15th of June, 1799.]

Our situation is not so critical but that we are able to make resistance; but being desirous as well as you, sir, to prevent the effusion of human blood, we accept the offer of capitulation provided you

grant us what is common to all brave military men, viz. to leave this fortress with military honours, and being released on our word of honour, and allowed to depart to our respective homes and families without any exception whatever, and our safety guaranteed in the name of the Kings of Great Britain and of Sicily.¹

ANTONIO D'AMATO, Commandante.

S. CAPRERE, Commandante della flotilla.

29. *SECOND OFFER OF CAPITULATION.*

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 158.]

[15th of June, 1799.]

It is with great pleasure we have heard that your generosity and kind disposition induces you to wish to prevent the effusion of blood. The whole of the garrison and crews of the flotilla have to request you will allow them to march out of the fort with military honours, grounding their arms the instant they have passed the last barrier, leaving it to their option to go where they think proper; and relying on British generosity they trust you will receive such of them on board your ship as think proper to avail themselves of the protection of the British flag. We trust you will comply with these demands, otherwise we shall be compelled by dire necessity to die sooner than relinquish the fortress committed to our charge; but we rely much on the good-will you have already evinced towards us.

ANTONIO D'AMATO.

¹ A translation, with the following note in Foote's writing: 'To this paper I gave no answer.'

30. *CAPITULATION OF CASTELLAMARE.*[Sinclair MSS. *Vindication*, p. 158.]Seahorse at anchor off Castellamare,
7 P.M., 15th of June, 1799.

Influenced by humanity I grant your demands, and I shall immediately send a captain to take possession of the fort, gunboats and ordnance, until to-morrow morning at sunrise, when the capitulation will be put into execution.

E. J. FOOTE.

31. *NELSON TO KEITH.*

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 379.]

Foudroyant, at sea, 16th of June.

My Lord,—I was honoured with your letter of June 6 by the *Bellerophon* and *Powerful* on the 13th, being then on my way to Naples with troops, &c., in order to finish all matters in that kingdom and again place his Majesty on his throne; but, considering the force of the French fleet on the coast of Italy—twenty-two sail of the line, four of which are first-rates—and that probably the ships left at Toulon would have joined them by the time I was reading the letters (the force with me being only sixteen sail of the line, not one of which was of three decks, three being Portuguese and one of the English a sixty-four, very short of men), I had no choice left but to return to Palermo and land the troops, ammunition, &c., which having done, I am now at sea proceeding off Maritimo, where I hope to be joined by the *Alexander* and *Goliath*, who I have ten days since ordered their captains to raise the blockade of Malta and come to me. My force will then be eighteen sail of the line,

with the notations as above mentioned. I shall wait off Maritimo, anxiously expecting such a reinforcement as may enable me to go in search of the enemy's fleet, when not one moment shall be lost in bringing them to battle, for I consider the best defence for his Sicilian Majesty's dominions is to place myself alongside the French. That I may be very soon enabled to have that honour is the fervent prayer of your lordship's most obedient servant,

NELSON.

32. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Add. MS. 34912, f. 5.]

Dated late at night, 16th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—A boat from Procida directed to the fleet the night of the 14th is arrived in this moment with an officer sent by Thurn (the captain of the *Minerva* frigate). He brings two letters of Thurn and Curtis, with the news that the royalists' troops entered Naples on the 14th, and took the castle of the Carmine. The people has helped the royalists and are attacking Castel Nuovo and Castel dell' Uovo. St. Elmo does not fire yet, but has the French colours. The French are arming in Leghorn, by a news from St. Stefano, every vessel to carry them away with their plunder; the same letters advise that the French fleet is at Genoa, and this letter is of the 11th of June from St. Stefano, wherein the possession of Spezia by the Austrians is likewise given as certain. Here is a letter from Mr. Wyndham from the *Presidii*. I am for ever, &c.,

J. ACTON.

P.S.—The people in Naples has set at liberty the hostages taken by the enemy.

33. RUFFO TO FOOTE.

[Vindication, p. 176.]

17th of June.

Excellency,—As the Castello Nuovo is treating, I have to request you will cease hostilities for the present; to recommence them, however, the moment the treaty shall be at an end.

It may be proper, however, to continue hostilities against the Castello dell' Uovo if a flag of truce is not kept constantly flying on it.

Your Excellency's, &c.,

F. CARDINAL RUFFO, V. G.

Eccellenza,—Si sta parlamentando col Castello Nuovo, dunque è pregata a cessare dalle hostilità, per ricominciarle subito che cessasse il trattato.

Sono con il maggiore rispetto e stima di V. E.

Devmo.

Servitore vero,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

Possono però seguitarsi le ostilità contro il Castello dell' Uovo, se non ha alberata costantemente la Bandiera Parlamentaria.

34. FOOTE TO RUFFO.

[Vindication, p. 177.]

On board the Seahorse, 17th of June, 1799.

Eminence,—I have the honour to receive your Eminence's letter, informing me that the Castello Nuovo was treating.

Whenever a flag of truce is hoisted on the Castello dell' Uovo, I shall direct all hostilities

Bordo del Seahorse, 17 Giugno, 1799.

Eminenza,—Ricevo il suo stim° foglio; sento che stà parlamentando con il Castel Nuovo. Ordinandomi di cessare il fuoco con questo Castel dell' Uovo quando però

against it to cease, but it is now ten o'clock, and I see no such flag flying on it ; I shall therefore order the bombards and gunboats to continue firing ; and it is with pleasure I inform your Eminence that a considerable number of bombs were thrown yesterday with great effect.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

P.S.—A letter and some orders have this minute been delivered to me from the Chevalier Micheroux. I have laid them aside, and sent him word that I can receive no other orders than those of your Eminence.

si vederà alberata bandiera parlamentaria ; lo prevengo che sono le ore 10, e non si vede altra bandiera che la loro ; sicchè continuerò a far foco sopra del med° con le Lancie Bombardiere, avendo fino da jeri sera principiato, con il piacere di dirle che quantità di Bombe sono state ben dirette ; e con la maggior stima ed ossequio mi do l' onore.

Devmo. ed ube. servo,

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

P.S.—In questo momento mi vien presentata lettera del Chev. Micheroux, con qualche ordine, avendola messa a parte, ed assicurandolo di non ricever altri ordini che quelli di V. Em. è firma.

35. RUFFO TO FOOTE.

[Vindication, p. 178.]

Headquarters, near Naples, 17th of June, 1799.

Excellency,—All goes on excellently, and I have reason to hope that the Castello Nuovo, and also the

Dal quartiere generale presso Napoli, 17 Giugno, 1799.

Eccellenza,—Tutto va benissimo, e spero, che il Castello Nuovo si renderà, e così il Castello dell' Uovo, perchè

Castello dell' Uovo will surrender, because they show reluctance to surrender to an ecclesiastic. Let your Excellency's flags be displayed, and I believe they will yield at the sight of them.

Send your orders on shore, that hostilities may cease as the treaty commences. The conditions are simple and plain enough. It is granted to the French to be carried back by sea to France, with their effects and property, at his Majesty's expense; and those who are not French are allowed the liberty of following them, and to embark with their effects, but at their own expense. There is the whole of the matter.

I enclose you two proclamations, which however concern only the interior of the city. I remain, with all respect; &c.,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

P.S.—I must add, that should you approach and summon them to surrender, we may hope that they would surrender to the English forces, previous to the attacks of the bombards and gunboats.

hanno difficoltà di rendersi ad un Ecclesiastico. Spieghi Vra. Eccza le sue Bandiere, e credo, che cederà a tale aspetto. Mandi i suoi ordini in terra, perchè cessino le ostilità, subito che sarà in trattato. I Patti sono molto semplici: Si accordi ai Francesi di essere trasportati in Francia co' i loro effetti di proprietà, a spese di sua Maestà; ed a quelli, che non sono Francesi, si accorda la libertà di seguirli; si accorda pure ad essi l' imbarco co' i loro effetti, ma a spese loro proprie. Ecco il tutto. Le acchiudo i due Proclami, che riguardano però l' interno della Città, sono con tutto il rispetto di vra Eccza

Devmo. Servitore,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

P.S.—Cui soggiungo che potrebbe sperarsi che accostandosi ed intimandole la resa, si renderebbe in mano all' Inglesi prima di aspettare l' attacco dei lancioni e delle bombe.

2 P.S.—In the capitulation offered to those in the castles above mentioned, are also to be comprised those republicans who are actually encamped under the Fort of St. Elmo.

2 P.S.—Si ammettono ancora nella Capitolazione da farsi con i Castelli, anche quelli di genio Repubblicano, che sono attualmente accampati sotto S. Elmo.

36. HAMILTON TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34912, ff. 3, 4.]

Palermo, 17th of June, 1799.

My dear Lord,—Last night I received late a billet from General Acton of which I inclose a copy. The general sent me also a packet for Mr. Wyndham from St. Stefano, which (as Mr. Penrose is no longer Mr. Wyndham's secretary) I took the liberty of opening, thinking it might contain some useful intelligence for the king's service, and so it does, and I am happy to inclose to your lordship an extract translated into English of the material news in that letter.

It is true that the Austrians are in possession of Porto Spezzia ; it is great indeed ! and your lordship ought to know it.

Your lordship sees that what we suspected of the Cardinal Ruffo has proved true, and I daresay when the capitulation of Naples comes to this court, their Sicilian Majesties' dignity will be mortified. You see the business was done the 14th, and had we arrived the 15th, the soonest we could, we could only have modified the cardinal's terms. *His Eminency was resolved to conquer Naples himself ;* no matter, as long as the business is done. Poor Emma is unwell and low-spirited with phantoms in

her fertile brain, that torment her ; in short she has no other fault than that of too much sensibility, and that at least is a fault of the right side, if any. As I expect every moment Acton's despatches for your lordship, I keep my letter open if there should be anything to add. I am but in a weak situation of health, no stomach, great goings out and nothing getting in, but I am going to my old remedy, sea-bathing and bark. I hope you are not fretting your guts to fiddlestrings. It is a strange world, but let us make the best of it.

Ever, my very dear lord, your truly attached friend and humble servant,

WM. HAMILTON.

P.S.—5 o'clock, no answer from General Acton, nor boat to send to your lordship as promised in General Acton's billet of last night to me (inclosed). I have just received from the health office the inclosed stinking packet of the 15th by boat from Tunis. I did not think proper to communicate Magra's¹ confidential letter to your Lordship to General Acton, as he, Magra, seemed to wish the contrary ; otherwise my maxim has always been to shew him, General Acton, how ill the King of Naples is served by those he employs, and let him know the good and bad. It is not a moment for compliment ; you see what I have often told you—they spoil their own business, and we are obliged to do all and serve them in spite of their teeth, and for the good of the common cause.

I send your lordship the 'Palermo Gazette' of the 14th, which is very interesting as to the particulars of the successes of the Austrians and Russians in Italy. Harriman on board the Culloden may

¹ Perkins Magra, British consul at Tunis. See *Journals of Sir T. Byam Martin*, vol. i. (*N. R. S.* vol. xxiv.), p. 350.

translate the curious parts of it for the amusement of your squadron.

Midnight, and just received Acton's packet.

37. FOOTE TO NELSON.

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 136.]

Seahorse, off Naples, 18th of June, 1799,
at noon, and continued to the 20th.

My Lord,—I got under way from Castellamare yesterday morning with the Seahorse and Perseus, leaving the Neapolitan frigate Sirena at that place to get the bombs and gun-vessels out, and to forward them to the anchorage opposite Sir William Hamilton's casino, where I anchored at 3 P.M. with the intention of countenancing a small battery in the Thuilleries that had greatly damaged the Castel dell' Uovo; but during the night the enemy spiked the guns, and in the morning I got under way and stood into the bay.

In consequence of the very interesting news which the Count de Thurn and the Governor of Procida sent me yesterday evening relative to the change in the destination of the squadron under your command, I sent Captain Oswald to the cardinal to represent the absolute necessity of getting possession of the castles, even by granting very favourable terms; and, his Eminence having sent me the enclosed answer, I this morning sent Captain Oswald with a letter to the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, a copy of which, and the commandant of Uovo's verbal answer, I herewith transmit. Captain Oswald thought it unnecessary to go to the Castello Nuovo.

June 18th, P.M.—I am just returned from a

conference with the cardinal, to whom I spoke my mind very freely. I told his Eminence I feared he would be betrayed by the officers who were sent from Palermo as they were unworthy to serve his Sicilian Majesty, and yet were now not only employed, but placed in high situations. I observed to him that the regular troops were disgusted at being commanded by the numerous chiefs at the head of the Calabrese, and other undisciplined armed men ; and I also recommended uniting the regulars and then making some considerable effort.

His Eminence told me St. Elmo was his object, and that he wished me to send for the mortars which I had told him were at Castellamare. This I instantly did, and at the same time remarked there could be no doubt but, if St. Elmo could be brought to surrender, the castles of Uovo and Nuovo must fall of course ; yet it was necessary to consider whether there was a sufficient number of regular troops to put such a plan in execution ; to which his Eminence replied that the French had so few men they could not make a successful sortie.

The mortar-boats and gunboats arrived this evening from Castellamare. They are all in good order, and far superior to those sent from Palermo.

June 19th, 8 A.M.—During the whole of last night and this morning the Castellamare mortar-boats have been throwing shells at Castel dell' Uovo under the direction of Captain Oswald, of the *Perseus* (who is uneasy if any duty is performed without him), and Lieutenant Milbanke, of the Royal Artillery, with his party and those belonging to the *Perseus* ; and I have great pleasure in saying the service was remarkably well executed. I have sent the whole of the late garrison of Castellamare on board the *Xebec* at Procida, giving the corporal who has

charge of them an order, of which I have the honour to send your lordship a copy.¹

5 P.M.—I have just sent a letter to the cardinal, of which I have the honour to send you a copy, with his Eminence's answer.

20th, 4 P.M.—The armistice still continuing, I have again sent to the cardinal to beg to be acquainted with what is going on, and to recommend expedition.

8 P.M.—From the answer I have just received from the cardinal it appears that a capitulation is likely to take place with the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, which I make no doubt will be favourable to the rebels, as the regular force employed against them is so small, and the destination of the French fleet is as yet unknown to us. I was informed yesterday that the commandant of Castel dell' Uovo had been dismissed for his insolent behaviour to Captain Oswald when he went with a flag of truce to that fortress on the 18th instant, and that the letter I sent on that day had greatly accelerated the present treaty.

¹ You are constantly to keep the British colours flying, to have one man walking the deck, properly accoutred, and the others ready; and you are not to suffer any shore-boat alongside, but with refreshments, and only one of them at a time. You are on no account whatever to suffer any of the officers or men committed to your charge to go out of the vessel without an order in writing from me or Lieutenant Wemyss.

Neither you or the men under your command are to go out of the vessel unless Lieutenant Wemyss sends for you on duty.

You will not only treat the persons committed to your charge kindly and civilly, but you will also do your utmost to prevent their being insulted in any way whatever.

Given under my hand, on board his Majesty's ship Seahorse, 19th of June, 1799.

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

To David Morgan, Corporal of Marines of his Majesty's ship Seahorse.

I have recalled the Bulldog, and she is now cruising in the bay. The Mutine is stationed off the western part of Ischia, and the Perseus remains with the Seahorse off Posilipo.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

38. *LETTER TO THE CASTEL DELL' UOVO.*

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 159.]

Seahorse, off Posilipo, 18th June, 1799.

I, Edward James Foote, commanding the united naval force of his Britannic Majesty and that of the Two Sicilies, being grieved at the misfortunes which naturally afflict a nation immersed in all the horrors of civil war, and earnestly wishing to restore peace and tranquillity to your unhappy country, I am willing previous to having recourse to arms, to observe to you that your situation is truly dangerous, and to offer you an asylum under the flag of my sovereign.

I shall wait for your answer with the impatience of a man whose object is to prevent the effusion of blood; and I assure you that your submission may enable me to meliorate your situation exceedingly, and that a rash and obstinate resistance will not only be the cause of your own misery but that of all who belong to you.

[E. J. FOOTE.]

Verbal Answer from Castel dell' Uovo.

Nous voulons la republique, une et indivisible; nous mourrons pour elle. Voilà notre réponse. Eloignez-vous, citoyen, vite, vite!

39. RUFFO TO FOOTE.

[Vindication, p. 180.]

Headquarters near Naples, 18th of June, 1799.

Excellency,—It is useless to think of capitulations, instead of which we must now think seriously of attacking the Castle of St. Elmo. Those mortars, therefore, that we may have occasion for should be landed at the bridge of Maddalena, to be drawn up from thence to St. Elmo. We have got one here which shall be added to the two you will send; even those with platforms, with much care and management, may be used. In the meantime let us have the two above-mentioned, that are not with platforms, and the bombs that belong to them. Send also some guns of large calibre, with the corresponding ammunition.

I have sent 200 of the foreign troops, and now send 500 more of our Fusiliers to Chiaja, but the panic has been great, and they go reluctantly. They must be placed in the houses, where they will

Dal Quartier Gle. presso Napoli, 18 Giugno,¹ 1799.

Eccellenza,—Non serve pensare a Capitolazioni e bisogna pensare seriamente ad attaccare il Castel S. Elmo; e perciò, quei mortari, che possono essere occorrenti, si devono sbarcare qui al Ponte della Maddalena, per farli strascinare a S. Elmo.

Io ne ho un altro; sicchè sarebbero tre mortari. Anche quelli a placca dopo molto studio potrebbero adoperarsi. I due che non sono a placca, si potranno dunque portare ora con tutte quelle bombe, che corrispondono. Mandi ancora di cannoni di grosso calibro con tutte le munizioni corrispondenti. Ho mandati 200 Esteri, e mando 500 Fucilieri a Chiaja; ma lo spavento è stato grande, e stentano ad andarvi. Bisogna farli impostare nelle case, ove si

¹ '11 Giugno' in the text of the *Vindication*; obviously a slip.

make a better stand than when uncovered and unsheltered. I speak of the irregular troops. We will send more troops, if necessary.

I remain, &c.,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

faranno forti più facilmente che a petto scoperto; parlo della truppa sciolta. In seguito vi manderò altra Truppa. Sono col maggior ossequio, di Vostra Eccellenza

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

40. CAROLINE TO LADY HAMILTON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 1616, f. 29.]

18th of June, 1799.

My dear Milady,—On my return from the convent I received the good news that the castles had in part been taken, although, in spite of the pardons granted, the scoundrels were fighting desperately at the palace, and have destroyed the whole of one wing. No one escaped, and the people are giving some of the rascals their due. All we want is a second 1st of August, an Aboukir by our brave general. Give me some news of your dear self; take care of your health, about which I am much concerned; and you can rely on the inviolable

Ma chere milady du retour du Couvent j'ai recus l'heureuse nouvelle que les châteaux étoit en portion prise quoique malgré les pardons accordées les coquins se battoit encore en desesperé au Palais et detruisent tout une portion aucun s'en est enfuit et le Peuple fait des justices partielles sur des coquins tout ce qu'il nous faudroit un second 1 aoust un Abouquier de notre brave General donez moi de vos chères nouvelles menagez votre santé j'en suis bien inquiète et contez sur l'invincible

attachment and heartfelt gratitude of your sincere friend,

CHARLOTTE.

A thousand compliments to the chevalier and to the virtuous admiral. I wish him all possible happiness and glory.¹

attachement et bien sincère reconnaissance de votre sincère amie,

CHARLOTTE.

Milles complimens au Chevalier et au vertueux Amiral combien de bonheur et gloire que je lui souhaite.

41. *IL COMPENDIO DI MICHEROUX.*

An epitome of the events which took place in Naples from the arrival of the troops of his Majesty and his allies until the surrender of Sant' Elmo.

[Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane. Anno xxiv. (1899), fascicolo iv. pp. 456-463.]

[*June*] 19.²— . . . The bombardment they had sustained led the garrison of the Castel Nuovo to believe that they would be allowed by the commandant of Sant' Elmo to surrender. They therefore hoisted a white flag, and their commandant informed me that he wished to confer with me. I

19.— . . . Il sostenuto bombardamento lusingò quei del Castel Nuovo che lor si permetterebbe dal comandante di Sant' Elmo di rendersi. Alzarono quindi bandiera bianca e l' comandante mi fece sapere che desiderava meco abboccarsi.

¹ Cf. Pettigrew, i. 232.

² The epitome begins with the 13th of June, 1799, the date of the entry of the royalists into Naples.

consented to hear him in the presence of the Russian commandant, and he began by telling me that he would have surrendered the castle from the beginning if the French had consented, that they were in no want either of arms or provisions, or of means of defence, or of all the resources of despair in the last event; but that, far from making use of them, they wished to hand over the castle, and had up to that moment been careful to do as little damage to the city as possible, and that he therefore besought me to proceed in person to Sant' Elmo, in the persuasion that all would be ended by my intervention.

When I had consulted the Russian commandant with a view to seeing if he would accompany me, I allowed the envoys to leave for Sant' Elmo, and I followed them in company with the Chevalier de Bailly,¹ having made the cardinal acquainted with what had taken place. After we had reached our destination, and the French commandant had

Avendo quindi consentito ad udirlo in presenza del comandante Russo, cominciò a dirmi ch'Egli avrebbe reso il castello dal principio se i Francesi vi avessero consentito; che non mancavano alla guarnigione nè armi, nè provvigioni, nè mezza di difesa, nè in ultimo luogo tutti i ripieghi della disperazione; che lungi dal farne uso Eglino volevan consegnare il castello, ed eransi fino a quel momento studiati di recare alla città il minor danno possibile: che perciò egli mi pregava di volermi recare personalmente a Sant' Elmo persuaso che tutto si conchiuderebbe colla mia intervento.

Consultatosi da me il Comandante Russo se volesse accompagnarmi, lasciai che partissero per Sant' Elmo i Parlamentari, ed io li seguii in compagnia del Cavalier di Bailly, dopo averne reso inteso il sig. Cardinale.

Giunti colà ed avendo il Comandante Francese aderito

¹ *I.e.* the Russian commandant.

agreed to the capitulation of the lower forts, I began by declaring that since I was determined never to consent to anything which would have the appearance of a negotiation with rebels, no mention should be made of them in the formal document of surrender, except as regards the garrisons of the forts, and this was agreed to.

With reference to the article as to the hostages, I opposed it resolutely, protesting that I for my part would never consent to expose innocent persons to the sufferings of an imprisonment, and to the perils of a new siege. But the commandant brought forward various instances of bad faith, and reduced the number of hostages to only four. Then, to show me how well it was proposed to treat them, he asked to have two of his hosts, Monsignor di Salerno and Monsignor Avellino, besides my cousin and Brigadier Dillon. And as for the perils of which I had spoken, he added that in no case would any be incurred in the subterranean chambers of the castle. He proposed an armistice till the

alla Capitolazione dei Forti inferiori, cominciai dal dichiarare, ch' essendo determinato a non consentire giammai, che da noi si facesse mostra di trattar con ribelli, non doveasi far parola nel' Atto, fuorchè delle Guarnigioni de' Forti, al che fu aderito.

Riguardo poi all' Articolo degli Ostaggi, mi vi opposi risolutamente, protestando che non consentirei giammai per parte mia ad esporre degl' innocenti alle pene di una prigionia, ed ai pericoli di un nuovo assedio. Ma il Comandante addusse varj esempi di mala fede e restrinse il numero degli Ostaggi a soli quattro. Indi per mostrarmi quanto si proponea di trattarli bene, oltre il mio cugino ed il Brigadiere Dillon, domandò due suoi Ospiti, Monsignor di Salerno e Monsignor di Avellino. Ed in quanto a' pericoli, di cui io parlava, aggiunse che quantunque non v' era da correrne nei sotterranei del Castello,

return of the vessels from Toulon. Nothing availed, however, to move me ; though I finally offered my cousin as sole hostage. But when the commandant had presented the draft of a capitulation, then, being weary of wrangling, I received it, though only *ad referendum*.

I thereupon went to the cardinal and presented the draft to him, which it was our business either to approve, or to reject in its entirety, or to modify in its various articles. I specially mentioned the dispute as to the hostages, and told him of my constancy in having consistently declined to consent to it. To my surprise, however, whether owing to the cardinal's anxiety to release the city from an alarming situation, or whether because of the vivacity of his character, or finally on account of his dreading the arrival of the enemy's fleet, the fact remains that, without paying the least attention to me, he signed the draft just as it was, had it signed by the Russian commandant who was present, and undertook to

Egli proponeva un Armistizio fino al ritorno de' Bastimenti da Tolone.

Nulla però valse a rimuovermi ; se non che in ultimo luogo mi restrinsi a offrire per ostaggio il mio solo Cugino. Ma avendomi il Comandante presentato un progetto di Capitolazione, stanco omai di piatire, dichiarai ch' io non lo ricevea se non *ad referendum*.

Essendomi dunque recato da S. Eminenza, Le presentai il progetto, che stava a noi di accordare, rifiutare affatto, o modificare nei diversi articoli. Parlai soprattutto sull' argomento degli Ostaggi, riferendogli la mia costanza nel non avervi giammai voluto consentire. Con mia sorpresa però, sia ansia del Cardinale di liberar la città da una situazione spaventevole, sia vivacità di Carattere, sia finalmente perchè temesse l' arrivo della Flotta Nemica, certo si è che senza punto badarmi, pose la sua sottoscrizione al progetto tal quale era, lo fece sul momento sottoscrivere dal Comandante Russo colà presente, e s' incaricò di farvi

procure the addition of the signatures of the English Captain Foote and of the Turkish commandant.

20.—On this day my adjutant and the commandant of the Castel Nuovo proceeded to the Castel Sant' Elmo, for the purpose of obtaining the signature of the French commandant to the aforesaid document. But inasmuch as it contained nothing beyond the articles, a preamble was added to it, in which mention was made of the Neapolitan republic. And this was the shoal which I had been at such pains to avoid. But neither his Eminence nor the Russian and English commandants felt the slightest repugnance to signing the capitulation reduced to that new form; so eager were they all to get rid of this business, as appears from the letters of the said English commandant enclosed herewith.¹ And in this place it will be convenient to consider the aforesaid capitulation, both in its essentials and in its form. I must confess that in order to save the city from the most horrible disasters, I was

aggiungere la sottoscrizione del Capitano Inglese Foote, e del Comandante Turco.

20.—Passò in questo giorno il mio Aiutante e 'l Comandante del Castel Nuovo al Castel Sant' Elmo, perchè il detto foglio fosse sottoscritto dal Comandante Francese. Ma siccome non conteneva altro che gli Articoli, così vi fu aggiunto un Preambolo, in cui si faceva parola della Repubblica Napoletana. Ed ecco lo scoglio, ch' io m' era tanto affaticato per evitare. Ma, nè S. Eminenza, nè i Comandanti Russo ed Inglese si sentirono veruna ripugnanza a sottoscrivere la Capitolazione, ridotta a quella nuova forma: tanta era in tutti la smania di sbrigarsi presto d' un tale affare, come rilevasi dalle qui accluse lettere dello stesso Comandante Inglese.

E qui conviene considerare la Capitolazione suddetta nell' essenza e nella forma. Confesso che per salvar la Città da più orribili disastri, ho sempre inclinato a soffrire

¹ Missing. But see *post*, pp. 144 and 177.

always inclined to allow a compromise with the rebels, though without naming them, in view of the weakness of our forces, the danger to which so many innocent persons were exposed, the possible ruin of a beautiful capital, and the fear of the arrival of even the smallest hostile squadron. And it should be noted that at every instant reports were reaching his Eminence or myself of subterranean mines which had been laid by the rebels, which compelled me to have the sewers constantly visited by the sewer men; at every moment there was danger of a conflagration; and, finally, the most desperate spirits in the Castel Nuovo had pulled up the bottom step in the staircase of the powder magazine so as to be able to throw a match into it in the last resort, and we learnt that Manthoné himself, who had by this time become less violent than the others, had permanently established himself there on guard, for the purpose of foiling this horrible plot.

In view of all this I deemed myself justified in

una composizione co' ribelli senza però nominarli, attesa la tenuità delle nostre forze, il pericolo di tanti innocenti, possibil rovina d'una bella Capitale, e la [tema]¹ dell' arrivo della più piccola squadra Nemica. Ed è da sapersi che ad ogni istante giungevano a S. Eminenza o a me de' rapporti di sotterranee mine, che i ribelli avessero praticate; motivo per cui io era continuamente obbligato a far visitare i condotti da Fontanieri; ad ogni istante correano minacce d' incendio; e finalmente avendo i più disperati del Castel Nuovo svelto l' ultimo gradino della Polveriera, onde potervi gittare una miccia ne' casi estremi abbiamo poi saputo che lo stesso Mantonè, divenuto allora men violento degli altri, erasi colà stabilito in sentinella permanente, onde impedire un sì orribile disegno.

In vista a tutti questi riflessi stimai anch' io potersi

¹ The reprint here has '*ema*,' an obvious slip for '*tema*.'

consenting to allow a few scoundrels to exchange the death penalty for an exile in which they would drag out an unhappy and despicable existence.

But the capitulation is as reprehensible in form as in some of the articles it contains; and the only person who is to blame for it is he who signed it without examining it, and indeed without even allowing me to point out the inadmissible articles to him. Now, how can the authorship be attributed to me of a document of which I never wrote a line, and which I never signed? It is true I was the bearer of it, but only in the same way as a trumpet conveys any request made by the commandant of a fortress. But I have already said that his Eminence neither found any objections to it, nor did he allow me to point any out to him.

During these days the commandant of Sant' Elmo began to open negotiations with my adjutant, telling him that, as he was under the command of the general at Capua, he could not disobey the orders he had received to defend himself to the very

consentire che alcuni scellerati in cambio dell' ultimo supplizio andassero lungi dalla loro Patria a trascinare un' esistenza infelice e dispregevole.

Ma la Capitolazione è riprensibile così nella forma, come in alcuni articoli che contiene: ed in ciò non merita biasimo se non chi la sottoscrisse, senza esaminarla, anzi senza neppure permettermi ch' io gliene notassi gli articoli inammissibili. Or come mai si attribuisce a me uno scritto, ove non vi è un rigo del mio, e che non fu mai da me sottoscritto? io ne fui bensì il latore, come un trombeta reca le domande qualsisieno d'un Comandante di Piazza. Ma ho già detto che S. Eminenza nè vi trovò obbietti, nè soffrì ch' io ve ne notassi.

In questi giorni il Comandante di Sant' Elmo incominciò ad aprirsi col mio Aiutante; con dirgli che dipendendo egli dal General di Capua, non poteva disubbedir gli ordini ricevuti di difendersi sino agli estremi. Che a

last. It would therefore be advisable for us to enter into an armistice with him, and to proceed to attack Capua, after the fall of which he could honourably surrender his castle to us. On this occasion the commandant displayed his true character, but he was opposed by a council of war, which included three individuals of the fiercest disposition. At the request of the adjutant he set the Count dell' Acerra at liberty on account of his advanced years.

21, 22, 23.—In consequence of the adjutant's report a conference was held between his Eminence, the Russian and English commandants, Count Thurn, and myself, for the purpose of deciding whether it was advisable or not to enter into an armistice with the Castle of Sant' Elmo. All were of opinion that it should be entered into, so as to stave off hostilities from the capital for as long a period as possible.

My adjutant was thereupon sent to Sant' Elmo under the pretence of other commissions, and dexterously induced the commandant to submit a plan of

noi dunque conveniva di conchiuder seco un Armistizio e recarci ad attaccar Capua, presa la quale avrebbe Egli potuto cederci il suo Castello con onore. In questa occasione, il Comandante fece conoscere il suo carattere; ma ch' egli era contrariato da un Consiglio di Guerra, in cui contavansi tre ferocissimi individui. A richiesta dell' Ajutante, Egli mise in libertà il Conte dell' Acerra, attesa la sua età avanzata.

21, 22, 23.—Dietro a' rapporti dell' Ajutante fu tenuto un consiglio tra Sua Eminenza, i Comandanti Russo ed Inglese, il Conte di Thurn e me, per risolvere se convenisse o no di aderire ad un Armistizio col Castel Sant' Elmo. Tutti furono di parere di concluderlo, onde schivare finchè fosse possibile la Guerra nella Capitale.

Essendo stato quindi spedito a Sant' Elmo il mio Ajutante col pretesto di altre Commissioni procurò di condur destramente quel Comandante a somministrargli un

armistice to him, in view of which, and at the instructions of his Eminence, I drew up a counter-proposal, of which no use was subsequently made. These two documents should be in the cardinal's hands. On the morning of the 23rd, when the preparations for the departure of the rebels were at an end, the latter themselves asked that the Russian troops should occupy and surround all the approaches to the castle and to the palace.

24.—But on the 24th the English fleet arrived, and Captains Troubridge and Ball declared that the capitulation was ineffective. The discussion which ensued on this matter was carried on by both sides with great bitterness ; so that I intervened in the quarrel and managed to get them to separate, without arranging anything beyond an intimation, which was to be made to the Castle of Sant' Elmo in the joint names of his Eminence and the Russian commandant, demanding its surrender within the period of two hours.

progetto di Armistizio, in vista del quale, e per commissione di S. Eminenza io distesi un controprogetto, di cui non fu poi fatto uso. Questi due scritti debbono ritrovarsi nelle mani del sig. Cardinale.

Trovandosi finalmente condotti al loro termine i preparativi per la partenza de' Ribelli, nella mattina del 23 domandarono Eglino medesimi che le Truppe Russe investissero e circondassero tutti gli aditi del Castello e del Palazzo.

24.—Ma nel dì 24, essendo giunta la Flotta Inglese, i Capitani Troubridge e Ball dichiararono al Cardinale, che la Capitolazione non avrebbe effetto. Una tal conferenza fu condotta da ambe le parti, e sostenuta nei più aspri modi ; cosicchè essendomi posto in mezzo a quel conflitto, feci in maniera che si separassero, senza nulla stabilire, eccetto un' intimazione da farsi al Castel Sant' Elmo in nome di S. Eminenza e del Comandante Russo per chiederne la resa nel termine di due ore.

25.—On the morning of the 25th there came to me Captains Troubridge and Ball to ask me to send the aforesaid intimation to Sant' Elmo, and also a separate one of the same tenor in the name of Lord Nelson. At this meeting they also asked me to write the declaration enclosed herewith¹ to the commandant. All this was carried out in accordance with their intentions.

After the flag of truce had left, we went to his Eminence's for the purpose of discussing the capitulation. But the obstinacy both of the cardinal and of Troubridge rendered the conversation between them more and more bitter, and I made a proposal, which was accepted, that we should all proceed on board Lord Nelson's ship in the afternoon. In the meantime the flag of truce returned from Sant' Elmo, and handed me the document enclosed herewith, answering all the intimations in the negative.²

In accordance with the arrangement which had

25.—Nella mattina del 25 vennero da me i Capitani Troubridge e Ball per domandarmi di far passare a Sant' Elmo la suddetta intimazione ed altra a parte del tenor medesimo in nome di Lord Nelson. In tale incontro desiderarono ancora ch' io scrivessi al Comandante la qui acclusa dichiarazione. Tutto fu eseguito a loro senno.

Partito il Parlamentario, passammo da S. Eminenza per conferire sull' argomento della Capitolazione. Ma la poca pieghevolezza di carattere del Cardinale e di Troubridge, esacerbando sempre più il loro dialogo, proposi e fu accettato, che nel dopo pranzo si passerebbe tutti a bordo di Lord Nelson.

Tornato intanto il Parlamentario da Sant' Elmo, mi recò il qui accluso foglio in risposta negativa a tutte le intimazioni.

A tenor di quanto erasi stabilito passammo nel dopo

¹ Missing.

² Missing, but see *post*, p. 229, No. 102.

been made, we went on board Lord Nelson's ship in the afternoon. I was not admitted, however, to the council. His Lordship gave the cardinal a declaration in writing, stating that the capitulation was to be of no effect until it had been approved by his Majesty.

26.—At daybreak a copy of the above declaration was sent to each of the castles, together with a note signed by his Eminence and the Russian commandant, announcing that the troops were going to reoccupy their former positions. But as soon as the Russians had retreated from the space surrounding the castle and the palace to the Spirito Santo, an incredible consternation spread throughout the city, so that in a few hours thousands upon thousands of people left Naples.

What the motive may have been which led Lord Nelson to suddenly alter his mind under these circumstances I have never been able to ascertain. I should mention, however, that towards 10 o'clock

pranzo a bordo di Lord Nelson. Nel cui Consiglio non fui per altro ammesso. Il detto Lord rilasciò al Cardinale una dichiarazione in iscritto, contenente che la capitolazione non dovesse avere effetto, fintanto che non fosse da S. M. approvata.

26.—Alla punta del giorno un Esemplare della detta dichiarazione fu mandato a ciaschedun de' Castelli unitamente ad una nota sottoscritta da S. Eminenza e dal Comandante Russo per annunziare che le truppe riprendevano le loro primiere posizioni. Ma non si tosto i Russi ebbero retroceduto dal circuito del Castello e del Palazzo fino allo Spirito Santo, che si sparse in tutta la Città un incredibile costernazione, cosicchè in poche ore migliaja e migliaja di persone partirono da Napoli.

In questa situazione di cose qual fosse stato il motivo per cui Lord Nelson variò repentinamente di parere, non è mai pervenuto a mia notizia. Dirò bensì che verso le

his Eminence wrote to me that Lord Nelson had consented to carry the capitulation into effect, and that I ought to replace the Russian troops in the posts abandoned by them. In proof of this his Eminence sent me in great haste the documents from Lord Nelson enclosed herewith¹ in order to reassure the garrisons, but as the latter relied on my word alone I was not under the necessity of making use of them.

Towards 6 P.M., 1,200 English having been landed, there took place the embarkation of the rebels of the Castel Nuovo and the Castel dell' Uovo, and the occupation of those forts.

27.—On this day the infamous and fatal tree² was pulled down and burnt amidst public acclamation.

As the commandant of St. Elmo had informed me that he desired to confer with me, I communicated this proposal to his Eminence and the chiefs of the allies, declaring to these last that I would not

dieci mi scrisse S. Eminenza, che avendo Lord Nelson consentito a porre ad effetto la Capitolazione, dovessi rimettere le truppe Russi ai posti abbandonati. In prova di ciò l' E. S. mi mandò urgentemente i qui acclusi documenti di Lord Nelson per sicurezza delle Guarnigioni, ma essendosi queste affidate alla semplice parola, non mi fu bisogno di farne uso.

Verso le 6 del dopo pranzo, essendosi sbarcati 1,200 Inglesi, seguì l' imbarcazione de' ribelli del Castel Nuovo, e del Castel dell' Uovo e l'occupazione di que' Forti.

27.—In questo giorno, tra le pubbliche acclamazioni fu rovesciato ed arso l' infame e funesto Albero.

Avendomi fatto sapere il Comandante di Sant' Elmo che desiderava meco abboccarsi comunicai la proposizione a S. Eminenza ed ai Capi degli Alleati, dichiarando a

¹ Missing.

² *I.e.* of liberty.

go excepting in their company. This invitation was accepted by them.

28.—In the morning, therefore, of this day Captains Troubridge and Ball, their interpreter, the Russian commandant, and I, proceeded to Sant' Elmo. On this occasion I made a long speech, laying before the commandant and his council all the reasons which should or could induce them to honourably surrender the fort, without pledging themselves to a vain resistance, which could not but be prejudicial to the densely populated capital, and which would deprive them of all right to a generous capitulation. I attempted above all, and skilfully, to alarm them by dwelling on the numbers and the unruliness of our irregular troops; protesting that in the event of hostilities being commenced it would no longer be possible for us to restrain their impetuosity. To this the commandant replied with nobility and moderation, repeating the proposal for an armistice till the fall of Capua, coupled with the

questi ultimi, che non anderei se non in loro compagnia. Un tale invito fu da Essi accettato.

28.—Nella mattina adunque di questo giorno ci recammo a Sant' Elmo i Capitani Troubridge e Ball, il loro Interprete, il Comandante ed io. In questa occasione pronunziai un lungo discorso, esponendo al Comandante ed al suo Consiglio tutte le ragioni, che dovevano o potean con onore determinarli a cedere il Forte, senza impegnarsi in una vana resistenza, la quale, non potendo non divenire pregiudizievole ad una popolosa Capitale, avrebbe lor tolto il diritto ad una Capitolazione generosa. Procurai sopra tutto, e con destrezza, d'atterrirli sul numero e l'irruenza delle nostre Truppe sciolte; protestando, che dove le ostilità cominciassero, più non sarebbe stato a noi possibile di regolare il loro impeto. A ciò il Comandante rispose con nobiltà e moderazione, rimettendo in campo il progetto dell'armistizio fino alla resa di Capua; con obbligarsi a

obligation to surrender his fort then without the least resistance. But as this did not please the English the conference was adjourned.

After we had returned to the city, Captains Troubridge and Ball desired that my adjutant should proceed again, under some pretext or other, to the castle for the purpose of offering its commandant 15,000^l.¹ if he would surrender the castle immediately.

29.—The adjutant executed this commission. But the commandant replied that he was ready to satisfy us without any venal motive, and saving his honour alone, if it were not that he had some very evilly disposed persons in his council. I therefore thought well to entrust General Gambs with the

cedere allora il suo Forte senza la menoma resistenza. Ma non piacendo ciò agl' Inglesi fu sciolta la conferenza.

Di ritorno in Città, i Capitani Troubridge e Ball desiderarono che il mio Ajutante si recasse di nuovo con qualche pretesto a Sant' Elmo, per offrire 15 mila lire sterline a quel Comandante, purchè cedesse immediatamente il Castello.

29.—Adempì l' Ajutante la Commissione. Ma avendo il Comandante risposto, che Egli sarebbe pronto ad apparirci, senza verun motivo venale e salvo soltanto l' onor suo, se non avesse avuto cattivissimi soggetti nel suo Con-

¹ This appears to be incorrect. The idea of bribing Méjean seems to have originated with Micheroux. On the 3rd of July, 1799, Troubridge wrote to Nelson: 'The governor has through Micheroux sent an offer to surrender for 150,000 ducats. I have long suspected Mr. M——. . . . I treated the offer as it deserved' (B.M. Add. MS. 34915, f. 338). See Mahan, 'Nelson at Naples' (*English Historical Review* for October 1900), and Maresca (*Il Cavaliere Micheroux*, p. 243). At a subsequent period Micheroux certified on his word of honour that Méjean had refused to be bribed (*Archivio Storico*, vol. xxiv. p. 477).

task of gaining over the more stubborn members of the council.

At the same time the commandant of Sant' Elmo sent the Prince Canosa to me and to Lord Nelson, to repeat the proposal for an armistice, and for the handing over of the fort as soon as Capua had surrendered, offering in the meantime to set all the prisoners and hostages at liberty. I therefore took the prince to Lord Nelson, and the latter proposed as an alternative that the commandant should send an envoy to the general at Capua to ask him if he was in a position to help him; and that he should enter into an obligation to surrender the fort without hostilities in the contrary event.

30.—As the negotiations prospered but little, the troops proceeded this day to lay siege to the Fort of Sant' Elmo. When I reached the post at the Arenella I received a note from Prince Canosa, advising me that Commandant Méjean had agreed to Lord Nelson's proposition and had consented to

siglio, l' Ajutante stimò bene di affidare al Generale Gambs l' incarico di guadagnare i più pertinaci del Consiglio.

Contemporaneamente il Comandante di Sant' Elmo spedì il Principe di Canosa verso me e verso Lord Nelson, per riproporre l' armistizio, e la cessione del Forte, resa che si fosse Capua, offerendo intanto di rilasciare in libertà tutti i prigionieri e gli ostaggi.

Avendo io quindi condotto il Principe da Lord Nelson, questo propose in cambio, che il comandante spedisse un suo Parlamentario al Generale di Capua, per chiedergli se fosse in istato di soccorrerlo: ed in caso diverso si obbligasse a cedere il Forte senza ostilità.

30.—Poco prosperando le trattative, partirono in questo giorno le Truppe per cinger d' assedio il Forte di Sant' Elmo. Giunto coi Russi al Posto dell' Arenella, ricevetti un biglietto del Principe di Canosa, col quale mi avvisava che il Comandante Méjean, aderendo alla proposizione di Lord Nelson, consentiva a spedire a Capua un suo Parla-

send an envoy to Capua, offering to let him go in company with an English officer. The prince added that at 22 o'clock¹ he would come in person to communicate other matters to me.

I proceeded to the headquarters of the English to show them the note. The latter, however, resolved that I should reply that the commandant might, in lieu of sending envoys, write telling the general at Capua the actual state of affairs. My reply to this effect was despatched, but as hostilities began soon thereafter, neither did the prince appear nor did we get any news of him.

1 July.—My cousin wrote from Sant' Elmo to tell me that the commandant wished to confer again with me, or with my adjutant. I sent the letter to the English, informing them that my position as minister did not allow me to undertake the duties of a trumpet, and to go and parley with the commandant of a fortress; and that they might therefore send either my adjutant or else no one, as they

mentario, offerendo di farlo accompagnare da un Ufficiale Inglese. Aggiungeva il Principe, che alle 22 ore verrebbe di persona per comunicare delle altre cose.

Passo al quartier degl' Inglesi per mostrar loro il biglietto. Questi però risolvono, ch' io risponda che in cambio di Parlamentarj, poteva il comandante scrivere al generale di Capua le cose medesime. Parte la mia risposta così concepita, ma essendo indi a poco cominciate le ostilità, nè il Principe comparve, nè s'ebbero più sue nuove.

1° Luglio.—Mi scrive il mio cugino da Sant' Elmo, che quel comandante desidera nuovamente di abboccarsi meco, o col mio Ajutante. Mando la lettera agl' Inglesi; facendo loro sapere che il mio carattere di Ministro non mi permetteva di assumer le veci di un Trombetta, e di andare a parlamentare con un comandante di piazza. Che perciò vi mandassero pure il mio Ajutante, o nessuno, come meglio

¹ *I.e.* about 6 P.M. (reckoned from sunset to sunset).

saw fit. As hostilities became more active, however, no one thought any longer about negotiations.

2, 3.—When the heavy batteries were completed, an English officer proceeded again to summon the fort to surrender. The commandant, however, persisted in his request to be allowed to send an envoy to Capua, and this time the English agreed to it.

General Gambs gave me an account of his pecuniary bargains, informing me of the preliminary propositions of the French. I sent on this paper to the English, leaving it to them to resolve on anything that might please them.

4.—The two envoys, French and English, proceeded to Capua. The event has shown that no conclusion was arrived at. On the other hand, however, even if the acquisition of Sant' Elmo has been at the cost of a few lives, some damage, and no mean expenditure of money, it has at least been glorious, and the capital of a kingdom which has been so ill-used and trampled upon by the French has at least on the 12th day (of this month)

loro piacesse. Essendosi però infervorate le ostilità, non si pensò altro a trattative.

2, 3.—Terminatesi le batterie di grosso cannone, un ufficiale Inglese andò di nuovo ad intimare la resa del Forte. Il comandante persistette nella domanda di spedire un suo parlamentario a Capua; e questa volta gl' Inglese vi aderirono.

Il generale Gambs mi diè conto delle sue trattative pecuniarie; significandomi le prime proposizioni dei Francesi. Comunico il Foglio agl' Inglese, lasciando che risolvano ciò che ad Essi aggrada.

4.—Vanno i due parlamentarj Inglese e Francese a Capua. L' evento ha dimostrato che non si concluse nulla. In compenso però se lo acquisto di Sant' Elmo ha costato alcune vite, qualche guasto, e non lieve spesa, è almeno stato glorioso, e la capitale di un Regno, che i Francesi han sì malconcio e conculcato, ha goduto nel giorno 12

rejoiced in the pleasing spectacle of the abject and humbled appearance of the last remnants of its cruel oppressors.

The Chevalier Micheroux, minister plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of the Two Sicilies with the combined Russo-Turkish army, to the French commandant of the Castle of St. Elmo.

As I can no longer restrain the movements of the populace, I summon you to surrender without the least delay, and to receive a Russian garrison. In this case an honourable capitulation will be granted to you, and care will be taken to transport the French garrison in complete safety to some French port.

From the camp at the Ponte della Maddalena, June 14th, 1799.

LE CH. MICHEROUX.¹

almeno del dolce spettacolo di veder abbietti ed umiliati gli ultimi avanzi de' suoi crudeli oppressori.

'Le Chevalier de Micheroux, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de S. M. le Roi des Deux Siciles, près l'armée combinée Russo-Ottomane.

'Au Commandant Français le Château de St. Elme.

'Ne pouvant plus contenir les mouvements du peuple, je vous somme de vous rendre sans le moindre délai, e de recevoir Garnison Russe. En ce cas, il vous sera accordée une capitulation honorable, et l'on aura soin de faire passer en toute sureté la Garnison Française dans quelque Port de France.

'Du Camp au Pont de la Magdelaine le 14 Juin, 1799.

'Firmato: Le Ch. Micheroux.'

¹ This document, which is on a separate sheet of paper to the '*compendio*,' and which is signed and written by the Chevalier Micheroux, is apparently written by the same hand as the above '*compendio*,' which is unsigned.—(Note by the Marchese Maresca.)

42. MICHEROUX TO RUFFO.

[Saochinelli, p. 242.]

19th of June, 1799.

Eminence,—I hasten to inform your Eminence that two envoys bearing a flag of truce from the Castello Nuovo presented themselves to me, and explained that General Massa desired to be escorted by my parlementaire to St. Elmo for the purpose of demanding permission to surrender from its commandant. After resisting for a time at the suggestion of the Russian commandant, I granted the request on condition that the aforesaid Massa should give his word of honour to my envoy, that he would enter into no secret communications with the French commandant, but that all the negotiations should be in public. In consequence I have sent orders to all the posts from the Carmine to the Chiaia to suspend hostilities against the Castles Nuovo and dell' Uovo until further orders.

It only remains now for your Eminence to let me know whether, in the event of a capitulation

Eminenza,—Mi affretto a render V.E. informata, come essendosi a me presentati due parlamentari del castel Nuovo, e mi hanno esposto, che il General Massa desiderava di essere scortato da un mio parlamentario a S. Elmo, per chiedere a quel comandante Francese il permesso di rendersi. Dopo aver resistito qualche tempo ad insinuazione ancora del comandante Russo, ho aderito alla domanda, colla condizione che il detto Massa darebbe la sua parola di onore al mio parlamentario, che non terrebbe verun discorso particolare col comandante Francese, ma che le conferenze sarebbero tutte pubbliche. In conseguenza ho spedito ordine a tutti i posti del Carmine fino a Chiaia di sospendere le ostilità verso i castelli Nuovo e dell' Uovo sino a nuov' ordine.

Resta ora che V.E. mi faccia sapere, se intende, nel caso che si abbia a capitolare, che si accordino le note condizioni,

being arranged, it is your intention that the specified conditions should be granted—namely, a general pardon for those who have not committed any positive crimes, and a safe conduct to France for those who see fit to depart, with liberty to sell their property, or to remove it within a given space of time.

I must mention to your Eminence that it appeared to me that they desired to have the English as guarantors of the convention. I shall hereafter ask them if they are agreeable to its being drawn up in my name and in that of the Russian commandant with the guarantee of his sovereign, or else in the name of your Eminence, myself, and the Russian and Ottoman commandants. I shall await your instructions, notifying you that you may occupy from four to five hours in preparing them, and in the meantime I remain, &c.,

THE CHEVALIER ANTONIO MICHEROUX.

cioè perdono generale per quei che non han commesso positivi delitti, e sicuro trasporto in Francia per quei che credessero dover allontanarsi, colla facoltà di poter vendere, o trasportare in certo spazio di tempo i loro beni.

Preveggo l'E.V. che mi è parso di vedere, che desiderano gl' Inglesi per mallevadori della convenzione. Domanderò poi se questa sia bene, che venga fatta in mio nome e del comandante Russo colla garenzia del suo Sovrano, o altrimenti in nome di vostra Eminenza, mio, e de' comandanti Russo ed Ottomano.

Aspetterò le sue istruzioni, prevenendola che potrà consumare quattro in cinque ore in disporle; mentre passo a rassegnarmi co' sentimenti della considerazione più distinta

Di Vostra Eminenza,
Divotissimo ed Obbligatissimo servitor vero,
IL CAVALIERE ANTONIO MICHEROUX.

Napoli, 19 Giugno, 1799.

43. RUFFO TO MICHEROUX.

[Sacchinelli, facsimile I.]

19th of June, 1799.

You should never have allowed him¹ to confer with the commandant of St. Elmo, nor to expend so much time in order to have the opportunity of putting the Castello Nuovo into a state of defence. Now that the mischief is done, it is useless to ask me for advice. If he wished to surrender, you could have given him an hour or two, and that would have been a great deal. They are replacing the guns and putting everything into good order inside the castle, and this is the object of the flag of truce. The agreements will have to be very much the same as have been proposed, as he is the first to surrender, but I am convinced that it will all end in damage and discomfiture to us.

Non dovea mai accordarle la domanda di parlare col comandante di S. Elmo nè quella di consumare tanto tempo per rimettere in difesa il castello nuovo. Dopo fatte le cose così pregiudiziali è inutile il domandarmi consiglio. Se voleva rendersi le poteva dar tempo un' ora, o due, e pure sarebbe stato molto. Stanno dentro il castello rimettendo i cannoni, ed ogni cosa in buon ordine; e questo è l'oggetto del parlamentare. I patti devono essere presso a poco l' istessi che si proposero perchè è il primo a rendersi; ma son sicuro che finirà con nostro danno e deterioramento.²

¹ General Massa, commanding the fort of Nuovo.

² Endorsed on Micheroux's letter of the same date.

44. RUFFO TO FOOTE.

[Vindication, p. 181.]

Headquarters, 19th of June, 1799.

Excellency,—At present it is necessary to cease firing, because a flag of truce has just come, even from the Castello dell' Uovo. Let this regulate your Excellency's conduct for the present, and at the same time keep everything ready to renew the attack as soon as I request you to do so, or hostilities recommence against the castles on the sea. I return your Excellency my best thanks for your attention and politeness towards me. If you think proper to send a person to treat on the part of the British nation, it will be very well, it being my intention that all the allied powers should join in the treaty.

I am, &c.,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

Dal Quartier Gle. 19 Giugno, 1799.

Eccellenza,—Ora è necessario che cessi il fuoco, perchè ha mandato a parlamentare anche il castello dell' Uovo, serva a V.E. di regola; pronto a ricominciarlo, subito nè avrà l' avviso o da me, o dalle ostilità che ricominciano conto i Castelli di Mare. Rendo grazie all' E.V. della gentilezza, che per me dimostra. Se può mandare Persona a trattare per parte della nazione Inglese, non farà che bene, intendendo io, che con tutti i coalizzati si tratti.

Sono con distinta osservanza di V.E., &c.

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

45. FOOTE TO RUFFO.

[Vindication, p. 183.]

Seahorse, 19th of June, 1799.

Eminence,—I consider it my duty to inform your Eminence that so long an armistice may prove very prejudicial to the interests of his Sicilian Majesty; the only way to reduce these rebels is to fatigue them with our energy, and, by constantly attacking them, not to allow them time to breathe; for while we remain inactive, they form their mischievous schemes, and we have but too good reason to expect everything from their treachery, which may show itself when we least expect it.

As my sovereign is a principal ally of the King of the Two Sicilies, I claim a right to be made acquainted with the subject of the present treaty, as I am extremely anxious to learn, before night, how I am to conduct myself, since, if the rebels are not seriously treating for a capitulation, I see no reason why the firing on them should not recommence at sunset.

A bordo del Seahorse, 19 Giugno, 1799.

Eminenza,—Credo che sia del mio dovere d'informare S. Em^a che un armistizio così lungo può essere molto pregiudicevole agl'interessi di sua Maestà: la sola maniera di ridurre questi Ribelli, è di stancarli colla vivacità delli attacchi, e non darli tempo di respirare: mentre stiamo così nell'ozio coloro stanno machinando, e si deve temer tutto della loro furberia, la quale si può manifestare della maniera la più inaspettata. Essendo alleato fedele ed attaccato alla Maestà del Re delle due Sicilie, sono nel caso di voler essere informato di quanto si tratta, e bramo di sapere prima che sia notte in qual modo mi devo comportare; giacchè se questi Ribelli non trattano seriamente di capitolazione, non vedo difficoltà di ricominciar il fuoco

I must also inform your Eminence that, after the answer I received yesterday morning, I shall not treat with those gentlemen until they beg of me to do so.

I have, &c.,
EDWARD J. FOOTE.

al tramontar del sole: devo pure informare S. Em^a. che dopo la risposta che ricevetti jeri mattina non tratterò con quei Signori, senza che mandino verso di me.

Ho l' onore di rafferarmi, &c.
EDWARD J. FOOTE.

46. RUFFO TO FOOTE.

[Vindication, p. 184.]

Headquarters, near Naples, 19th of June, 1799.

Excellency,—The commandant of the fort of St. Elmo in his answer requested that hostilities should cease during the time necessary to send you his answer and to receive your Excellency's reply. You see by that that the duration of the armistice is not precisely determined on.

Your Excellency seems to think that in the meantime the delay may be dangerous. I rather believe that in the present situation of affairs it cannot be otherwise than favourable to us.

Ever since this morning, from the moment they

Dal Quartier Generale presso Napoli, 19 Giugno, 1799.

Excellenza,—Nella risposta del Comandante di S. Elmo, vi è, che dovea darsi tanto tempo, quanto era opportuno, perchè la sua risposta andasse, e ritornasse la risposta di Vra Eccellenza. Ora vede bene, che non è determinato il tempo dell' Armistizio. L' E. V. crede poi, che in tanto possa essere pericoloso l' aspettare. Io credo, che in questo caso non ci possa essere che favorevole. Da questa

began to treat about a capitulation, a great many began to desert¹ from the two castles, and among them forty Frenchmen at least, besides a great many Italians; and the number of the fugitives will increase more and more under cover of night. We have placed some officers round the Castello Nuovo to receive these voluntary prisoners and to assure them they shall be forgiven; and this seems to succeed very well; and should those who have not yet fled find the same reception and asylum on the water, I do believe that the French, in case of their being disposed to recommence hostilities, would find the two castles empty. We are rather afraid that the treaty may be interrupted by the castle being stormed by the people, as the castle is all open and the Calabrese have already penetrated into it. It does not appear to me, therefore, that they can entertain any reasonable hopes of rendering our position less favourable by delay. As, however,

mattina appena incominciata la capitolazione, sono incominciati a fuggire dal Castello Nuovo, e dal Castello dell' Uovo gran quantità di gente, e fra gli altri vi saranno almeno quaranta Francesi, oltre moltissimi Italiani, i quali anche col favore della notte si andranno aumentando più che mai. Si sono posti degli uffiziali intorno al Castello Nuovo per ricevere questi volontari Prigionieri per assicurarli, che non si farà loro alcun male, e pare che questo ci giovi molto; e se la parte di mare desse asilo agli altri che ancora non sono fuggiti, credo, che troverebbero i Francesi vuoti i due Castelli, volendo ricominciare la Guerra. Temiamo anzi, che s' interrompa il Trattato con qualche assalto del Popolo, giacchè il Castello è tutto aperto, e i Calabresi vi hanno già penetrato. Non pare, che possano sperare di peggiorare con tale modo la nostra

¹ Literally, 'to fly from.'

the treaty is principally carried on in the name of the Russians, I send your letter to Micheroux, that he may reply as he thinks proper to your Excellency.

In the course of last night the besieged lost in a sortie more than 60 men from St. Elmo. I do not think they will be desirous of making another attempt very soon.

I am, &c.,
F. CARD. RUFFO.

Positione. Non ostante siccome il Trattato si fa principalmente de' Russi, mando la di lei lettera à Micheroux, acciochè risponda a V. E. l' occorrente. Nella scorsa Notte in una sortita hanno perduti piu di 60 uomini quelli di S. Elmo. Credo che non avranno forse più volontà di provarci così presto.

Sono con distinta osservanza, &c.,
F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

47. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 261.]

Palermo, 19th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I receive your favour and Lord Nelson's letter. I cannot take upon myself in this moment to answer directly to his lordship's two zealous, and like himself, proposals without speaking to their Majesties. I shall to-morrow morning present you with more authority my opinion, and the desire of their Majesties. We have Turk Albaneses at our disposals. The cardinal in the several masses has now near 32 thousand men, 15 of which are under organisation as troops, the rest has fought with the French in different places since January. I am, &c.,

J. ACTON.
K 2

48. CAROLINE TO LADY HAMILTON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 1616, f. 32.]

19th of June, 1799.

My dear Milady,—I thank you a thousand times for your dear letter, and am very sorry to hear that you are uncomfortable. Take great care of yourself, my dear lady, and rely on my eternal friendship and gratitude. I send you our dear Lord Nelson's letter; may heaven bless him as his great virtues deserve! I never cease praying and having prayers said for him. Our news from Naples is still confused; the two castles are still in the power of the rebels. God grant that all may end well, and that we may get real tranquillity. Good-bye, my dear lady. When you can, come and see me, for I wish to assure you by word of mouth of my constant friendship. A thousand compliments to our good friend the chevalier; to the virtuous and brave Lord, our liberator. The king desires me to ask for a passport for the boat for Procida.

[CHARLOTTE.]

Ma chère milady je vous remercie milles fois de votre chère lettre et suis bien peiné de vous savoir incomodé ayez grand soin de vous ma chère milady et contez sur mon eternelle amitié et reconnoissance je vous renvois la lettre de notre cher Lord Nelson puisse le Ciel le benir come ses grandes vertus le meritent je ne cesse point de prier et faire prier Dieu pour lui—nos nouvelles de Naples sont encore confuses les deux chateau sont encore aux porvoir des Rebelles Dieu veuille que tout termine bien et que nous ayions une vraie tranquillité. Adieu ma chère milady quand vous pouvez venez me voir car je desire vous assurer de vive voix de ma constante amitié.

Milles complimens au Chevalier notre bon ami au vertueux brave Lord notre Libérateur le Roi me charge pour le batiment pour Procida demander un passeport.¹

¹ In the queen's own hand, but unsigned.

49. CAROLINE TO RUFFO.

[Archivio Storico, vol. v. p. 574 ; Dumas, vol. v. p. 179.]

19th of June, 1799.

I have read with the greatest interest the letter written by your Eminence to General Acton on the 15th, from the Ponte della Maddalena, and also your two printed proclamations. Your Eminence can imagine with what great impatience we expect, from moment to moment, to hear from you the news of the complete surrender of the castles and the capital. I think, I dream of nothing else but this, and the infinite obligations I am under to your Eminence for the reconquest of the kingdom. There remains now that which is most difficult, but also most lasting and glorious: namely, to reorganise the kingdom in such a way as to ensure lasting peace, and to prove to the faithful inhabitants how truly we are grateful. I have such a multitude of ideas in my mind with regard to this interesting question that I do not know how to put them into writing in any kind of order; nevertheless I will do

Ho letto con infinito interesse la lettera che Vostra Eminenza scrive al Generale Acton in data dei 15 dal ponte della Maddalena unita ai due suoi stampati. Può credere Vostra Eminenza con che viva impazienza si aspettano da momenti a momenti le sue notizie e la resa totale dei Castelli e della Capitale: non penso, non sogno, non ho in mira, che questo, e le infinite obbligazioni che devo a Vostra Eminenza per il riacquisto del regno. Ora le resta il più difficile, ma anche il più stabile e glorioso, ch'è il riordinarlo con quelle giuste proporzioni, che possono rendere stabile la tranquillità, e provare ai fedeli, popolazione e popolo la nostra vera riconoscenza. E tale e tanta la moltitudine d'idee, che su di questo interessante articolo mi sono in mente, che non so come metterle con qualche sorta di ordine in iscritto; malgrado ciò lo

so as well as I can, submitting to your Eminence's wisdom my ideas, which are only inspired by a desire for the public welfare and the service of the king. For the present I recommend the establishment of order. I approve of banishment in order to put a stop to violence, but I hope that your Eminence's prudence will ensure that no one shall be punished for punishing an enemy of the state: even if anyone had punished the cardinal archbishop,¹ he would in reality have done justice to one who deserved it. The crimes of those scoundrels have been too great and notorious, and but for them so flourishing a kingdom would not have been lost. The conspiracy has been on foot for a long time, and those who have supported it must be chastised. We hope to have proofs of everything, and your Eminence will be informed thereof. For the present we must try to re-establish good order and quiet, and to cleanse society by removing the per-

farò tanto male che bene, sottomettendo le mie idee, che non sono dirette che dal desiderio del bene pubblico e servizio del Re, ai lumi di Vostra Eminenza. Per ora le raccomando l'ordine: trovo bene il bando per fare cessare le violenze, ma spero dalla prudenza di Vostra Eminenza, che non punirà nessuno che avesse punito un nemico dello Stato, e se avesse punito il Cardinale Arcivescovo, in verità avrebbe reso giustizia a quello che meritava. Troppo notori e grandi sono stati i delitti di quelli scellerati, senza dei quali non si sarebbe perso un così florido regno: la cospirazione travaglia da lunga data, e quelli che la mantenevano devono essere castigati: siamo speranzati di avere le pruove di tutto e V. E. ne sarà informata. Per ora bisogna cercare di avere il buon ordine e la tranquillità ristabilita; cercare di ripulire la società,

¹ Capece Zurlo, Archbishop of Naples, who went over to the republic.

turbers of the public peace, and by seeing that they are recognised. If the enthusiasm of the Calabrese and the country folk would carry them so far as to clear and drive out the French and Jacobins from the Papal States, the kingdom would be secured; and the nation would be covered with glory by the proof that their cowardice was only the result of treason, and not a prevailing sentiment. Gambs, Bock¹ and other loyalists could, together with your brave followers, execute this stroke, and I beg you to think it over.

The only one among the guilty scoundrels whom I do not wish to go to France is the unworthy Caracciolo; this most ungrateful man knows all the creeks and inlets of the coasts of Naples and Sicily, and could molest us greatly; in fact he could endanger the safety of the king—a thing which alarms me. I will try and put my foolish

con allontanare tanti perturbatori della quiete pubblica, e vedere di riconoscersi.

Se l'entusiasmo dei Calabresi e delle provincie si potesse portare ad andare a ripulire e ricacciare Francesi e Giacobini dallo Stato Romano, farebbe assicurare il regno e mettersi una gloria la nazione, con provare che la viltà non era che il frutto del tradimento, non il sentimento. Gambs, Bock, ed altri fedeli uniti ai bravi di V. E. potrebbero fare questo colpo, al quale prego la sua savia mente a rifletterci.

Fra i rei scellerati l'unico che desidererei non andasse in Francia è l'indegno Caracciolo: questo ingrattissimo uomo conosce tutte le cale e buchi di Napoli e Sicilia, e potrebbe molto molestare, anzi mettere la sicurezza del Re in pericolo, cosa che mi fa tema. Procurerò mettere insieme le mie sciocche idee per sottometerle a Vostra

¹ The Neapolitan army was largely officered by foreigners, amongst whom were Gambs and Bock.

ideas together, and submit them to your Eminence : I am sure they are only inspired by a desire for the public welfare, &c. &c.

CAROLINE.

Eminenza : certo che non sono dirette che dal desiderio del bene pubblico.

Di nuovo professo a Vostra Eminenza tutta la mia riconoscenza e sono con vero e grato cuore sua eterna vera amica,

CAROLINA.

Li 19 Giugno, 1799.

50. *NELSON TO LADY HAMILTON.*

[Pettigrew, vol. i. p. 237.]

19th of June, 1799.

My dear Lady Hamilton,—Sir William's packet came last night at ten o'clock, and although the public news was good, it gave me great pain to hear both Sir William and yourself were so very unwell. I wrote Sir William yesterday that if you both thought the sea air would do you good, I have plenty of room. I can make for you private apartments, and I give you my honour the sea is so smooth that no glass was smoother. I am anxious to hear of the French fleet's return to Toulon, for there they will return, for we have no fleet to stop them. I should instantly send one half the fleet under Duckworth, off Malta, which would secure its surrender, and with the other go to Naples, that their Majesties may settle matters there, and take off, if necessary, the head of the cardinal. Nothing in sight. A fresh west wind, quite cool. May God bless you, get well, and believe me ever your most affectionate friend,

NELSON.

Kind regards to Mrs. Cadogan,¹ Graeffer, and the children. Wind fresh at west, and cool.

51. ACTON TO HAMILTON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34912, f. 21.]

Palermo, 19th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I return you my best thanks for the good news which you give me of our brave Lord Nelson. We were all in a kind of anxiety, and even uproar, for the news given last night by Trabia of the French fleet being in sight of the British upon Cape St. Vito, but we find it was the convoy sailed the night before from Palermo.

I have read to their Majesties in the council your paragraph of Lord Nelson being fretting that he cannot directly go and come at the French fleet, but his declarations of the French not getting neither to this island nor Naples but through the heart's blood, has produced, as you may imagine, the highest feelings in their Majesties and every one of their faithful servants then present. I beg of you, my dear sir, to present their Majesties' most sensible gratitude for this repeated comforting declaration. All their trust is in Lord Nelson certainly, and the safety of both the kingdoms. . Naples is in our hands, excepting St. Elmo with the French in it. Castel Nuovo and dell' Uovo in the hands of the felons; in these two places consists at present the Neapolitan republic; Castellamare, Portici, Sorrento, all Terra di Lavoro, are the king's. Capua and Gaeta are surrounded by the royalists.

I send you our report of the port, wherein you will see what a felucca arrived from Rome in 4 days mentions of that country and of Florence. We

¹ Lady Hamilton's mother.

shall every day receive more news, and every one interesting from Naples ; you shall be informed of them. Baia and Pozzuoli¹ are in our hands. I shall send to-night the letters to Captain Foote I am, &c.,

J. ACTON.

52. HAMILTON TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34912, f. 36.]

Palermo, 20th of June, 1799.

My dear Lord,—These devilish feluccas are no better than the speronaras ; our packets were made up yesterday at 10 o'clock in the morning, and the felucca is still here pretending contrary winds. Captain Harwood, in the *San Leone*, arrived here at 11 o'clock this morning with packets for your lordship, which Captain Foote directed me to open in your absence ; the latest was dated from Castellamare, the 16th. I found the whole detail of Foote's having taken Castellamare and Revigliano with all the king's stores, cannon, &c., and I thought best to send these reports directly to General Acton, particularly as Captain Harwood waits to carry to Captain Foote directions from this government for the disposal of a number of prisoners on board his ship.

By the latest accounts from Naples the royalists and Jacobins are fighting it out, but the latter have lost all except the *Castel dell' Uovo*, which still defends itself. Many palaces have been burnt because Jacobins in them fired at the royalists. A Russian officer with a flag of truce had been three hours in the castle of *St. Elmo*, and the French were expected to capitulate every moment.

¹ 'Puccuolo' in the original.

Baia and Pozzuoli in the possession of the royalists, and both Gaeta and Capua are besieged by the royalist party. As the Jacobins seem in desperation, I fear the business will last some days longer, but the royal party must prevail at last. By what I see, without Captain Foote the cardinal would have done little; judge then what the appearance of your lordship's squadron in the Bay of Naples would have done. The inclosed letters came from the Seahorse. I will send your lordship Captain Foote's letters as soon as returned, and I am sure I shall not have any reproof from you for opening letters for the public service, as certain silly fellows think proper to call me to an account for having opened Wyndham's letter from St. Stefano. Adieu, my very dear lord, &c.

WILLIAM HAMILTON.

53. *KING FERDINAND TO RUFFO.*

[Dumas, vol. v. p. 254.]

Palermo, 20th of June, 1799.

Eminence, — Yesterday and this morning two other posts reached us from Procida, with still more comforting news of Naples and of the state of our affairs there. I read the letters which your Eminence wrote to the general,¹ and I instructed the latter to communicate to you my orders and my

Palermo, 20 Giugno 1799.

Eminentissimo mio, — Ieri e sta mattina ci sono pervenute due altre spedizioni da Procida, con notizie di Napoli e dello stato in cui ivi si trovano i nostri affari sempre più consolante. Lessi le lettere che Vostra Eminenza scrisse al Generale, ed al medesimo prescrissi di comunicarvi i miei ordini e le mie idee per quanto si possa

¹ Sir John Acton.

ideas as to what may in consequence be carried out with divine aid, taking advantage of the excellent and most favourable enthusiasm of the people which, if they are allowed to reflect, will not be the same. Now is the most propitious time to form a real and excellent army composed both of troops of the line and of light troops, all veterans, accustomed to fire and to fighting with the French, who when they have taken up arms will with difficulty feel disposed to take up the spade again or to return to their arts and handicrafts. The same royalist chiefs who until now have led them so well, should be at their head, and they should also have generals to re-organise them, and as commander-in-chief some one of whom one could feel sure, such as Gambs, &c. . . . Should I not have explained myself clearly, owing to the haste in which I am writing to you, reply to me with your natural frankness and sincerity on any point as to which you feel doubtful; and also as to another matter, which weighs very heavily on me, but which I do not believe to be possible. It is rumoured that when the castles surrender all the

in seguito col Divino ajuto eseguire profitando dell' ottimo, e favorevolissimo entusiasmo della gente, che se si lascia riflettere non è più lo stesso. Ora, è il tempo più propizio per formare una vera ed ottima armata, così di truppa di linea che leggiera, tutta di gente aguerrita, avezza al fuoco ed a battersi coi Francesi, e che avendo preso le armi difficilmente s' adatterebbe a riprendere la zappa e le Arti e Mestieri, con mettere al comando de' Corpi quegli stessi Capi Realisti, che fin ora li hanno così ben condotti, e diretti, e di quei Generali per organizzarli; ed al Comando in Capite di cui si sarebbe sicuro, come Gambs, &c. . . . Se io su quest' assunto non mi sia bene spiegato per la fretta con la quale vi scrivo, dove vi ci cadono dubbj, rispondermi colla Vostra connaturale franchezza e sincerità, come su di un altro punto che mi pesa veramente sul cuore, ma che io non credo possibile. Si vocifera, che nel rendersi

rebels shut up in them will be allowed to come out safe and sound—even Caracciolo and Manthonè—and to go to France. My reply to this is that I will never believe it, for (may God preserve us from it!) to spare these savage vipers, and especially Caracciolo who knows every inlet of our coast line, might inflict the greatest damage on us. As I learned from the reports received of the dearth of articles of first necessity for some time past, I have given the requisite orders for corn, oil, wine, salt, and cheese to be kept in readiness, and all these articles are either on the way or are being loaded to be sent immediately. I give you notice of this in order that you may make it known to all, so that they may see that I have never failed to think of them; and if anything is wanting which could be sent from here, let me know immediately so that I may send it. If I could come with the 12,000 Russians who were promised me, and whom that rascal Thugut,¹ our sworn enemy, has deprived

i Castelli si permetterà a tutti i ribelli che ci sono rinchiusi di uscirne sani, e salvi anche Carracciolo e Manthonè, &c., ed di andarsene in Francia, questo replico non lo credo mai perchè Dio ce ne liberi; ci potrebbe far il massimo danno il lasciar in vita queste vipere arrabbiate, specialmente Carracciolo che conosce tutti i buchi delle nostre coste. Avendo rilevato dai rapporti ricevuti la penuria che vi era nella Capitale de' generi di prima necessità già da qualche tempo, ho fatto dare le dovute provvidenze per tener pronto, grano, olio, vino sale e formaggio e tutti questi generi; ora o sono andati o in viaggio, o caricandosi per mandarsi immediatamente. Ve lo prevengo acciò lo facciate noto a tutti perchè veggano che non ho mancato mai di pensare a loro, e se manca altra cosa che da qui si possa provvedere fatemelo subito sapere per mandare; così potessi venir io coi 12 mila Russi che mi erano stati promessi, e che questo birbante di Thugut giurato nemico

¹ Austrian Chancellor.

us of by his intrigues, causing them to be joined to their army, then we could do what we liked. In any case the glory is reserved for you and our peasantry, without any further help beyond the only true aid of our Lord and His infinite mercy, &c. &c.

FERDINANDO B.

Nelson is constantly cruising between Trapani and Marittimo and has, up to the present, had no further news of the French fleet.

nostro, ci ha coi suoi intrighi tolti, facendoli unire alla loro armata, perchè allora facessimo ciò che vorremmo, pure la gloria è riservata a Voi, ed ai nostri paesani, senza altro aiuto che quello vero ed unico del Signore e della sua infinita Misericordia. Grazie a Dio la nostra salute è buona, conservi Egli anche Voi come indegnamente ne lo prega il Vostro riconoscente amico.

FERDINANDO B.

Nelson è sempre in crociera fra Trapani ed il marittimo e non ha avuto fin' ora altro riscontro della Flotta Francese.

54. HAMILTON TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34912, f. 38.]

Palermo, 20th of June, 1799; 11 o'clock at night.

My dear Lord,—I have just received the inclosed from General Acton, and hope I am in time to send it to the transport before she sails.

The offer your lordship made in your letter was to take place when you had a certainty of the French fleets being dispersed somehow; and General Acton has had your letter to me and I have not seen him, so you may decide your own way, for we are under no kind of engagement. I shall send a copy of what General Acton says about his prisoners in the letter

I send your lordship, with Captain Foote's letters that I received this morning. Adieu, &c.,

WM. HAMILTON.

55. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Add. MS. 34912, f. 40; Despatches, vol. iii. p. 391, note.]

Palermo, 20th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I went to the king this afternoon in order to present you with his Majesty's answer to Lord Nelson's letter. I am therefore authorised to tell you that upon the cardinal's letter of the 17th, arrived to-day, and those of Procida of the 18th, we find that the news being spread amongst the republicans of the French fleet being at sea, they broke the truce, granted at their desire, for a capitulation of the two castles Uovo and Nuovo, and of St. Elmo by the French. These last, however, seem willing still to hear of terms, but the republicans are making continual sorties from the castles and St. Martino. The cardinal seems in a disagreeable position. His Majesty on this circumstance especially accepts of the kind offer of Lord Nelson to present himself before Naples, and procure the intimation for surrendering, to be supported by the English fleet; its appearance, and the certainty of the French being distant, would certainly produce the desired effect. I hurry this answer, my dear sir, for the expedition to Lord Nelson. I shall acquaint the cardinal and de Curtis to-night of the probability that the English fleet will be a few hours after the arrival of my letter before Naples.

I return to you Captain Foote's letters, of which I have taken copy. I do not know whether he has granted the demands of the rebel officers to go free

to their families ; his intimation was for surrendering as prisoners of war. If Captain Foote has kept to his declaration, then these prisoners might come to Italy, where they shall be ordered to Africa till further order. I am constantly, &c.,

J. ACTON.

56. *NELSON TO HAMILTON.*

[Despatches, vol. vii. App. p. clxxxv.]

(*Most secret*)

20th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir William,—I am agitated, but my resolution is fixed. For Heaven's sake suffer not anyone to oppose it. I shall not be gone eight days. No harm can come to Sicily. I send my lady and you Lord St. Vincent's letter. I am full of grief and anxiety. I must go. It will finish the war. It will give a sprig of laurel to your affectionate friend.

NELSON.

The ship for Tunis is gone.

57. *FOOTE TO RUFFO.*

[*Vindication*, p. 185.]

Seahorse, at anchor off Piedi Grotta,
20th of June, 1799.

Eminence,—You were good enough to write to me last night that General Micheroux, who was treating about the capitulations, should make me acquainted with the circumstances.

A bordo del Seahorse, ancorata a Piedi
Grotta, 20 di Giugno, 1799.

Eminenza,—Mi fece grazia jeri sera di scrivermi che il Gen^{le}. Micheroux, il quale era trattando della Capitolazione m'informarebbe delle circonstanze. Ecco più di

Six-and-thirty hours have now passed since I was first informed of anything further. I consider it a duty incumbent on me to represent to your Eminence that it is far from improbable that the enemy's fleet may appear, which would certainly frustrate our operations. I therefore think the affair should be expedited, to prevent as much as possible the reverses that would consequently follow.

Your Eminence must be aware that I am too much interested in the success of the treaty not to be extremely anxious to know how it goes on; which is the true motive of my impatience. I have, &c.,

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

36 ore dacchè ho ricevuto notizie dell' armistizio senza essere inteso di niente.

Mi fo un dovere di rappresentare a S. Em^a che d' un momento all' altro può comparire una forza nemica, laquale non mancherebbe di sconcertare le nostre operazioni; son dunque di sentimento che dovremo premurare le cose per ripararci delle disgrazie che potrebbero succedere.

S. Ema. deve essere persuasa che son troppo divoto all' esito dell' impresa per non bramare di sapere di quanto si tratta, e questo è il vero motivo della mia impazienza.

In tanto col solito ossequio ho l'onore di rippertermi di S. Eminenza, &c.,

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

58. RUFFO TO FOOTE.

[Vindication, p. 187.]

20th of June, 1799, 6.30 P.M.

Excellency,—I have nothing satisfactory to say in answer to the very polite letter of your Excel-

Ore 6½, 20 Giugno, 1799.

Eccellenza,—Non ho cosa da rispondere alla gentilissima di V.E. e perchè abbia una qualche sodisfacente ris-

lency; and that you may get some satisfactory answer, I have sent your officers to the Minister Micheroux, who manages this affair with the Russian commander, to whom, without proving myself ungrateful, I cannot offer the least displeasure. Do, therefore, excuse me, if I do not give your Excellency a satisfactory answer, and believe me, with all esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most devoted servant, &c.,
F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

P.S.—I thank you for your very clever manœuvres on the sea, and beseech you to continue them this evening, in case the truce should continue.

posta ho mandati i suoi ufficiali dal ministro Micheroux, il quale tratta questo affare col Comandante Moscovita, a cui io non posso, anche che fossi un ingrato, fare il menomo dispiacere. Mi compatissa dunque S.E. se non le dò una sodisfacente risposta, e mi creda con tutta la stima e rispetto.

Devmo. servitore vero, &c.

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

P.S.—La ringrazio delle ottime manovre fatte da mare, e la prego questa sera a continuarle nel caso che non si rompa la Tregua.

59. RUFFO TO FOOTE.

[Vindication, p. 188.]

10 o'clock, 20th of June, 1799.

Excellency,—Enclosed are the capitulations which have been settled and agreed to with the

Ore le 10, 20 Giugno, 1799.

Eccellenza,—Accludo le Capitolazioni, le quali sonosi convenute col Comandante di S. Elmo, le quali io mando

commandant of St. Elmo, and which I send in order that you may be pleased to sign them; as well as that you may deign to take proper measures to have the prisoners conveyed as far as Toulon, as stipulated in the capitulation. The king, my master, will bear the expense of the passage, and the necessary transports we may get with all speed from this port, in which I see abundance of shipping. I do not think, after all, that the conditions are very bad. They afford us leisure and opportunity to re-establish our batteries, and to place our gunboats for our defence, in case of any misfortune (which God forbid) that the English fleet may meet with, or, if some remnant of the French squadron should make its appearance. I beseech you to take under your protection those of our ships that are coming out of the port, towed out by our seamen, to restore them to his Majesty. Such vessels might be expeditiously armed by the Count de Thurn, to whom I send my respects, in case he is with you. I am, &c.,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

perchè si compiaccia di sottoscriverle, ed anche perchè si degni di pensare a far scortare i prigionieri sino a Tolone, come sta nei patti convenuti; le spese le soffrirà il Re mio padrone, ed i bastimenti potranno prendersi con la maggior sollecitudine in questo porto, dove ne veggo in copia. Le condizioni non sono poi insopportabili, ed è sempre vero che ci danno luogo di ristabilire le nostre batterie, e le cannoniere, per difenderci in caso di disgrazia, che Iddio nol permetta, della flotta Inglese, o da qualche avanzo come spero della flotta Francese. La supplico a prender cura dei legni nostri, che vanno uscendo del porto, strascinati fuori dai marinari nostri, per restituirli a S. M. Tali legni potrebbero armarsi sollecitamente dal Conte di Turn, che ossequio se è con lei.

Sono col maggior ossequio stima, &c.,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

60. FOOTE TO RUFFO.

[Vindication, p. 189.]

Seahorse, 20th of June, 1799, at midnight.

Eminence,—I am happy to see your object thus far advanced ; and although I find the terms of the capitulation very favourable to the republicans, yet I have lost no time in signing it, to avoid throwing the least impediment in the way of the interests of his Sicilian Majesty, which are more particularly in the hands of your Eminence. I think it right, however, to observe that in the 8th article mention should be made of the dangers of the seas, to guarantee the hostages.

I will take care to have a British vessel of war ready to act as convoy at half an hour's notice ; and I have written to Count Thurn to prepare, immediately, the polaccas that are to serve as transports.

It also appears to me that, by the said 8th article, the French are too long secured in the possession of St. Elmo, as that fortress cannot, with

A Bordo del Seahorse, 20 di Giugno, 1799.

Eminenza,—Mi rallegro sommamente nel vedere la gloriosa impresa di S. Em^a così avanzata, e ben che trovo la capitolazione molto vantaggiosa per gli Republican, l'ho firmata subito, non volendo essere un impaccio agli interessi di S. M. delle Sicilie ; quali sono più particolarmente in mani di S. Em^a. Trovarei solamente che nell' articolo 8° si dovrebbe parlare degli accidenti di mare per garantire gli ostaggi.

Subito che L. Em^a V^a avrà bisogno di un Legno di guerra per servire di scorta, commandi, ed in una mezz' ora sarà pronto. Mando ad avvisare il Conte di Thurn, perchè venga subito a far allestire le polacche necessarie al trasporto. Mi pare di più che l'istesso Articolo 8° assicura ai Francesi il possesso di S. Elmo, per un tempo molto

propriety, be attacked until the advice is received of the arrival of the republicans at Toulon.

All the vessels at anchor in the port shall be considered as under the protection of the squadron.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

lungo, poichè non si può far nessun attacco sin che sia venuta la notizia dell' arrivo in Tolone.

Tutti i Legni che usciranno del porto saranno posti sotto la protezione della flotta.

In tanto con ogni ossequio e perfetta stima mi raffer-
mo, di S. Em^a

Devmo. ed Ub. Serv., &c.

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

61. RUFFO TO ACTON.

[Archivio Storico, vol. viii. p. 652.]

The Royal Villa at the Ponte della Maddalena,
21st of June, 1799.¹

Excellency,—I am at the Ponte della Maddalena. The castles of Uovo and Nuovo seem to be on the point of surrendering to the Russians and to the Chevalier Micheroux. I am so hard pressed and broken down, that I do not know how I shall keep myself alive if a similar state of affairs continues

Dalla Real Casina al Ponte della Maddalena
presso Napoli, 21 Giugno, 1799.

Eccellenza,—Sono al Ponte della Maddalena; sono vicini, a quello che pare, a rendersi ai Moscoviti, e al cav. Micheroux i Castelli dell' Uovo, e Nuovo. Sono così affollato e distrutto, che non vedo come poter reggere in vita, se seguirà un tale stato per altri tre giorni. Il dover

¹ Received on the 25th of June. See Caroline to Lady Hamilton, 25th of June, *post*, p. 210, No. 88.

for another three days. The duty of governing, or rather of suppressing, a large mob accustomed to anarchy of the worst kind; the duty of controlling a score of uneducated and insubordinate chiefs of light infantry corps, who are all bent on plunder, murder and violence, is so terrible and complicated a matter, that it is absolutely beyond my powers. They have just brought to me 1,300 Jacobins, whom I cannot place in security, and whom I am keeping at the granaries near the bridge. They have dragged here and shot at least 50 in my presence, without my being able to stop them. They have also wounded at least 200, whom they also brought here naked. Seeing that I was horrified by such a spectacle they comforted me, saying that the dead were really prominent scoundrels, that the wounded were bitter enemies of the human race, and that they were well known to the people. I hope this may be true, and that comforts me a little. Praise be to God, the violence of the people has been considerably abated

governare, o per dir meglio comprimere un Popolo immenso, avvezzo all' anarchia la più decisa; il dover governare una ventina di Capi ineducati, ed insubordinati di Truppe leggiera, tutte applicate a seguitare i saccheggi, le stragi e la violenza, e così terribile cosa e complicata, che trapassa le mie forze assolutamente. Mi hanno portati ormai 1,300 Giacobini, che non so dove tenere sicuri, e tengo ai Granari del Ponte; ne avranno strascinati, o fucilati almeno 50, in mia presenza senza poterlo impedire, e feriti almeno 200, che pure nudi hanno qui strascinati. Vedendomi inorridito da tale spettacolo mi consolano, dicendomi, che i morti erano veramente Capi di Bricconi, che i feriti erano decisi nemici del Genere umano, che il Popolo insomma li ha ben conosciuti. Spero, che sia vero, e così mi quieto un poco. A forza di cure, di Editti, di Patuglie, di Prediche si è considerabilmente diminuita la violenza del Popolo, per lo Dio grazia. Se la resa de' due

by dint of exertions, of edicts, patrols and sermons. If the surrender of the two castles is obtained, I hope to restore complete quiet, because I shall then be able to employ the troops for that purpose. It is certain that the position we are in of making war and at the same time dreading the fall of the enemy, is the most cruel imaginable. If to this you add the fact that our troops, though numerous, are irregular and even uncontrollable, it is a matter which would make one sweat in the depth of winter. The castles have been so vigorously attacked during the night that they are half destroyed. The shells have the greatest effect on the Castello Nuovo. They were on the point of being stormed, but these cursed scoundrels took their vengeance on the city for the shot which disabled their heavy artillery. The Castello del Carmine was attacked last Wednesday, and was surrendered to us by Ovvel di Borgogna¹ by means of a curious kind of capitulation. It has opened fire, conjointly with the Calabrese detachment, on the Castello Nuovo, in

Castelli si ottiene, spero di rimetterci intieramente la calma, perchè potrò a tale oggetto impiegare la Truppa. È certo, che il caso di far Guerra, e temere della rovina del Nemico è la più crudele situazione, ed è la nostra. Se a questo si aggiunge la nostra Truppa ben numerosa, ma irregolare anzi sfrenata, è cosa, che fa sudare nel colmo dell' Inverno. I Castelli sono stati attaccati così fortemente nella notte che sono mezzo distrutti. Le Bombe hanno fatto il più grand' effetto sopra Castello nuovo. L' assalto non sarebbe stato lontano, ma questi maledetti si vendicavano contro la Città delle palle che distruggevano la loro Artiglieria grossa: il Castello del Carmine attaccato Venerdì scorso, e consegnatoci da Ovvel di Borgogna per una specie di curiosa Capitolazione, misto alla Forza Calabrese ha fatto fuoco contro il Castello nuovo in modo, che

¹ The identity of this person has never been cleared up.

such a way that it has twice destroyed the battery which faced in this direction. The mortars, which I caused our artillerymen to place on the second bridge in the direction of Naples, have produced the greatest effect, and have resulted in an offer to surrender. Our gunboats acting in concert with a battery of two heavy guns at the Tuileries, and with a howitzer and a field-piece at the Castello dell' Uovo, have induced that castle to come to terms. The armistice has lasted for some hours, and we are expecting to hear about dusk that the surrender of the two above-mentioned castles has been arranged. The English commandant is grumbling because so much time is being lost by the truce, and he wishes to end it. But we must not forget the great danger threatening the city, which is repeatedly struck whenever fire is opened from St. Elmo. In the meantime the mob, and many *émigrés* who have come to fight for the king, and eighty cursed Turks are robbing and plundering without let or hindrance. All the respectable

due volte ha distrutta la Batteria, che teneva da questa parte. I Mortari, che feci piantare dagli Artiglieri nostri al secondo Ponte verso Napoli, hanno fatto il massimo effetto, ed hanno fatto chiamare la Resa. Le nostre cannoniere unitamente ad una Batteria fatta alla Tuillerie di due grossi Cannoni; ed un Obice ed un Cannone di Campagna al Castello dell' Uovo, hanno convertito a parlamento il detto Castello. L' Armistizio dura da qualche ora, e si aspetta sull' imbrunire, se sarà conclusa la Resa dei due Castelli già nominati. Il Comandante Inglese tarrocca, perchè si perde tanto tempo nella Tregua, e vorrebbe concludere, ma non si deve scordare l' immenso pericolo della Città, ch' è fulminata senza interruzione, quando si fa fuoco da S. Elmo. Intanto il Popolo, e tanti Fuorusciti, che sono venuti a combattere pel Re, ed ottanta maledetti Turchi rubano e spogliano a man salva.

inhabitants are flying into the country. Our best soldiers are guarding the houses from pillage, but they are unsuccessful. The excuse is often Jacobinism; that is what they allege, but it is really the desire to plunder which often creates Jacobin owners. I find the same thing in the small towns. They dare to do anything with impunity while shouting 'Long live the King!' It seems that these considerations may cause us to be merciful towards the rascals shut up in the castles, and to feel pity for the many hostages imprisoned in them.

I do not know what the terms will be, but they will be very merciful for a thousand reasons, which it would be useless to detail, and which may be imagined from what I have already said. I do not think it possible to restore order in the country rapidly under any system, but it will be absolutely impossible to do so with new methods. . . . I am

Tutto il Mondo polito fugge alla Campagna. I nostri soldati migliori guardano dai saccheggi le case, ma non vi riescono. Spesso il pretesto è il Giacobinismo, è l' affare che si nomina, ma veramente è la rapina, che spesso produce de' Proprietarj Giacobini. Così ho trovato le cose ne' piccoli Luoghi. Col grido *Viva il Re* ardiscono tutto impunemente. Pare, che la considerazione possa renderci clementi co' i Birbanti racchiusi ne' Castelli, e compassionevoli co' i molti Ospiti, che sono in essi rinserrati.

Non so quali saranno le condizioni, ma molto clementi sicuramente per mille motivi, che non serve dire ad uno ad uno, e che dalle antecedenti può immaginare. Non credo possibile di potere rimettere in ordine il Paese brevemente con nessun sistema, ma con un metodo nuovo impossibilissimo. Ho solamente ricusata la Convocazione delle Piazze; ma ho rimessa la Vicaria; ho fatto Bisignano Reggente; Giorgi l' ho posto invece di Fraola, che ho fatto Fiscale della Giunta di Stato, composta di Bisogni, Fiori, e Navarro; il tutto col consiglio del March. Simonetti. Ho rimesse le

trying to reorganise the rest, and it is very difficult to discover honest people who have never been found wanting. . . . I remain, &c.,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. GLE.

Poste pel Regno in Attività. Vado procurando di organizzare il resto ed è ben difficile di trovare ingenue Persone, che non abbiano giammai mancato. Zurlo fa l'ufficio di Ministro di Finanza; Pedrinelli comincia a fare il Segretario di Guerra, Novi per l'Artiglieria, Minichini; dopo tremo come una fronda, e non si conviene dell'innocenza di alcuni de' nominati, ma io non posso mancare in officio, perchè obbedisco agli ordini di S. M. prendendo per consigliere quasi unico il nostro Simonetti, che ho trovato assai deteriorato. Sono col maggiore ossequio. Di V^{ra} Eccellenza Dev^{mo} Servitor vero,

F. CARD. RUFFO V. GL^E.

S. E. S^r Generale Cavaliere Acton (Palermo).

62. RUFFO TO FOOTE.

[Vindication, p. 191.]

21st of June, 1799.

Excellency,—The terms are already settled, and we only wait for the commandant of St. Elmo's signature. I shall write to the Chevalier Micheroux a short account of the news that has arrived, that if possible he may take advantage of it. An armistice is requested for St. Elmo, and it is right to grant it, for many reasons which are too long to enumerate,

Napoli, 21 Giugno, 1799.

Eccellenza,—Le condizioni sono già fatte e si attende solamente la firma del comandante di S. Elmo; scriverò al C. Micheroux in succinto le nuove che sono venute, perchè se è possibile se ne serva: per S. Elmo si vuole un armistizio e bisognerà accordarlo per molte ragioni, che

but which I will communicate in the best manner I am able, to the officer who acts as an interpreter.

In case of an attack on that fort, we should wish to preserve that part of it which faces the city, and make the attack on the other side. I am, &c.,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

[N.B.—My sentiments were written in Italian by the gentleman who assisted me in the French language.

E. J. F.]

sono lunghe, e che comunicherò all' ufficiale interprete alla meglio ; si vorrebbe salvare in caso di attacco la parte che riguarda la città, e far l' attacco dall' altro lato. Sono con tutto il rispetto e maggiore stima

Devmo. serv. vero,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. G.

63. *THE CAPITULATION OF THE FORTS
NUOVO AND UOVO.*

[B.M. Add. MS. 34944, f. 225. Despatches, vol. iii. p. 488.]

[21-23 June, 1799.]

Article 1.—The Forts Nuovo and Uovo shall be delivered to the commanders of the troops of his

LIBERTÀ.

EGUAGLIANZA.

Repubblica Napoletana

dal Castel Nuovo li 2 messifero anno 7° della Libertà.

Il cittadino Massa Generale d'artigleria e Commandante del Castel-nuovo.

Essendosi dal Commandante Foote della Flotta Inglese intimata la resa al Castel dell' Ovo ; ed indi dal Cardinal Ruffo vicario generale del Regno di Napoli ; dal Cavalier Micheroux, ministro plenipotenziario di S.M. Re delle due Sicilie presso la flotta Russo-Ottomana, e dal Commandante in Capite delle truppe di S.M. l'imperatore

Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, and of those of his allies, the King of England, the Emperor of All the Russias, and the Ottoman Porte, with all warlike stores, provisions, artillery and effects of every kind now in the magazines, of which an inventory shall be made by commissaries on both sides, after the present capitulation is signed.

Article 2.—The troops composing the garrisons shall keep possession of their forts until the vessels which shall be spoken of hereafter, destined to convey such as are desirous of going to Toulon, are ready to sail.¹

di tutte le Russie e dal Commandante delle truppe Ottomane a questo Castello Nuovo, il Consiglio di guerra del Castel Nuovo si è adunato ed avendo deliberato sulla sud^a intimazione, ha risoluto che i due forti saranno rimessi ai Commandanti delle truppe di sopra enunciate per mezzo di una onorevole Capitolazione e dopo aver fatto conoscere al Commandante del forte S. Elmo i motivi di questa resa in conseguenza il sud^o Consiglio ha ridatto gli articoli della seguente Capitolazione, senza l'accettaz^{ne} de' quali la resa de' forti non può aver luogo.

1. I Castelli nuovo e dell' ovo saranno rimessi ai Commandanti delle truppe di S.M. il Re delle due Sicilie, e di quelle de' suoi alleati, il Re d'inghilterra, l'imperatore di tutte le Russie e la porta ottomana con tutte le munizioni da guerra, e da bocca, artiglieria ed effetti di ogni specie esistenti ne' magazini di cui si formerà inventario dai Commissarj rispettivi dopo la firma della presente Capitolazione.

2. Le truppe componenti le guarnigioni conserveranno i loro forti, fino a che i bastimenti di cui si parlerà qui appresso destinati a trasportar gl' individui, che vorranno andar a Tolone saran pronti a far vela.

¹ The first draft contained an additional clause: 'The evacuation shall not take place until the moment of embarkation.' *Vide* Mahan, 'The Neapolitan Republicans and Nelson's Accusers,' *English Historical Review* for July 1899.

Article 3.—The garrisons shall march out with the honours of war, with arms and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, and each with two pieces of artillery; they shall lay down their arms on the beach.

Article 4.—The persons and property, both movable and immovable, of all individuals composing the two garrisons shall be respected and guaranteed.

Article 5.—All the said individuals shall have their choice of embarking on board the cartels, which shall be prepared for the purpose of carrying them to Toulon, or of remaining at Naples without being molested either in their persons or families.

Article 6.—The conditions contained in the present capitulation are common to every person of both sexes now in the forts.

Article 7.—The same conditions shall hold with respect to all the prisoners which the troops of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies and those of his allies may have made from the republican

3. Le guarnigioni usciranno con gli onori di guerra, arme, e bagagli, tamburo battente, bandiere spiegate, meccia accesa, e ciascuna con due pezzi di artiglieria. Esse deporranno le arme sul lido.

4. Le persone, le proprietà, mobili ed immobili di tutti gl' individui componenti le due guarnigioni saranno rispettate, e garantite.

5. Tutti i sudⁱ individui potran scegliere d' imbarcarsi sopra i bastimenti parlamentari, che saran loro preparati per condursi a Tolone, o di restar in Napoli senz' esser inquietati essi ne le loro famiglie.

6. Le condizioni contenute nella presente Capitolazione son comuni a tutte le persone de' due sessi rinchuse ne' forti.

7. Le stesse condizioni avran luogo riguardo a tutti i prigionieri fatti sulle truppe repubblicane dalle truppe di S.M. il Re delle due Sicilie, e quelle de' suoi alleati ne' diversi

troops, in the different engagements which have taken place before the blockade of the forts.

Article 8.—Messieurs the Archbishop of Salerno, Micheroux, Dillon and the Bishop of Avellino, detained in the forts, shall be delivered to the commandant of Fort St. Elmo, where they shall remain as hostages until the arrival of the individuals sent to Toulon shall be ascertained.

Article 9.—All the other hostages and State prisoners, confined in the two forts, shall be set at liberty immediately after the present capitulation is signed.

Article 10.—None of the articles of the said capitulation can be put into execution until after they shall have been fully approved by the commandant of the Fort of St. Elmo.¹

combattimenti che hanno avuto luogo primo del blocco de forti.

8. I sig¹ arch^{vo} di Salerno, e di Micheroux, di Dillon, e 'l vescovo di Avellino detenuti saranno rimessi al Comandante del forte di S. Elmo, ove resteranno in ostaggio fino a che sia assicurato l' arrivo a Tolone degl' individui che vi si mandano.

9. Tutti gli altri ostaggi o prigionieri di Stato rinchiusi ne' due forti saranno rimessi in libertà subito dopo la firma della presente capitolazione.

10. Tutti gli articoli della sud^a Capitolazione non potranno eseguirsi se non dopo che saranno stati intieramente approvati dal commandante del forte di S. Elmo.

Il General Massa Commandante del Castel nuovo.

En vertu de la délibération prise par le conseil de guerre du fort St. Elme le 3 de Messidor, sur la lettre du

¹ The treaty was signed by Massa, Ruffo, Méjean, Foote, and the Russian and Turkish commanders. Foote affixed his signature last of all on the 23rd June, and returned the treaty with a protest against anything that might be contrary to British interests. See *post*, p. 177, No. 76.

général Massa commandant du fort neuf en date du 1^{er} du dit mois, le Commandant du fort S. Elme approuve les articles de la Capitulation ci dessus au fort S. Elme le 3 messidor an 7 de la Rép. franç.

J. MÉJEAN.

Le Chef de Brig. Com^{dt} le fort S. Elme.

F. CARD. RUFFO.

RU. MAGROUSE SYENINOUE SOURINE.¹

KUBURISSU STERE.¹

E. J. FOOTE	}	Commanding the ships and vessels of his Britannic Majesty in the Bay of Naples.
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64. QUEEN CAROLINE'S NOTES.

[Palumbo, p. 76. B.M. Add. MS. 30999, f. 84.]

To article 1.—To capitulate with one's rebel subjects, who were without force, without hope of succour either by sea or by land!! With persons who, after the clemency displayed to them by their king and their father (who promised to pardon them), fought desperately, and are now only brought to terms by fear!!! I feel it to be dishonourable to treat with rebels!! They ought either to have been attacked in full force, or else left alone till a more favourable opportunity presented itself.

To article 2.—This is a real insult; the rebels

To article 1.—Il capitolare con i propri Ribelli senza forza, senza speranza di soccorsi ne di terra ne di mare, con Gente che dopo la Clemenza usata dall loro Re e Padre di prometterle un perdono si sono da disperati battuti ed ora vengono a patti per il sollo timore. Trovo che Capitolare con Ribelli e disonorarsi, bisognava con tutte le forze attaccarle o lasciarle stare a miglior tempo.

To the 2nd.—Questo è una vera insolenza; i Ribelli

¹ The copyist was apparently unable to decipher these names.

address their sovereign on equal terms, and with an air of being his superiors.

To article 3.—This is so infamous and absurd that it revolts me even to speak of it. As for the standard of rebellion, this is so absurd that I cannot tell how they ever came to conceive of it, much less to sign it.

To article 4.—This means that the criminals did not suffer even a light punishment or forfeiture for such a crime.

To article 5.—This article is such as to make one ask oneself why troops were sent, since the felons are allowed to remain and depart without being molested. This will encourage them to do so again, and in a better concerted manner, and will stimulate the evilly disposed persons in Sicily to do likewise, since there is nothing to lose and much to gain.

To article 6.—The fact that the two sexes are mentioned expressly proves that there are criminals of both sexes. The clause shows this.

parlono coll loro Sovrano di uguale ed in aria di avere il di sopra su di lui.

To the 3rd.—Questo è un infamia ed assurdo tale che mi ripugne a parlare ancora, di che dell stendardo della Ribellione questo ed così assurdo che non so come si è potuto concepire e molto più sottoscrivere.

To the 4th.—Vale a dire li Rei non soffriranno neppure una leggiera pena ne privazione a si grave reità.

To the 5th.—Questa articolo è tale da domandarsi perchè si sono venute truppe quando si permette alli feloni restare partire senza essere molestati ed animarle a fare di nuovo e meglio Concertata un altra volta e stimolare i mali pensanti in Sicilia di fare li stesso giacchè non vi e niente da perdere e molto da guadagnare.

To the 6th.—Le due Sessi sono nominate espressamente. Prova che si sentono esservene delle rei di ambedue li sessi; la Clausula mostra il fatto.

To article 7.—The same principle of full liberty and security for felonious rebels is continued, in order that they may return with greater success to their evil doing.

To article 8.—What an absurdity to give hostages, as though we were the conquered! The fact that the criminals depend on a handful of Frenchmen, on whose orders they wait, renders Naples a vile French garrison. The British squadron should therefore proceed to reduce them to obedience, as it would do with Toulon, Brest, or Rochefort.

To article 9.—I would have no one released—all obliged to gain their liberty with arms in their hands, for their honour and for the welfare of the kingdom and the city.

To article 10.—This is the culmination of disgrace and cowardice. They do not ask for the approval of their own sovereign to whose orders and instructions their action is diametrically opposed, but they demand the approval of a small number of Frenchmen. This shows the villainy of the rebels,

To the 7th.—Continua lo stesso principio di piena libertà e sicurezza per i felloni Ribelli afn che riprendono con più successi le loro sceleraggine.

To the 8th.—L' assurdo di dare ostaggi come se poi fossimo li vinti, li rei di dipendere da un pugno di Francesi aspettare li loro ordine rende Napoli un vile Presidio francese dunque la squadra Brittanica deve ricattarla ridurle all Obedienza Come farebbe Tolone Brest Rochefort.

To the 9th.—Vorrei nessuno uscito tutti forzati a avere la loro libertà arme alla mano per il loro onore e il bene dell Regno e Città.

To the 10th.—Questa poi ed il colmo della bassezza viltà non si domanda l' approvazione dell proprio Sovrano contro le cui ordine e istruzione diametralmente contrario si opera e si domanda l' approvazione dei Ribelli di un piccolo numero di Francese ciò mostra la viltà dei Ribelli ben

and the cowardice and stupidity of those who signed it.

At the foot of the Capitulation.—This is such an infamous treaty that if by a miracle of Providence some event does not take place which will break and destroy it, I look upon myself as lost and dishonoured, and I believe that at the risk of perishing from malaria, fatigue, or from a rebel bullet, the king on the one hand, the prince on the other, should immediately arm the provinces, march against the rebel city, and die beneath its ruins if there should be any resistance, rather than remain vile slaves of the French rascals and their infamous rivals, the rebels. That is how I feel; this infamous capitulation (if it takes place) grieves me a great deal more than the loss of the kingdom, and will have a far worse effect.¹

concessibile viltà stupidità e non intelligenza dei sotto scrivendi.

[Then she goes on at the foot of the Capitulation:]

E questo un così infame trattato che se per un miracolo della Provvidenza non nasce qualche Evento che la rompe destrugge mi Conto per perdita disonorata ed credo che a costa di morire della malaria della fatica di una scopetata dei Ribelli il Re da un lato il Principe dall altro devono immediatamente armare le Provincie marciare contra la Ribelle Città e morire sotto le di lei rovine se vi è resistenza ma non restare ville schiavi dei Birbanti francesi e loro infami Emuli i Ribelli.

Tale è lo mio Sentimento questa Capitolazione infame se avrà luogo mi afflige assai più della perdita del Regno ed avrà assai peggiore effetti.

¹ These notes were written by the queen opposite each article in the margin. There is also a translation into English of this document in the principal Record Office. See Giglioli (*Naples in 1799*), p. 407.

65. HAMILTON TO FOOTE.

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 139.]

Palermo,¹ 21st of June, 1799.

Dear Sir,—I received your packet for Lord Nelson yesterday, and opened it according to your directions. I then sent the letters to General Acton to save time, and the answer about the prisoners in the general's letter is as follows: 'I return you Captain Foote's letters, of which I have taken copies. I do not know whether he has granted the demands of the rebel officers to go free to their families; his intimation was for surrendering prisoners of war. If Captain Foote has kept to his declaration, then these prisoners² might come to Sicily, where they shall be ordered to Ustica till further orders.'

Lord Nelson surprised us this morning, and the squadron is near; his lordship allows me to acquaint you, but in the utmost confidence and secrecy, that he, with his whole squadron, will probably be in Naples Bay soon after you will have received this letter; and as I shall have the honour to be with him, I hope soon to assure you, in person, of the regard and esteem with which,

I have, &c.,

WILLIAM HAMILTON.

[N.B.—This letter was not received until *after* Lord Nelson came to the Bay of Naples, on the 24th of June.—E. J. F.]

¹ Naples in the MS.; which is obviously a slip, as the Foudroyant did not reach the Bay of Naples till the 24th of June.

² The garrisons of Revigliano and Castellamare. See *ante*, pp. 89-92.

66. FERDINAND TO RUFFO.

[Dumas, vol. v. p. 256.]

Palermo, 21st of June, 1799.

Eminence,—Two lines to give you the most consoling news, brought to us this morning by Admiral Nelson himself, that a substantial reinforcement of no less than sixteen vessels, of which ten are of eighty guns and over, under the command of Admiral Alan Gardner,¹ has entered the Mediterranean, and has arrived at Minorca. For this reason Lord Keith, leaving a division to watch Minorca and the Spanish fleet, has immediately set off to Vado, where the French fleet is said to be; and Nelson leaves to-night in your direction with

Palermo, 21 Giugno, 1799.

Eminentissimo mio,—Due versi per darvi la consolantissima nuova, recataci questa mattina dallo stesso Ammiraglio Nelson, di esser venuto nel Mediterraneo, e giunto a Minorca, un rinforzo non indifferente di niente meno che 16 Vascelli, de' quali 10 da 80 in su sotto il comando dell' Ammiraglio Alan Gardner, per cui Lord Keith, lasciando una divisione a guardare Minorca, e la Squadra Spagnuola è corso immediatamente sopra Vado, ove si dice sia la Flotta Francese, ed egli il Nelson questa notte si dirige a cotesta volta con tutti quei suoi 18 vascelli, la

¹ On the 20th of June, 1799, Nelson received a despatch from Lord St. Vincent, dated the 17th, informing him 'of the near approach of the squadron under Sir Alan Gardner' (*Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 391). Early in June Gardner, with sixteen sail of the line, was detached from the Channel fleet to reinforce the fleet off Cadiz and in the Mediterranean. As a matter of fact, he put into the Tagus with four of the ships and returned from there. The other twelve ships, under Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, went on and joined Keith at sea near Minorca on the 7th of July, 1799 (James, *Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 297). On the 10th of July Keith, with the whole of his fleet of thirty-one ships of the line, sailed for Gibraltar, which he reached on the 29th. Bruix had left the Mediterranean on the 7th of July.

all his eighteen ships, whose appearance will produce an excellent effect over there, &c. &c.

FERDINANDO B.

di cui comparsa farà ottimo effetto costì, ve ne fo il mio complimento, assicurandovi sempre più della mia stima e riconoscenza.

FERDINANDO B.

67. NELSON TO REAR-ADMIRAL DUCKWORTH.¹

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 384.]

21st of June, 1799.

On the return of our squadron, which the Jacobins gave out was for fear of the French fleet, all is undone again, although they had in some measure agreed to terms: therefore his Majesty has requested my immediate presence in the Bay of Naples, which I shall execute this afternoon.

I am, &c.,

NELSON.

68. CAROLINE TO RUFFO.

[Archivio Storico, vol. v. p. 575; Dumas, vol. v. p. 181.]

21st of June, 1799.

I do not write daily to your Eminence—as my heart would dictate—respecting your numerous and arduous operations, and the lively gratitude I feel

Non scrivo ogni giorno a Vostra Eminenza, siccome il mio cuore mi detterebbe, rispettando le sue moltiplicate o penose operazioni, e risentendo la più viva gratitudine

¹ Sir John Thomas Duckworth (born 1748, died 1817), detached by Earl St. Vincent to reinforce Nelson; arrived at Palermo on the 5th of June with four ships of the line. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xvi. p. 93.

for all you are doing. I am truly grieved that the obstinate patriots have refused to surrender after the proclamations offering clemency and promising banishment, but this shows more and more that there is no hope of improving or correcting such people. Lord Nelson with the whole of his squadron will arrive at the same time as this letter of mine, or perhaps even before it, as the Spanish and French fleets each have an English squadron watching them. Nelson will demand a voluntary surrender, or, failing this, he will procure it by force; their obstinacy being by this time unnecessary and harmful. I deeply regret the flight of Caracciolo, believing that such a pirate at large on the high seas may be dangerous to the sacred person of the king, and I should therefore like to see this traitor prevented from doing harm. I feel that all the horrors which your Eminence mentions as a whole in the letter to the king of the 17th instant must indeed have given you pain. It seems to me that we have done all we can by way of clemency for

per tutto quello che fa. I proclami di clemenza di promessa di esportazione, alla quale gli ostinati patriotti non hanno voluto neppure rendersi mi fa vera pena per i mali che ciò produce, ma prova sempre maggiormente che con simile gente non vi a speranza di emenda, nè di correzione. Contemporaneamente a questa mia o forse prima arriverà Nelson con tutta la sua squadra, la Spagnuola e la Francese avendo ognuna la sua squadra Inglese, che è per guardarle. Nelson intimerà la resa volontaria, o se no li forzerà, essendo oramai l'ostinazione soverchia e nociva. Mi rincresce molto la fuga di Caracciolo, credendo che un simile forban per mare possa essere pericoloso per la sagra persona del Re, e per ciò desidererei questo traditore inhabilitato di far male. Tutti gli orrori che in grosso Vostra Eminenza annunzia nella lettera del Re dei 17 di questo sento bene quanto debbono affligerla; a me mi pare che abbiamo fatto il nostro possibile di clemenza con simili

rebels of this kind, and that to continue negotiating would be a useless and degrading task. You may treat with St. Elmo, which is in possession of the French, but unless the other two [castles] surrender immediately and unconditionally at the intimation of Admiral Nelson, they will be taken by storm and treated as they deserve. One of the first and most necessary things to do is to depose the cardinal archbishop, and confine him in a convent at Montevergine, or elsewhere outside his diocese, as a lunatic; for only in this way can the gravity of his offence be diminished. As a criminal and a lunatic he must not continue to be the shepherd of a flock which he has led into error by his pastoral letters; nor must he dispense sacraments, of which he has ordered the abuse. In fact it is impossible that one who has uttered such unworthy language and made such an improper use of his office should be allowed to act as Archbishop of Naples. There are many other bishops in the same position: la Torre, Natale of Vico Equense,

ribelli e che trattarci dippiù sarebbe niente ricavarne, ed avvilirci. Si può trattare con S. Elmo che è in mano dei Francesi, ma gli altri due, se non si rendono immediatamente e senza condizioni all' intimazione dell' Ammiraglio Nelson, vanno presi di viva forza, e trattati come si meritano. Una delle prime e necessariissime operazioni da fare è dismettere, e rinchiudere il Cardinale Arcivescovo in un convento a Montevergine o in altra parte fuori la sua Diocesi per scimunito, mentre solo sotto di questo titolo si può diminuire la sua grave reità: e come reo e come scimunito non dev' essere più il pastore d' un gregge che ha cercato colle sue pastorali indurre in errore; nè dispensatore di sacramenti, di cui ha ordinato un abusivo uso: insomma è impossibile che sia pure Arcivescovo esercitante di Napoli uno che ha così indegnamente parlato ed abusato della sua carica. Vi sono molti altri Vescovi nello stesso caso, la Torre, Natale di Vico Equense,

Gamboa, Rosini (in spite of his *Te Deum*, but there is also his printed pastoral letter), Taranto, and many others who are proved rebels; also the three bishops who unfrocked that unhappy priest for the mere crime of shouting 'Long live the king!'—none of these must continue to govern their churches. What I have said also applies to the rascally monks and priests who scandalised even the French, and to the parish priests of Aloisi and others, of whom I have read that they were employed under the wicked republic. I mention this because it relates to religion and to public opinion. What confidence can the people have in their priests and pastors if they see them guilty of rebellion? And what a pernicious effect it must have on their opinions when they see them continuing to exercise their functions! I do not mention others, for Naples is not yet ours. All those who have come from there tell of horrors, and all with one voice cry out together in accusation. This pains me exceedingly, but it is what is taking place. I am most anxiously waiting

Gamboa, Rosini malgrado il Tedeum, ma vi è pure la sua pastorale stampata, Taranto e molti altri che provati ribelli, non possono restare a governare le loro chiese: parimenti quei tre Vescovi che dissacrarono quell' infelice Sacerdote per il semplice delitto di aver gridato Viva il Re. Parlo di questi come dei scellerati monaci e preti che hanno scandalizzato fino i Francesi medesimi; dei parrochi d'Aloisi ed altri, che ho letto impiegati nella scellerata repubblica; parlo di ciò, perchè tocca la religione e l' opinione pubblica. Quale fiducia avranno nei loro preti e pastori i popoli, se li vedono ribelli rei, e quale pernicioso effetto il continuare a vederli esercitare deve ciò avere sulle di loro opinioni. Non parlo ancora di altri, Napoli non essendo ancora nostro; tutti quelli che da lì vengono contano orrori, e tutti una voce, un principio, una classe gridano ed accusano. Ciò mi fa una vera pena, ma così succede. Ora

to hear that Naples is retaken and good order re-established. I will then mention my ideas, always submitting them to your genius, knowledge and talents, which I admire more every day. Your Eminence has carried through a glorious enterprise in reconquering a kingdom without a soldier; now the still more glorious task devolves on you of re-organising it on a basis of true happiness and future tranquillity, with those sentiments of equity and gratitude which we owe to the faithful people. In firm reliance on your sagacity I leave it to your good feeling, your wisdom, and your judgment to ponder on the events of the last six months and to come to a decision.

The two Hamiltons have accompanied Lord Nelson on his journey. Yesterday I saw your Eminence's sister, as well as your brother Peppo Antonio,¹ who is well. Believe me, my gratitude is

vivo ansiosissima di sentire presto Napoli ripreso, sentirci ristabilito il buon ordine, ed allora le parlerò delle mie idee, sottomettendole sempre ai suoi lumi, conoscenze e talenti, che ogni giorno più ammiro. Vostra Eminenza ha fatto la gloriosa impresa di riacquistarci senza un soldato un regno; ora tocca a lei la più gloriosa opera di riordinarlo con base di vera felicità e futura tranquillità, e con quelli sentimenti di equità e riconoscenza che al fedele popolo dobbiamo. Lascio al suo cuore mente o giudizio di riflettere a quello che è successo in questi sei mesi ed a decidersi, contando molto sulla sua penetrazione.

I due Hamilton hanno accompagnato Lord Nelson nel suo viaggio. Ho visto ieri la sorella di Vostra Eminenza, come pure suo fratello Peppo Antonio che sta bene. Mi creda pure che la mia riconoscenza è così grande che si

¹ The cardinal's younger brother, then at Palermo. Not to be confounded with Francesco Ruffo, who was serving with the army of the Holy Faith.

so great that it extends to all those who belong to you, &c.

CAROLINE.

estende su tutti quelli che le appartengono, e che io sono con vero e grato cuore sua vera eterna amica,

CAROLINA.

Li 21 Giugno, 1799.

69. LETTIERI TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 595.]

The sea-shore at Posilipo, 21st of June, 1799.

The brigadier, Count Thurn, finding himself occupied with several interesting matters relating to the royal service, has charged me to write this letter to your Excellency, to inform you that the terms on which the capitulation of the castles of this capital has been concluded are by no means advantageous; more especially as the Castle of St. Elmo is not included in it, or even mentioned, &c. &c.

EMMANUELE LETTIERI.¹

Ritrovandosi il Sig. Brigadiere Conte Thurn occupato in vari interessanti affari di R^{le} Servizio m'incarica indirizzare questa mia all' E. V. per farle presente che le condizioni con le quali si è conclusa la capitulazione de' castelli di questa capitale non è la piu vantaggiosa in generale, tantopiù che non vi è incluso, e neanche nella minima parte nominato il castello S. Elmo.

EMMANUELE LETTIERI.

Spiaggio di Posilipo, 21 giugno, 1799.

¹ Cf. Maresca, *Il Cavaliere Antonio Micheroux*, p. 197. Lettieri appears to have been Thurn's secretary, or aide-de-camp.

70. HAMILTON TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

Palermo, 21st of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I have just received the enclosed from General Graham,¹ and think the best way of serving General Graham is to send the letter to your Excellency, who will see that Graham wishes to do justice and reward merit. If your Excellency would give the proper course to Pritchard's² memorial and back it with your good offices, I see it would greatly please Graham and the English in the citadel of Messina. I flatter myself that in a very few days all will be settled at Naples to the satisfaction of their Sicilian Majesties and their *true friends*. Ever, &c.

WM. HAMILTON.

71. ACTON TO HAMILTON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 263.]

Palermo, 21st of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I receive your favour and Brigadier-General Graham's demand in behalf of the young Pritchard. I shall back his request as much as it may be in my power, with the intention and desire to do and obtain a thing which may be agreeable to the brigadier-general and please the garrison. As you mention it, I shall find the difficulty is only on account of the father, who made

¹ Sir Thomas Graham (born 1748, died 1845), afterwards Lord Lynedoch, and at this time the general officer commanding the British garrison in the citadel of Messina. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxii. p. 358. This letter was received by Acton on the same day; see next letter.

² Probably Préchard, governor of Pescara, who surrendered that fortress to General Duhesme on the 23rd of December, 1798.

Ruvo¹ escape and married his daughter to the other Jacobin, Canzano, delivered without defence Pescara, and is now with the rebels at Naples, with the authority of being present to all the decisions, and as a father to the *patriots* who call him the² The intercession of Brigadier Graham will, notwithstanding, favour certainly the son who retired to his regiment before the noise began at Naples.

I hope, my dear sir, that all our hopes in a few days will be blessed with success by the excellent and brave Lord Nelson's operation, which will I flatter put an end to the business without any crossing meddling of the cardinal, who wants to tie up his Sicilian Majesty's hands, and provide against the infamy of his own (the cardinal's) brother,³ save them and keep . . .⁴ under a guardianship. I wish you . . .⁵ voyage and am sincerely, &c.,

J. ACTON.⁵

¹ Ettore Carafa, Conte di Ruvo, son of the Duke of Andria. Arrested in 1795 for refusing to accept the insignia of the order of San Gennaro. Escaped from prison in 1797 and joined the French army in the north of Italy. Returned to Naples at the outbreak of the revolution in 1799, and became famous as the bravest and most enterprising of the Parthenopean generals. After a brilliant campaign in Apulia he retired to the fortress of Pescara, which he held against the royalists under the abbé Pronio. Capitulated after the fall of the republic, and was brought to Naples, where he was executed on the 2nd of September, 1799. See R. Carafa d'Andria (*Ettore Carafa, Conte di Ruvo*).

² MS. torn.

³ Francesco Ruffo. Appointed inspector of the forces and finances to the army of the Holy Faith, and promoted after the reconquest of Naples to the post of minister of war and marine. Sent to Palermo with despatches by his brother on the 14th of July. The accusation against the cardinal was that he was intriguing to place Francesco on the throne of the Two Sicilies.

⁴ The king?

⁵ The concluding paragraph is printed in Lemmi (*Nelson e Caracciolo*), p. 92.

72. CAROLINE TO THE EMPRESS.¹

[Von Helfert, Fabrizio Buffo, p. 578.]

21st of June, 1799.

My dear Child,—I take every opportunity of giving you news of myself, and I am much distressed at being for months without news of you. As I have already written to you, Naples is ours, but St. Elmo is in the hands of the French, and Uovo and Nuovo are in the hands of the patriots. After all the proclamations, pardon; the obstinacy of these scoundrels surpasses everything, and the damage it causes is incalculable. Naples is steeped in fire and blood; royalists and patriots are seized with a fury which nothing can check, and which regular troops would have prevented. Admiral Nelson does us the pleasure of hastening there, and of restoring order by summoning them to surrender and obliging them to do so. He can do it, the Mediterranean fleet having been reinforced by 18 vessels. I therefore hope soon to be able to give

Ma bien chère Enfant,—Je profite de chaque occasion pour vous donner de mes nouvelles et suis bien peinée de passer de mois sans en recevoir des vôtres. Comme je vous ai écrit Naples est à nous, mais St. Elme est aux Français, l'Œuf et Neuf aux Patriotes après toutes les proclamations, pardon; l'obstination de ces scélérats surpasse tout et le dommage qu'il cause est incalculable. Naples est en feu et sang, Royalistes patriotes ont un acharnement que rien ne peut faire cesser et que des troupes réglées auraient évité. L'amiral Nelson nous fait le plaisir d'y courir et d'y mettre ordre en intimant la rédition et les y obligeant, il peut le faire, la Méditerranée ayant été renforcée de 18 vaisseaux. J'espère donc dans peu vous donner l'avis que

¹ Theresia, wife of the Emperor Francis II, and daughter of Ferdinand and Queen Caroline.

you the news that the ruined city of Naples is in our hands. Good-bye! I hope that the successes of your dear husband are continuing, and that your dear children are well. God keep you for ever from our misfortunes and sorrows, and above all from experiencing so much ingratitude. Believe me, &c.

CHARLOTTE.

la ruinée ville de Naples est dans nos mains. Adieu, j'espère que les succès de votre cher mari continuent, que vos chères enfants se portent bien. Dieu vous préserve à jamais de nos malheurs et douleurs et surtout d'éprouver tant d'ingratitude, et croyez moi pour la vie votre tendre mère et amie.

CHARLOTTE.

Le 19¹ Juin, 1799.

73. COUNT THURN TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3^o Riservato, fascio 595.]

Posilipo, 22nd of June, 1799, 8 A.M.

Excellency,—I feel most keenly that it is my duty to inform your Excellency that when I took it upon myself yesterday to warn you, I found the capitulation to be very different. Only the two castles, Nuovo and dell' Uovo, are comprised in it. St. Elmo has openly repudiated it, limiting itself to an armistice until the receipt of information that the

Eccellenza,—Sono sensibilissimo di dover partecipare all' E. V. che quando mi son fatto un dovere ieri di prevenirla anticipatamente, ho trovato essere la capitolazione molto diversa, non essendovi compresi che li soli due castelli Nuovo, e dell' Uovo. S. Elmo ha ricusato apertamente, limitandosi ad un armistizio sino al ritorno del

¹ Corrected 21.

individuals who wish to go to France have arrived. I consider the uncertainty of our present situation, arising out of the fact that the French squadron is at large, to be the chief motive which has brought about this disadvantageous treaty, of which I enclose a copy herewith. A long sitting took place yesterday evening between his Eminence, Micheroux, and the Russian and English commandants. We are most eagerly expecting the evacuation of these castles; for my own part I am watching every moment for an opportunity to take possession of the Darsena,¹ &c. &c.

THURN,
Brigadier.²

avviso che gl' individui quali vogliono passar in Francia, sieno arrivati. L'incertezza della attuale nostra situazione per esser fuori le squadre Francese, credo che sia il principal motivo che ha indotto di fissar questo concordato niente vantaggioso di cui includo qui copia. Ieri sera si è avuto una lunga sessione sù tal assunto con l' Emza., Mécherou e le commandante Russo e Inglese. Siamo presente nella più viva aspettativa di veder che si effettui l' evacuazione di questi castelli; per mio conto però, sto attendendo ogni momento, per impossessarmi della Darsena.

THURN,
Brigadiere.

Posilipo, il 22 Giugno, 1799, alle ore 8 A.M.

¹ The harbour near the Castel Nuovo.

² Cf. Maresca, *Il Cavaliere Antonio Micheroux*, p. 197. The rank of brigadier in the Neapolitan navy was equivalent to that of commodore.

74. THE CHEVALIER MICHEROUX TO FOOTE.

[Vindication, p. 192.]

22nd of June, 1799.

Sir,—I have the honour to send you the capitulation, reduced to the accustomed forms. I beg you will have the goodness to sign it on the following page, and to affix your seal to it.

As there are no polaccas in the mole, I have caused three to be freighted at Sorrento. I beg, sir, that you will inform the captains of Procida that some more polaccas will still be wanted, in order that they may be kept ready.

I am every moment expecting the list of the miserable people who wish to go away; then you will know the number of polaccas that will be required.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

LE CHEV. DE MICHEROUX.

Naples, le 22 Juin, 1799.

Monsieur,—J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer la capitulation reduite dans les termes d'usage. Je vous prie de vouloir bien la signer en tournant page, et d'y apposer votre sceau.

Comme il n'y a point de polacres dans le môle, j'en ai fait noliser trois a Soriente. Je vous prie, Monsieur, de prevenir les capitaines de Procida, qu'on aura besoin de quelques polacres encore, pour qu'on les tienne prêts.

J'attends d'un moment à l'autre la liste des misérables, qui veulent partir. Alors vous saurez le nombre des polacres qui sont nécessaires.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec les sentiments de la considération la plus distinguée, &c.,

LE CHEV. DE MICHEROUX.

75. HAMILTON TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

Saturday, off Ustica, 12 o'clock, 22nd of June.

My dear Sir,—I received your Excellency's answer about Mr. Pritchard, and I must own his connections are such as not to merit any great confidence or trust. We are stealing on with light winds, and it is very pleasant, and our admirals and captains are impatient to serve his Sicilian Majesty and save his capital from destruction. I believe the business will be soon done when the fleet appears in the Bay of Naples. Ever, &c.

WM. HAMILTON.

76. FOOTE TO THE CHEVALIER MICHEROUX.

[Vindication, p. 193.]

On board the Seahorse, off Posilipo,
23rd of June, 1799.

Sir,—Your letter, enclosing the capitulation of the forts, did not reach me till near midnight; you will receive it with this signed by me in the manner you have pointed out.

I think it right, however, to inform you that, being but little acquainted with the customs and prerogatives of nations relative to treaties and signatures, I protest against everything that can in any

A bord du Seahorse, off Posilipo,
le 23 Juin, 1799.

Monsieur,—Votre lettre, contenant la capitulation des forts, ne m'est parvenue que vers minuit, vous la trouverez ci-jointe, signée de moi à la place que vous avez indiquée. Je dois vous prévenir cependant que peu instruit des usages, et des prérogatives des nations relativement aux traités, et aux signatures, je reclame contre tout ce qui

N

way be contrary to the rights of his Britannic Majesty, or those of the English nation.

I shall send your letter to the Count de Thurn, who will attend to the polaccas ; it is to him therefore you will have to address yourself with respect to the number necessary ; as to the escort which I am to furnish, it will be ready in a quarter of an hour.

I have, &c.,

To the Chev. Micheroux.

EDWARD J. FOOTE.

pourroit être contraire aux droits de sa Majesté Britannique, ou de la nation Anglaise.

J'envoye votre lettre à Monsieur le Compte de Thurn, qui s'occupera des polacres, c'est donc à lui que vous devez indiquer le nombre nécessaire ; quant à l'escorte que je dois fournir, elle sera prête dans un quart d'heure.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec les sentiments les plus distingués, &c.,

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

77. FOOTE TO NELSON.

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 140.]

Seahorse, at anchor off Posilipo, 23rd of June, 1799.

My Lord,—The enclosed is a copy of the capitulation which was signed yesterday, and I believe an armistice is for the present to take place with the French at St. Elmo.

I shall direct Captain Drummond, of his Majesty's sloop Bulldog, to take under his protection the polaccas destined to carry the Neapolitan republicans to Toulon, where he is to get a proper receipt for them, and then to return with the vessels to this bay, considering the sloop he commands as a cartel during her passage to and from Toulon.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

78. ACTON TO HAMILTON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 235. Lemmi, p. 92.]

Palermo, 23rd of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I have received your kind note of yesterday, wrote off Ustica, and thank you for having given us your good news and of our brave friend, Lord Nelson. Their Majesties have seen with high satisfaction and comfort the impatience of the admirals and captains for returning Naples to its lawful and excellent sovereign. I hope, my dear sir, that you may be near that capital by this time. We have letters of the 19th and 20th. The rebels after having offered to capitulate broke the truce and fought again, but the Castles Nuovo and Uovo being reduced to a shabby condition, and the breach opened in the first at several places, they hoisted again the white flag. We hear that a capitulation or a treaty is at present on foot for the reddition of St. Elmo, Capua and Gaeta, and the French are to carry with them a number of patriots, but this treaty having no time determined, Lord knows with what an intention it is carrying on. If time and a prolongation allows it Lord Nelson will be there, and we hope in him for a relief of what is against his Majesty's dignity and interests. The cardinal alone ought to send the treaty to the king for his Majesty's approbation. Many houses have been plundered, but everyone, according to the notes arrived, received a due reward. They were the habitations of bloody Jacobins, who fired upon the people from their windows. The people killed were likewise all Jacobins. As they have so cruelly treated and murdered the people when in power, and do behave so cruelly on them when fighting, it is but natural that the people should take a revenge.

A Piedmontese officer sent as courier from

Suwarrow to the king¹ at Cagliari landed at Manfredonia, came through Naples, and embarked at Procida for Palermo. He found all the good people from Manfredonia to Naples giving proofs of joy to have their king again, and the greatest attachment for their Majesties.

We have a courier from Vienna, and many letters for Lord Nelson and for you, which I inclose. Before our courier's departure from Trieste, an English messenger had sailed from that port for Messina with despatches for Lord Nelson and for you. He brings several letters for this court likewise, as Circello writes to me. As soon as he comes here I shall take care to forward him. Manfredini is with him, turned out by the emperor's orders from his dominions, and arrives. The great Duke's² minister at Paris, Angiolini, had arrived from France, with a passport from the Archduke Charles. After three hours of his arrival at Vienna the intendant of the police turned him out without leave to see the great duke nor any minister, and was ordered to leave the imperial dominions instantly; he went to Dresden. We are to have seven Russian ships of the line. Gallo³ is gone to Petersbourg to get the troops. I hope, however, that before they arrive (and long before) we shall have Naples, and march to the Roman states, with the only assistance of the English.

¹ The King of Sardinia. ² The Grand Duke of Tuscany.

³ Marzio Mastrilli, Marchese di Gallo, a distinguished Neapolitan diplomatist. He was minister of foreign affairs when the war broke out in 1798, and when the court fled to Palermo was sent to Vienna for the purpose of obtaining support from the allies. Nelson had a great contempt for him. On the 29th of September, 1798, he wrote to Earl Spencer: 'This Marquis de Gallo I detest . . . He admires his ribbon, ring, and snuff-box so much that an excellent *petit maitre* was spoiled when he was made a minister' (*Despatches*, vol. iii. pp. 112, 137).

Micheroux gave us too soon Ancona taken ; it has suffered, but is not in the hands of the Russians, which are to attack it again after a reparation to their ships in the ports of Istria.

I flatter myself that your and Lady Hamilton's health will prosperate in the voyage, and begging that you would be so kind to present my respects and constant good wishes to our excellent Lord Nelson, I remain, &c.,

J. ACTON.

79. *DIARIO NAPOLETANO DAL 1799 AL 1825.*¹

[Archivio Storico, vol. xxiv. p. 211.]

Monday, 24 [June].— . . . The English squadron is rounding the point of Posilipo, forty ships strong, that number having been seen to-day. There is a rumour that the hereditary prince is on board. The arrival of this squadron should destroy all the hopes of the Jacobins and French, whereas until a few days ago the latter were hoping for the arrival of the Gallispan fleet. The arrival of the English squadron shows that there is no Gallispan. There is news, almost certain, that Rome is in the hands of

. . . Entra dalla punta di Posilipo la squadra Inglese forte di venti legni, quanti se ne sono scoperti quest' oggi. Corre voce che fosse su quella il Principe ereditario. La venuta di questa squadra dovrebbe togliere ogni speranza ai Giacobini ed ai Francesi, mentre sino a pochi giorni sono si lusingavano dell' arrivo della flotta Galloispana. La venuta della Inglese fa vedere che la Galloispana non vi sia. Corre notizia quasi certa che Roma sia in mano

¹ A diary covering the period between 1799 and 1825, kept by De Nicola, a careful observer, who was, however, often kept indoors at critical moments by his timidity.

the Austrians ; it would seem therefore that we are secured both by sea and land.

Tuesday, 25 [June].—The English squadron is drawn up facing our harbour, and offers an attractive and magnificent spectacle. It is now to be hoped that the capitulation will certainly follow ; when the squadron has finished entering I will make a note of the number of the vessels.

I have counted 24 vessels large and small this morning ; 17 are in the roadstead, seven still in the distance. They tell me, however, that there are thirty-two, and it is rumoured that they have summoned St. Elmo to surrender in 24 hours. It is also said that the delay in the publication of the capitulation is due to the fact that his Majesty has declined to treat with the rebels as one would treat with a hostile power. This is in fact the case, but it is a question of saving the city from injury which the despair of the rebels might inflict on it. They are now saying that to-night the Castel Nuovo and the palace will be evacuated, but that his Majesty's

agli Austriaci ; allora sì che siamo assicurati e per mare e per terra.

Martedì 25.—La squadra Inglese è tutta schierata innanzi alla nostra rada, e fa di se vaga e pomposa mostra. Ora si deve sperare di sicuro che segua la capitolazione, quando sarà finita ad entrare noterò il numero dei legni.

Fino a 24 legni fra grande e piccoli se ne contano questa mattina, 17 sono in rada, sette sono ancora in distanza. Mi si dice però che sono trentadue, e corre voce che abbiano mandato ad intimare la resa a S. Elmo tra 24 ore. Si dice pure che il ritardo della pubblicazione della capitolazione sia perchè S. M. non abbia voluto approvare che si trattasse coi ribelli come si potrebbe trattare con una potenza nemica. Di fatti è così, ma si tratta di liberare la città da un danno che la disperazione dei ribelli potrebbe cagionarle. Ora si dice che per tutta questa notte sarà evacuato il castel

troops will not enter until they are assured against surprise or treachery, for which purpose I learn that some engineers have been sent to examine the castle and the palace. . . .

I learn that since yesterday the cardinal, as soon as anyone is brought to the bridge, sees him and searches the record; if he finds him mentioned in it, then he detains him, if not he gives the accuser 150 lashes. It is said that the quarter of St^a Lucia a Mare will be sacked, on account of the obstinacy of the Luciani in sending assistance to the Jacobins in the palace and in the Castel Nuovo. Those Jacobins who are outside St. Elmo will not be included in the treaty.

This day there was some excitement in the city, owing to the rumour that the Russian general had summoned St. Elmo to surrender, giving them to understand that they must either surrender or he would take it, cost him what it might, even though it might mean clearing the population out of Naples

Nuovo e Palazzo, ma le truppe di S. M. non entrano se non si assicurano di qualche sorpresa o tradimento, per cui sento che siansi mandati degl' ingegneri nel castello ed il Palazzo per visitarli.

. . . Sento che da ieri in qua il Cardinale, subito che alcuno è portato al ponte, lo vede e rincontra la nota, se lo trova notato lo trattiene, in contrario fa consegnare 150 bastonate al denunziante. Si dice che il quartiere di S. Lucia a Mare sarà abbandonato al sacco, per la ostinazione dei Luciani a voler sovvenire i Giacobini di Palazzo e castel Nuovo. Quei Giacobini che sono fuori S. Elmo non saranno compresi nel trattato.

Quest' oggi vi è stata un poco di agitazione per la città per la voce sparsa che il generale Moscovita avesse mandata ad intimare la resa a S. Elmo, facendogli sentire, o che si rendesse, o che a lui altro non costava il prenderlo, se non far uscire fra due ore tutta la popolazione da Napoli. Si

within two hours. Everyone was dreading to see fire reopened, but at half-past seven o'clock in the evening¹ the surrender of the Castles of Nuovo and Uovo, agreed upon with the commandant of St. Elmo, was proclaimed with sound of trumpet, and the public were warned against molesting either the persons or the property of all those who were about to come out from the castles and their appurtenances, and against abusing them, under penalty of being shot.

This announcement had a soothing effect, and immediately shouts were heard of 'Long live the King!' and an illumination was demanded, which was more brilliant than on the other evenings.

To-day the large barracks below St. Elmo were dismantled by the French themselves. I should say that the surrender of this fort will follow that of the other two. This night all the *eletti* of the city of Naples will leave for Palermo, that is to say the following: Prince Roccella, Prince Cursi, Prince

tremava dunque di vedersi di nuovo fra il fuoco, ma alle ore 23 e mezza circa con trombetta si è annunziata la resa dei castelli Nuovo e dell' Ovo convenuta col castellano di S. Elmo, e si avvertiva il pubblico a non molestare nè le persone, nè le robe di tutti coloro che sarebbero per uscire dai castelli e loro circondario, neanche con parole, minacciandosi la fucilazione.

Questo annunzio ha calmati gli animi, e immediatamente se è inteso andar gridando: 'Viva il Re' e chiedendo la illuminazione che si è fatta più brillante delle altre sere.

Quest' oggi il barraccone sotto S. Elmo è stato disfatto dai stessi Francesi. Bisogna dire che nella resa dei due castelli seguirà anche questo terzo. Questa notte partiranno per Palermo gli Eletti tutti della città di Napoli, e sono questi: Principe di Roccella, Principe di Cursi,

¹ Half-past twenty-three o'clock, Italian time. Time according to the Neapolitan computation was reckoned from sunset to sunset.

Sannicandro, Duke Valentino, Duke Laurino, Don Gerardo Loffredo. It is believed that they are going for the purpose of beseeching his Majesty to return, and that they will return with him. Please God it may be soon.

The Count d'Acerra and the two brothers de Iorio have come out of the castles. Don Francesco Caracciolo has been arrested.¹

Wednesday, 26 [June].—There is great excitement and much bustle throughout Naples this morning. It is rumoured that his Majesty's troops absolutely require the castles to be evacuated by 11 o'clock in the morning, which the Jacobins refuse to do, and that everything is being got ready for an attack on St. Elmo. This has resulted in many people leaving the city, fearing that they might find themselves in the midst of a bombardment again.

The shops are shut, and everyone makes a point of staying indoors. I received the news some time later that the people in the palace are already drawn up ready to leave, that St. Elmo is surrounded

Principe di Sannicandro, Duca Valentino, Duca Laurino, d. Gerardo Loffredo. Si crede che andranno a pregare S. M. perchè torni, e torneranno con lui. Piacesse a Dio, e fosse subito.

Sono usciti dai castelli il conte d' Acerra, e i due fratelli de Iorio. D. Francesco Caracciolo è stato arrestato.

Mercoledì 26.—Grande agitazione e grande moto vi è questa mattina per Napoli. Si sente che le armi di S. M. vogliono assolutamente evacuati i castelli per le ore 15, che i Giacobini ricusino, che si disponga tutto per l'assalto di S. Elmo. Ciò ha prodotto che molta gente esca dalla città, dubitando trovarsi nuovamente in mezzo al fuoco.

Le botteghe sono chiuse, ed ognuno procura di stare in casa. Posteriormente ho avuta notizia che quei di Palazzo sono già in ordine per partire, che S. Elmo sia circondato

¹ The Jacobin admiral.

by many troops, and that guns are on the way to shell it from the Vomero side. God grant that things may end quietly, and save us from new perils.

This morning the general panic and alarm increased, owing to the news that it was feared there were mines under the palace and under the castles. Many people therefore departed in the direction of Portici and other places on the sea-shore. Late in the day I was told that officers were going round Naples encouraging everybody, and telling them not to be afraid, whilst during the whole of to-day the rebels were to be embarked. As a safeguard the Russian troops are encamped at St^a Lucia a Mare, and a cordon has been drawn from the heights of S. Nicola Tolentino to the palace. The rebels will come out in order of battle and with drums beating, but will leave their arms on embarking. All this is rumoured. Throughout the day the people kept on coming out, and I hear that this began yesterday evening, because the cannon shots from St. Elmo

da quantità di truppe e sieno passati i cannoni per batterlo dalla parte del Vomero. Iddio faccia riuscire le cose con quiete, e ci tolga da nuovi pericoli.

L' allarme e lo spavento è cresciuto nella mattina, essendovisi aggiunta la notizia che si temesse di mina sotto il Palazzo e sotto i castelli. Quantità di gente quindi è partita per la volta di Portici ed altri luoghi della riviera. Verso tardi mi è stato detto, che girassero ufficiali per Napoli animando tutti e dicendoli di non temere, mentre per tutta la giornata di oggi sarebbero imbarcati i ribelli. Per sicurezza la truppa Moscovita è accampata a S. Lucia a mare, e si è fatto un cordone dalle alture di S. Nicola Tolentino fino a Palazzo. I ribelli usciranno formati in battaglia, e con cassa battente, ma nell' imbarcarsi lasceranno le armi. Tutto questo si dice. Per tutta intera la giornata, la gente è continuata ad uscire e sento che sia cominciato da ieri sera, perchè i colpi di cannone furono di

were a sign of the armistice being ended, wherefore it is feared that hostilities may break out afresh, and there are not wanting those who say that they are afraid of a subterranean mine.

About midday transports were seen coming out, and it was said that the patriots had embarked. Finally it was said that St. Elmo was summoned to surrender within 24 hours, otherwise hostilities will recommence.

To-day there has reached me the capitulation made between the commandant of the English fleet, Cardinal Ruffo, the Chevalier Micheroux, commander-in-chief of the Russian troops, the commandant of the Ottoman troops, and the commandant of the Castel Nuovo, with the approval of the French commandant of the Castle of St. Elmo. The articles are briefly as follows [see *ante*, p. 155].

To-night at 11 o'clock St. Elmo fired five other cannon shots.

S. Elmo, segno dell' armistizio finito, per cui si teme nuovamente la guerra, nè manca chi dice temersi una mina sotterranea.

Circa mezzogiorno son cominciati a vedersi dei legni da trasporto che uscivano, e si è detto essersi imbarcati i patriotti. Finalmente si è detto essersi a S. Elmo intimata la resa fra 24 ore, altrimenti cominceranno le ostilità.

Quest' oggi mi è arrivata la capitolazione fatta dal comandante della flotta Inglese, Cardinale Ruffo, Cav. Micheroux, Comandante in capite delle truppe Russe, Comandante delle truppe Ottomane, ed il Comando di castel Nuovo, con l' approvazione del Comandante francese del castello di S. Elmo. Gli articoli sono i seguenti in ristretto.

Questa sera alle ore due e mezzo S. Elmo ha tirati altri cinque colpi di cannone.

Thursday, 27 [June].—The royal colours are flying from the Castles Nuovo and dell' Uovo, a sign that the rebel garrisons, who until yesterday headed their papers with the inscription 'Republica Napoletana,' have come out. There remains St. Elmo. Let us hope it may surrender, inasmuch as the capitulation of the other two forts has been controlled and approved by the French commandant Méjean.

Yesterday the good news arrived of the capture of Capua by the royal forces with great slaughter, the result of a most vigorous attack and of a sortie made by the French garrison. More precise details are expected. All the bells of the city are ringing in honour of the hoisting of the royal colours. *Te Deum* in all the churches. The rejoicing throughout the city is great.

The tree in front of the palace has been given to the flames. The fuel was provided from the wood which was used by the patriots in erecting

Giovedì 27.—La bandiera Regia sventola sul castello Nuovo e quello dell' Ovo, segno di essere uscite le guarnigioni ribelli, che sino ad ieri notarono le loro carte col titolo *Republica Napoletana*. Ci resta S. Elmo, speriamo che voglia cedere, tanto più che la capitolazione degli altri due forti è stata regolata ed approvata dal Comandante francese Mejean.

Ieri al giorno arrivò la felice notizia della presa di Capua fatta dalle armi Regie con grande strage, conseguenza d' un vivissimo attacco, e di una sortita fatta dalla guarnigione francese. Si aspettano i più precisi dettagli. Tutte le campane della città suonano a gloria per la bandiera Regia innalzata. *Te Deum* per tutte le chiese; l' allegrezza per la città è immensa.

L' albore avanti al Palazzo è stato dato alle fiamme, essendosi serviti per materiale di quel legname che serviva di armatura al palco che vi fecero i patriotti per la festa

a stand for the celebration of a national festival, and which they afterwards left standing for us. Whilst the tree was burning the mob amused themselves by shooting at it to try and knock away the cap and the flags. They have also taken away the cap and the flag from the 'giant,'¹ and dragged them through Naples. . . .

We have nothing to fear now, except St. Elmo, which, it is to be hoped, will surrender without firing, although this seems to me on the one hand to be difficult, on the other easy, after the surrender of the other two castles and the capture of Capua, which is assured.

It is rumoured that the commandant of St. Elmo has been given to understand that it will be easy to storm the fort, but that in that case no quarter will be given to the garrison. If he thinks of injuring the city, it will be under pain of one French prisoner—of whom there are 1,500 on the English ships—losing his life for every shot fired. Finally,

Nazionale che vollero celebrare, avendoci poi lasciato il palco. Mentre l' albore brugiava, si sono divertiti a tirarci delle fucilate per far saltare in aria la berretta e le bandiere. Anco al Gigante hanno tolta la berretta e bandiera, avendole portate trascinando per Napoli. . . .

. . . Adesso non ci resta da temere che S. Elmo, il quale si spera che voglia rendersi, senza far fuoco, benchè mi pare difficile per un verso, facile per un altro dopo la resa delle due altre castella, e la presa di Capua ch' è sicura. . . .

. . . Quello che si dice si è, che siasi fatto sentire al Comandante di S. Elmo, che il prenderlo costi molto poco, ma in quel caso non si darà quartiere alla guarnigione. Che se pensa offendere la città, sia nella prevenzione che ogni bomba tirata costerà lavita ad uno dei Francesi prigionieri che sono sui legni Inglesi fino al numero di 1500. E

¹ A statue.

the Russian general has sent to tell him that if he succeeds in gaining the heights with his army he will not descend again without a contribution of two millions.

It is also rumoured that the quarrymen have been promised 100,000 ducats if they make a breach from under the hill of St. Elmo—a thing which they say can be easily done. In the meantime the vicinity is occupied by the royal troops. A quantity of carriages and trunks have come down from St. Elmo to be embarked. . . .

Friday, 28.—When I went out this morning I saw that a part of the Russian force is encamped near the Church of Spirito Santo, and opposite the said church ten small field-pieces are stationed. . . .

. . . . This evening the armistice with St. Elmo comes to an end, and the preparations which were being made by the French below San Martino show that it will not surrender without bloodshed. In the meantime a small fort is being built immediately

finalmente il generale Moscovita abbia mandato a dirgli che se arriva a portarsi col suo esercito sopra quelle alture, non se ne cala senza la contribuzione di due milioni.

Si dice pure che siansi promessi centomila ducati ai tagliamonti che apriranno una breccia da sotto il monte di S. Elmo, cosa che si dice non difficile. Intanto il circondario è occupato da truppe Regie. Quantità di carrozze e canestre sono calate da S. Elmo, che andavano ad imbarcarsi. Fra le quali sento tutta la casa del Principe della Roccella. . . .

Venerdì 28.—Questa mattina essendo uscito ho veduto che porzione di truppa Moscovita sta accampato vicino la chiesa dello Spirito Santo, e dirimpetto la detta chiesa sono postati dieci cannoncini da campagna.

. . . Questa sera termina l' armistizio con S. Elmo, ed i preparativi che oggi facevansi dai Francesi sotto S. Martino indicano che non si renderà senza sangue, mentre di fretta si sta formando un fortino sotto immediatamente al

below the monastery, in line with the Mole, all covered with fascines. And I saw the merry way in which they set about their work. To-morrow we shall be once more amidst the horrors of cannons and shells. . . .

About seven o'clock in the evening the English squadron changed its position, and a short time afterwards three of the biggest ships left their moorings and were laid alongside the Castello Nuovo.

Saturday, 29.—The manœuvring of the English squadron was for the purpose of getting within range of the *martingane*,¹ on board which the Jacobins are embarked who are to be taken to Toulon. They continue to occupy the same position, and are preventing anyone from coming out even from below. They say the English admiral was in a rage because rebels had been allowed to capitulate when no quarter should have been given to them; and he absolutely declines to allow that article of the capitulation to be observed which provides for the confinement of four

monastero, a linea del Molo, tutto fascinato. Ed ho io veduta l' allegria colla quale fatigavano. Domani saremo di nuovo fra l' orrore del cannone e delle bombe. . . .

Verso le ore 23 la squadra Inglese ha cangiato di posizione, e un poco dopo se ne sono staccati tre legni più grandi che si sono accostati al castello Nuovo.

Sabato 29.—La manovra della squadra Inglese fu per mettersi sotto il cannone le martingane sulle quali sono imbarcati i Giacobini che devono trasportarsi a Tolone. Continuano a tenere tale posizione, e proibiscono a coloro di uscire anche da sotto coverta. Si dice che l' Ammiraglio Inglese abbia tempestato perchè si sieno ammessi a capitolazione ribelli ai quali non si doveva quartiere. Ed assolutamente non vuole che si stia a quell' articolo della capitolazione che dice doversi chiudere in S. Elmo quattro

¹ Feluccas.

hostages in St. Elmo to await the news of the arrival at Toulon of those who have been embarked, as he is determined that St. Elmo should be evacuated. The commandant of this fortress, on the other hand, refuses to concede this, and is making a great show of preparations for the purpose of holding his ground, and is surrounding San Martino with small forts. They also say that he excused himself, saying that his life would be forfeited to the French nation if he were to voluntarily surrender St. Elmo after having capitulated on other terms. Finally it is said that he has requested permission to confer with the commandant of the fortress of Capua, and that the armistice has therefore been prolonged till Tuesday, since flags of truce have been seen entering and leaving St. Elmo both yesterday and this morning. It is further rumoured that in order to save appearances they intend to have a sham attack. There are two other persistent rumours. One is that the English admiral has threatened to cut off the prisoners' heads if St. Elmo resists and molests the city ; the

ostaggi, ed aspettarsi riscontro dell' arrivo degl' imbarcati a Tolone, volendo assolutamente che S. Elmo sia evacuato. Il comandante di questo forte all' incontro ricusa di cederlo, e mostra fare dei grandi preparativi per sostenersi, e circonda S. Martino di fortini. Si dice pure che siasi scusato, dicendo che ci va della sua vita colla Nazione francese se cede volontariamente S. Elmo, dopo di aver diversamente capitolato. Finalmente si dice, che abbia chiesto voler comunicare col comandante della piazza di Capua, e perciò essere prorogato l' armistizio sino a martedì, essendosi veduti ieri e questa mattina dei parlamentarj andare e venire di S. Elmo. Si è anche detto che per salvare le apparenze si voglia fingere un attacco. Due altre particolari cose si son dette. L' una che l' Ammiraglio Inglese abbia fatta la minaccia di troncare la testa ai prigionieri che ha se S. Elmo resiste ed offenda la città, l' altra che gli

other that he has told him (Méjean) that he is ready to give him the two millions he has asked for, provided that he departs by land. . . .

This evening, about half-past five o'clock, Francesco Caracciolo was hanged. He was a Neapolitan gentleman who was famous for his skill (acquired in England) in handling ships, and who had latterly shown great hostility against the monarchy, having purposely left Sicily in order to take command of the few ships of war belonging to the self-styled republic. . . .

abbia detto, esser pronto a dargli i due milioni da lui richiesti, purchè se ne vada per terra. . . .

Quest' oggi circa le ore 21 e mezza è stato afforcato il duca d. Francesco Caracciolo cavaliere Napolitano conosciutissimo per la sua perizia nel comando dei vascelli appresa in Inghilterra, e che negli ultimi tempi aveva spiegato un carattere avversissimo alla Monarchia, essendo venuto apposta da Sicilia per prendere il comando delle poche forze marittime che aveva la sedicente Republica. . . .

80. FOOTE TO NELSON.

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 140.]

Seahorse, off Posilipo, 24th of June, 1799,
at 7 o'clock in the morning.

My Lord,—I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter of the 18th instant¹ about an hour

¹ Nelson writes to Foote on the 18th of June: 'Should the cardinal, or Russians, be in possession of Naples, and it should be subdued for its lawful sovereign, and you think that the Neapolitan ships, with the Bulldog and San Leon, are sufficient to guard the islands and the Bay of Naples, you will join me off Maritimo, with the ship you command, the Mutine and Perseus bomb, as I have not one frigate with me; but, if you think otherwise, I must leave it entirely to your judgment to act for the good of his Majesty's service' (*Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 381).

ago. The not being able to join you with his Majesty's ship under my command gives me more uneasiness than I can possibly describe ; it is what I wish to do beyond anything ; it would be putting myself in a truly enviable situation ; whereas I am sure I may with great truth assert I am far from enjoying any comfort at present, or having scarce a moment's ease : however, after mature reflection, I consider that my leaving Naples at present might be attended with very serious consequences. I shall therefore immediately direct the *Perseus* and *Mutine* to join your Lordship, and by Captain Oswald you will be informed of every circumstance that has passed and is passing here, in which he has always taken a very useful and active part.

I sent the *San Leon* away on the 16th, with the *Castellamare* capitulation, being in great hopes she would meet your Lordship at least half-way between Palermo and Naples. She has not yet returned, and I am obliged to send the *Bulldog* to convoy the *polaccas*, on board of which the republicans are about to embark for Toulon, as it was particularly stated they should have a British ship of war to escort them. When the capitulation is put into effect, and the troops of his Sicilian Majesty, or those of his allies, have taken possession of the forts, arsenal, &c., I shall be better able to judge what is to be done. I shall not be easy until I see his Sicilian Majesty's colours flying on St. Elmo.

I cannot close this letter without again assuring your Lordship that a sense of duty keeps me here, and that if I followed my private feelings and wishes, the *Seahorse* would ere this have been under way to join you.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD JAMES FOOTE.

81. CAROLINE TO LADY HAMILTON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 1616, f. 34.]

24th June, 1799.

My dear Milady,—No letter from you, none from Naples or Procida. The cardinal has given no signs of life since the 17th. We have, indeed, had no letters at all from Naples, either from Tschudy, Micheroux, or Don Scipione.¹ I am convinced that this is in order to announce the completion and execution of everything. May it be for the best. I count on your arrival with the squadron, and on the firmness of the admiral. I have made up my mind never to set foot again in Naples, if things are done in a way which brings us little honour, and which is such as to make one fear a relapse in the future. My trust is altogether in you all. The last letters from Procida are dated the 20th, but those from Naples are of the 17th ; and this at such a critical moment ! The cardinal will be astounded and overwhelmed, for one knows how guilty the whole of the upper classes

Ma chère milady aucune lettre de votre part aucune de Naples ni Procida le Cardinal depuis le 17 ne donne plus aucun signe de vie meme aucune lettre de Naples ne vient ni Tschoudy ni Micheroux ny dom Scipione je suis convaincue que c'est pour tout avisé fait et *executé* puisse-t-il être pour le bien je compte sur votre arrivée avec l'Escadre et sur la fermeté de l'amiral je suis décidé de ne jamais remettre le pied à Naples si les choses se passent peu honorablement et de façon à faire craindre pour le futur une recidive. Je fie tout en vous autres de Procida les dernières lettres sont du 20 mais de Naples du 17 et cella dans des momens aussy essentiels on entourera étourdira le Cardinal car on conoit combien toute la haute classe est

¹ Scipione La Marra, a Sicilian nobleman serving with the cardinal's forces.

are, and the effect is dreaded. We have no news here. Malta is rumoured to be ready to surrender. Manfredini,¹ who was refused permission to land in the states of the empire, has returned to Messina. The grand duke has written to say that no Tuscan minister will be received in the states of the empire; which to his honour makes Serate¹ despair.

A vessel has been seen off Messina. I think it must be the Queen of Portugal, which has taken the poor *mesdames*² to Trieste. Madame Victoire is believed to be dead; she was at the point of death, according to the letters from Chateaux. That is all the news I have. A Genoese ship which has arrived says that the French squadron is being pursued by the English, which would show that it

coupable et ou on craint l'efet. Ici rien de nouveau on dit Malthe pret de se rendre Manfredini auquel on n'a pas permis de débarquer dans les Etats imperials est de retour a Messine le grand Duc a ecrit qu'aucun ministre toscan sera reçus dans les Etats imperials ce qui met Serate pour son honneur au desespoir.

On voit du coté de Messine un Vaisseau je m' imagine que c'est la Reine de Portugal qui a porté les pauvres mesdames a Trieste on croit Madame Victoire morte elle etait a l'estremité par les lettres de Chateaux. Voyez toutes mes nouvelles un genois venus dit que l'Escadre françoise est poursuivie par l'angloise cella montreroit

¹ Manfredini and Serate were two of the ministers of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had taken refuge at Palermo when the French entered Florence.

² The Princesses Adelaide and Victoire, daughters of Louis XV. They left Paris in 1791 for Rome, but in 1798 retired before the advance of the republican armies to Caserta. They were unable to escape with Ferdinand and Caroline to Palermo, and had to make their way overland to Brindisi, where they were rescued by a Portuguese man-of-war and taken to Trieste.

was on the high seas. That is all that I know. I await more interesting news from you. I earnestly recommend our interests to you. A thousand compliments to the chevalier and to the dear admiral; and believe me, &c.,

CHARLOTTE.¹

qu'elle fut en mere voilla tout ce que je sais j'attends de vous des nouvelles plus interessantes je vous reccomande vivement nos interets faites moi savoir de votre santé milles complimens au Chevalier au cher Amiral et croyez moi de cœur et pour la vie votre attachée et reconnoissante amie,

CHARLOTTE.

le 24 juin, 1799.

82. *MEMORANDUM ON THE ARMISTICE.*

Observations on the armistice concluded between the cardinal and the French and rebels, 24th of June, 1799.

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 384.]

Foudroyant, Naples Bay, 24th of June, 1799.

Opinion delivered before I saw the treaty of armistice, &c., only from reports met at sea.²

The armistice I take for granted is, that if the French and rebels are not relieved by their friends in twenty-one days from the signing the armistice, then that they shall evacuate Naples, in this infamous manner to his Sicilian Majesty, and triumphant to them, as stated in the article.

All armistices signify that either party may renew hostilities, giving a certain notice fixed upon by the contracting parties. In the present instance, I suppose the cardinal thought that in twenty-one days he had not the power of driving the French

¹ Cf. Pettigrew, vol. i. p. 232. The original is marked No. 3.

² This paragraph is in Lord Nelson's hand.

from the Castle of St. Elmo, or the rebels from the lower Castles of Uovo and Nuovo. The French and rebels thought that if they could not be relieved in twenty-one days, they could, when unable to remain any longer, covenant to be removed to a place where they may be in a situation to renew their diabolical schemes against his Sicilian Majesty and the peace and happiness of his faithful subjects, and their removal to be at the expense of his Majesty ; and those enemies and rebels to be protected by the fleet of his Sicilian Majesty's faithful ally, the King of Great Britain. Therefore evidently this agreement implies that both parties are supposed to remain *in statu quo* ; but if either party receive relief from their situation, then the compact of course falls to the ground, and is of no effect ; for if one party can be liberated from the agreement, it naturally implies the other is in the same state. And I fancy the question need not be asked whether, if the French fleet arrived this day in the Bay of Naples, whether the French and rebels would adhere one moment to the armistice ?

'No !' the French admiral would say, 'I am not come here to look on, but to act.' And so says the British admiral, and declares on his honour that the arrival of either fleet, British or French, destroys the compact, for neither can lay idle.

Therefore the British admiral proposes to the cardinal to send, in their joint names, to the French and rebels, that the arrival of the British fleet has completely destroyed the compact, as would that of the French if they had had the power (which, thank God, they have not) to come to Naples.

Therefore, that it shall be fixed that in two hours the French shall give possession of the Castle

of St. Elmo to his Sicilian Majesty's faithful subjects, and the troops of his allies; on which condition alone they shall be sent to France without the stipulation of their being prisoners of war.

That as to rebels and traitors, no power on earth has a right to stand between their gracious king and them: they must instantly throw themselves on the clemency of their sovereign, for no other terms will be allowed them; nor will the French be allowed even to name them in any capitulation. If these terms are not complied with, in the time above-mentioned, viz. two hours for the French, and instant submission on the part of the rebels—such very favourable conditions will never be again offered.

NELSON.

[*Added in Lord Nelson's own hand,*]

Read and explained, and rejected by the cardinal.

83. MICHEROUX TO ADMIRAL USCIAKOFF.¹

[B.M. Add. MS. 34912, f. 68.]

Naples, 24th of June, 1799.

I have addressed your Excellency several letters to inform you of our progress. They have been marvellous and rapid, insomuch that in the space of 20 days the small corps of Russians has recovered to my sovereign two-thirds of the kingdom. This is not all. The troops have made themselves adored by all the populations. There has not been a soldier, much less an officer, that has been guilty of

¹ Translation in the Nelson Papers. Uscialoff was the admiral commanding the Russian squadron in the Adriatic. The notes which follow were made in the margin by Sir William Hamilton.

the least violence or insubordination or plunder.¹ You would have seen them covered with caresses and benedictions in the midst of thousands inhabitants, who proclaimed them their liberators and their brothers. Hitherto they have shown themselves soldiers the most disciplined; at Portici they have displayed all their valour. A column of one thousand patriots, the last resource of the republic, was advancing towards Portici from the Torre del Annunziata. As I am well acquainted with these modern Brutus I sent against them only 120 Russians. The affair was decided with the bayonet. Three hundred were killed, 60 made prisoners, five pieces of cannon and one pair of colours fell into our hands.² We had only three men killed and five slightly wounded. The remaining patriots, totally dispersed, were destroyed by the peasants. I cannot omit to observe how this enterprise has filled your Russians with glory. From that moment all the nation has set their hopes and their expectations on the presence of such brave people.³

Mr. Alexander commanded in the action—officer full of valour, information and military talents; I cannot sufficiently recommend him to your Excellency's consideration.

At present we are in Naples masters of all the forts except St. Elmo, which we shall soon attack.⁴ I am impatient to hear the junction of your squadron to that of Lord Nelson's, and to see the last effort of the enemy's navy destroyed. I shall then hope to see you in Naples and to remit into your hands your small army, to whom we owe the safety of the kingdom.

¹ 'A Russian was never before accused of honesty.'

² 'Oh Micheroux! How can you tell such d——d lies?'

³ 'All hopes in the Russians. Opinions a little changed.'

⁴ 'What a lie!'

I have heard with concern that Commodore Sorokin is ordered to join you at Corfu when I had flattered myself to see him at Naples. Pray, sir, hasten to get rid of the enemy's fleet and come to augment the defenders of this our city.¹

P.S.—This moment the fleet under Admiral Nelson comes into port. The same consists of 18 sail of the line, whereof six three-deckers.² This is a seasonable reinforcement for our successive operations.

THE CHEVALIER MICHEROUX.

84. *FOUDROYANT: MASTER'S LOG (W. JAMES).*

[Official Number, 3027.]

Tuesday, 25th June, 1799.—Moderate breezes and cloudy. 3, joined company the frigate Seahorse. Half-past 3, general signal for lieutenants. 5, set all sail; the town of Naples bear NE. 6, several small forts saluted, which we returned with 13 guns. At 8, anchored in 35 fathoms; the lighthouse bear WNW. Midnight. The fleet standing on and off in the bay; light winds all night. 4, sent the launch to fill water. 7, up anchor and stood farther into the bay. Moored in 24 fathoms; the south end of the granary NE; the lighthouse on the Mole-head, NW. 11–12, the fleet anchored in a line SSE and NNW, consisting of 18 sail of the line, one frigate and 3 sloops.

Wednesday, 26th.—Light winds, land and sea breezes. The remainder of the fleet anchored, except H.M. ship Lion. Received a quantity of wood, and several quarters of fresh beef, and a several

¹ 'The efforts the Russian Admiral made to join your Lordship to accomplish Micheroux's wish, I shall never forget.'

² 'Your Lordship's fleet much stronger in three-deck ships than you knew of.'

boxes of lemons. Saluted the Cardinal of Naples with 13 guns.¹ A great number of officers come on board to pay respect to Lord Nelson.¹ Employed watering; received 40 butt per launch. Set up the rigging.

Thursday, 27th.—Moderate the first part; the middle and latter, fresh breezes. At 4 P.M., landed from the fleet 500 marines with their proper officers to take possession of the Castles of Uovo and Nuovo in the city of Naples, under the command of Captain Troubridge. A.M. Arrived a king's messenger from England with despatches. Employed occasionally; delivered a pipe of wine to the Alexander, and received fresh beef and 30 butt of water. Set up the mizen rigging. Took the guard H.M. ships Cullo-den, Audacious, and Bellerophon. This day the tree of liberty was cut down and burned in Naples.

Friday, 28th.—Fresh breezes and cloudy. Employed in several jobs amongst the rigging. A.M. Shifted the cables. The signal was made for a boat from each ship, manned and armed, to go and assist to bring the vessels the prisoners was on board, taken at the Castles of Nuovo and Uovo. A quantity of side-arms was brought on board, taken from the prisoners. Took the guard the Leviathan, Zealous, and Alphonso.

Saturday, 29th.—Moderate and fair. Employed occasionally. Several of the principal officers of the rebel Naples army was brought on board and put in confinement on board the different ships in the fleet. At 9 A.M. a court-martial assembled of Neapolitan officers of the loyal part, to try for rebellion Cavalier Francesco Caracciolo, and condemned him to [be] hung on board the Neapolitan frigate

¹ There is no indication of the change from P.M. to A.M. Probably the 'great number of officers' began coming in the afternoon, and were still coming in the following forenoon.

Minerva till dead. Fine weather ; loosed sails to dry ; completed watering the ship. Took the guard H.M. ships Northumberland, Goliath, St. Sebastian, Alexander.

Sunday, 30th.—Moderate. Employed occasionally. At 5 P.M. the remainder of the marines of the fleet was landed, consisting of near 600 men and officers. The sentence of the court-martial was put in execution on the Cavalier Caracciolo. Took the guard the Swiftsure, Vanguard, Powerful, and Majestic. Mustered the ship's company. Received fresh beef.

[*The remaining days are given in abstract only.*]

Monday, 1st July.—A.M. Several republicans came on board and delivered themselves up in consequence of a proclamation.

Tuesday, 2nd.—A.M. Arrived from the isle Sicily a courier. Several republicans was brought on board for examination.

Wednesday, 3rd.—(Nothing.)

Thursday, 4th.—Arrived the St. Vincent cutter. At 7 P.M. sailed H.M. ship Alexander, with the Alphonso, Success, and Bulldog. A.M. Landed a lieutenant with a party of seamen.

Friday, 5th.—At 11 P.M. sent a boat to Portici. Received fresh beef and sent the launch for water. Several rebels was brought on board¹ and sent to the prison vessels.

Saturday, 6th.—Arrived the Thalia frigate. . . . A.M. Leviathan made the signal for a court-martial.

Sunday, 7th.—The prisoner, John Jolly, marine, came on board, being sentenced to suffer death² by a court-martial.

¹ The sequence of events after 11 P.M. shows that this must be A.M. ; but it is not expressly stated.

² For when on shore, on duty, striking and threatening to

Monday, 8th.—At 5 A.M. sent on shore the prisoner, John Jolly, to suffer, agreeable to his sentence, at the marine camp.

Tuesday, 9th.—At 7 P.M. saw two Neapolitan frigates to the WSW and H.M. ship Seahorse with a convoy from Palermo. A.M. Leviathan made a signal for a court-martial.¹

Wednesday, 10th.—Arrived the Stromboli bomb. A.M. Anchored H.M. ship Seahorse, the convoy with his Sicilian Majesty on board of a Neapolitan frigate anchored at the isle of Portici.²

Thursday, 11th.—At 4, two Neapolitan frigates anchored in company, and the King of Naples came on board with his suite. The Neapolitan standard was hoisted. Each ship in the fleet saluted with 21 guns. A great number of his subjects came and rejoiced at his arrival. A.M. Sailed Seahorse and Thalia. Flag of truce is hoisted at fort Elmo and the batteries have ceased firing.

Friday, 12th.—The French at the Castle of St. Elmo hung out a flag of truce and terms of capitulation made with Captain Troubridge. A.M. At 9, the Neapolitan flag was hoisted on the Castle of St. Elmo, and each ship in the fleet saluted with 21 guns. The French colours was brought to Lord Nelson, and delivered to his Sicilian Majesty with the keys of the castle.

shoot Lieut. Pearce, second lieutenant of Marines (*Minutes of Court-martial; In Letters* 5350; cf. *Despatches*, vol. iii. pp. 401-2).

¹ On two seamen, on duty on shore, for breaking into and looting the quarters of an officer of the Calabrian regiment. To be flogged: 250 and 50 lashes respectively (*ibid.*).

² So in MS. Procida is meant.

85. HAMILTON TO RUFFO.

[Sacchinelli; facsimile.]

On board the Foudroyant, 24th of June, 1799,
5 P.M. in the Gulf of Naples.

Eminence,—Lord Nelson begs me to inform your Eminence that he has received from Captain Foote, commandant of the Seahorse frigate, a copy of the capitulation which your Eminence has seen fit to conclude with the commandants of the castles of St. Elmo, Nuovo, and dell' Uovo; that he disapproves entirely of these capitulations, and that he is firmly resolved on no account to remain neutral with the respectable force which he has the honour to command; that he has sent to your Eminence Captains Troubridge and Ball, commandants of H.B. Majesty's vessels Culloden and Alexander. The captains are fully acquainted with the sentiments of Lord Nelson, and will have the honour of explaining them to his Eminence. My Lord hopes that Cardinal Ruffo will agree with him, and that

A bord Le Foudroyant 24 Juin 1799 5 heures après
midi dans Le Golphe de Naples.

Eminence,—Milord Nelson me prie d'informer V. E. qu'il a reçu du Capitaine Foote commandant de la Fregate Seahorse une copie de la Capitulation que Votre Eminence a jugé à propos de faire avec les Commandants des Châteaux de St. Elme, Castel Nuovo et Castel del Ovo; qu'il désapprouve entièrement de ces Capitulations, et qu'il est très résolu de ne point rester neutre avec la force respectable qu'il a l'honneur de commander: Qu'il a détaché vers Votre Eminence Les Capitaines Troubridge et Ball, Commandants des Vaisseaux de S. M. Britannique Le Culloden et Alexandre. Les Capitaines sont pleinement informés des sentiments de Milord Nelson et auront l'honneur de les expliquer à Son Eminence. Milord espère que Mon. Le Cardinal Ruffo sera de son sentiment et qu'à

at daybreak to-morrow he will be able to act in concert with his Eminence.

Their objects must be the same, *i.e.* to conquer the common foe, and to submit his rebellious subjects to the clemency of his Sicilian Majesty.

I have the honour, &c.,

W. HAMILTON.

la pointe du jour demain il pourra agir de concert avec Son Eminence.

Leurs objets ne peuvent être que les mêmes, c'est à dire de réduire l'ennemie commun et de soumettre à la clémence de sa Majesté Sicilienne ses sujets rebelles.

J'ai l'honneur d'être

De Votre Eminence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

WM. HAMILTON.

86. HAMILTON TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, opposite Fayette,¹

6 o'clock in the afternoon, 24th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—Here we are. Captain Foote and Curtis from Procida have sent out copies of the shameful capitulation of Cardinal Ruffo granted to the castles of St. Elmo,² Castel Nuovo, and dell' Uovo—all of which Lord Nelson highly disapproves of, and has commissioned me to write to the cardinal and tell him so. He sends Captain Troubridge and Captain Ball with his Lordship's sentiments fully explained this night to the cardinal,

¹ Query—Torretta or Favorita? There does not appear to be a place called Fayette at Naples.

² The capitulation did not include St. Elmo; Hamilton is in error here.

who is at Ponte Maddalena, although his last letter to the king was dated from Naples, where his Eminency has never been. Your Excellency I know has a copy of the shameful capitulation. You cannot observe but with indignation that his Sicilian Majesty's rebellious subjects when they are at their option to embark for Toulon or remain at Naples with their families unmolested, and march out with all the honours of war, cannon, baggage, &c., and matches lighted, as if they had behaved like honourable men. And then the last article leaves it at the option of the French in St. Elmo to abide by the articles of the cardinal or not.

Lord Nelson very properly sees it in this light. The armistice of 20 days made by the French was in hopes of a French fleet appearing in the Bay of Naples, and it would be folly to ask the question whether the French would abide by the capitulation had a French fleet been this day in the Bay of Naples. Of course the cardinal having now the support of Great Britain, his Sicilian Majesty's faithful ally, cannot be obliged to fulfil the articles he has granted when in a feeble state. In short, the letter Lord Nelson authorised me to write to the cardinal by Captains Troubridge and Ball tells his Eminency that they can be but of one mind—having the force in hand to subdue the common enemy and oblige his Sicilian Majesty's rebellious subjects to submit to the clemency of their gracious sovereign—and his Eminency must be ready by to-morrow morning at daybreak to co-operate with the British fleet in completing the business to the honour and satisfaction of their Sicilian Majesties and their kingdoms. I feel that if fortunately Lord Nelson had not come here just in time there would have been a page in future history that would have been a dishonour to their Sicilian Majesties

and their government which they have by no means deserved.

Excuse haste, and believe me,
WM. HAMILTON.

P.S.—We beg your Excellency to assure their Majesties of our constant zeal for their honour and service.

87. *CAROLINE TO RUFFO.*

[*Archivio Storico*, vol. v. p. 661 ; *Dumas*, vol. v. p. 183.]

25th of June, 1799.

I have attributed to the pressure of business the fact that I have not received a letter from your Excellency since the 14th, and that the king and the government have not received one since the 17th. We have received a letter of the 21st which is in no wise calculated to reassure us. If advantage had been taken of the enthusiasm and fury of the people, I think that we should now be in possession of the castles, and that the king would in the plenitude of his authority have reconquered the kingdom from his rebellious and felonious subjects. Now the matter bears a different aspect. Your Eminence has the orders of your sovereign,

Il non aver ricevuta lettera di Vostra Eminenza dai 14, ed il Re e governo dai 17 l' ho attribuito ai moltiplicati affari. Abbiamo ricevuta quella dei 21 che non è fatta per nessun verso per tranquillizzarci : credo che se si avesse profittato dell' entusiasmo e furore del fedele popolo, si sarebbe padrone dei Castelli, ed il Re avrebbe nella pienezza della sua autorità riconquistato il regno su i suoi ribelli felloni sudditi. Ora la cosa prende un diverso aspetto : Vostra Eminenza ha gli ordini del suo Sovrano,

and will know how to carry them out. For my part, I pray to the Lord with all my heart that all may end well, with glory, safety and peace for the future. It was decided to have a list made for you of the many execrable culprits, with the pamphlets, writings and letters proved to be theirs, for the purpose of assisting you to comply with the letters and orders given to you by the king never to employ anyone who has served under the infamous republic. If you think this will be useful to you, I will send it to you. We have comforting news to-day from Vienna: troops are marching towards Lower Italy, and we have good grounds for hoping to get the much desired Russian corps, which will be very useful. I repeat to you my sincere wishes that all may end in glory and safety in the future for the king, &c. &c.

CAROLINE.

e saprà come adempirli; per me prego il Signore col più vivo del cuore, che tutto finisca bene, con gloria e futura sicurezza e tranquillità. Era risoluta farle fare l'elenco dei tanti nefandi rei e colpevoli coi loro stampati, scritti e lettere provate per facilitarla ad adempire le lettere e l'ordine dal Re datole di mai impiegare chi ha servito la infame ribelle repubblica; se crede che le possa servire ce lo manderò. Abbiamo consolanti notizie in quest'oggi da Vienna: calano truppe verso la bassa Italia, ed abbiamo giustificate speranze di avere il desiderato corpo Russo, che sarà molto utile. Le rinnovo i miei sinceri desiderii che tutto finisca colla gloria e sicurezza futura del Re, e con questa speranza sono sua affezionatissima

CAROLINA.

Li 25 Giugno, 1799.

88. CAROLINE TO LADY HAMILTON.

[Pettigrew, vol. i. p. 232.]

25th of June, 1799.

My dear Lady,—I have just received your letter without date from the ship, with the chevalier's for the general.¹ I send back the same boat immediately, and wish it had wings to reach you sooner. The general writes the wishes of the king, who incloses a note under his own hand for the dear admiral. I accede entirely to their wishes, but cannot refrain from expressing my sentiments to you. The cardinal wrote nothing from the 17th to the 21st of this month, but to-day he writes very shortly to the general and not to us; he says little of the treaty, nothing of the operations, and names but slightly the persons he has appointed, several of whom are unworthy and doubtful, and cannot be allowed. The following conditions ought to form the basis, in the king's opinion and in mine, and we

[B.M. Eg. MS. 1616, f. 35.]

Ma chère Milady je viens de recevoir votre chère lettre du Bord sans date avec celle du Chevalier au General. Je respédie immédiatement le même bateau et voudrais lui pouvoir donner des ailes pour arriver plus vite le General écrit les volontés du Roi, le Roi y met un billet de sa main pour le Cher Amiral je me conforme en tout à leurs volontés mais ne puis pas faire à moins de vous dire notre sentiment, le Cardinal a été du 17 de ce mois au 21 sans écrire même aujourd' hui il le fait très légèrement au General et à nous rien il parle peu de la tratative rien des operations et nome légèrement les employe mise par lui dont plusieurs sont coupables douteux et ne peuvent être admis, voyez les Bases selon le Roi et moi que nous soumettons à

¹ Sir John Acton.

submit them to the excellent judgment and heart of our dear Admiral Nelson.

The rebels can receive no more aid from the French, either by land or sea; they are therefore completely at the mercy of their offended, betrayed, but merciful king; he offers them pardon repeatedly, but instead of accepting it they madly resist. The commandant of the Castel dell' Uovo replies to the written summons of the English captain verbally and with great insolence, driving the boat away. They sally out at night, and take some of our batteries during the armistice. What is to be done, then? To treat with such villainous rebels is impossible—it must be put an end to. The sight of the brave English squadron is my hope. The garrison must first quit St. Elmo, and be escorted by an envoy to Marseilles or Toulon, and without any baggage. The rebel patriots must lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion to the pleasure of the king. Then, in my opinion, an example should be made of some of the leaders of

l'excellent jugement cœur et tête de notre cher Amiral Nelson. P^o les Rebelles ne peuvent recevoir de secours ni de terre ni de mer des François ils sont donc perdus et à la merci de leur Roi offensée trahie mais clement il leur offre dans plusieurs imprimées un Pardon et au lieu de l'accepter ils se defendent en enragé le Comandant du Chateau de L'œuf repond à l'intimation écrite du Capitaine anglois verbalement et avec le plus grande insolence chassant le bateau ils font une sortie la nuit prennent de nos batteries durant l'armistice donc que faire, entrer en traité avec ces canailles Rebelles dans le cœur C'est impossible il faut donc terminer, la vue de la Brave valeureuse Escadre angloise est mon Espoir, St. Elme doit sortir d'abord la Garnison aller être transporté escorté d'un parlementaire à Marseille ou Toulon sans pouvoir rien emporter les Patriotes Rebelles baisser les armes sortir à discretion et volonté du Roi alors à mon avis on fera

the representatives, and the others should be transported under pain of death if they return into the dominions of the king, where a register will be kept of them, and of this number should be the municipalists, chiefs of brigade, the most violent clubbists, and seditious scribblers; no soldier who has served shall ever be admitted into the army; in short, a rigorous severity, prompt and just. The females who have distinguished themselves in the revolution to be treated in the same way, and that without pity. There is no need of a special commission: it is not an undecided cause, but a palpable, proved fact. Either these rascals will surrender to the imposing force of the admiral, or the troops and corps must be united, drawn, if necessary, from abroad; the frightened women and children must be warned to quit, and the two castles must be taken by force, the rules of war being followed with respect to those who are taken with them, and thus a guilty and dangerous resistance will be terminated. The cardinal ought not to make any

exemple des premiers chefs representans et d'abord et les autres deportation souscrit par eux-mêmes peine de mort. S'ils retournent dans les Dominations du Roi on en prendra registre filiation et de ce nombre seront les municipalistes, Chef de Brigade, Clubistes, les plus acharnés Ecrivailleurs, aucun militaire qui a servis sera jamais admis au service enfin une severité exacte pronte juste on fera de meme pour les femes qui se sont distingué dans la Revolution et sur cella sans pitié on n'a point besoin d'une Giunta di Stato ce n'est point proces ni opinion c'est fait arrivee prouve imprimé ou les coquins se rendent a l'imposante force de l'amiral ou il faudrait faire reunir les troupes corps s'il le faut en faire venir du dehors aviser les peureuse femes enfans de sortir et prendre de force les deux chateaux en suivant les regles de la guerre avec ceux qui sont dedans et ainsi terminer cette coupable et dangereuse resistance. Le Cardinal ne doit faire aucun employé sans le proposer

appointment without first naming it. The Sedile, the source of all the evils, which first gave strength to the rebellion, and who have ruined the kingdom and dethroned the king, shall be abolished for ever, as well as the baronial privileges and jurisdiction, in order to release from slavery a faithful people who have replaced their king upon the throne, from which treason, felony, and the culpable indifference of the nobles had driven him. This is not pleasant, but absolutely necessary, for without it the king could not for six months peacefully govern his people, who hope for some recompense from his justice after having done everything for him. Finally, my dear lady, I recommend Lord Nelson to treat Naples as if it were an Irish town in rebellion similarly placed. France will be none the better for all these thousands of rascals; we shall be all the better without them. They merit being sent to Africa or the Crimea. It is a charity to send them to France; they deserve to be branded that others may not be deceived by

les Sedile source de tous les maux et vrais premières union de Rebellion et qui ont ruiné le Royaume et detroné le Roi restent a jamais aboli come les droit proibitifs et jurisdiction Baroniale pour soulager de l'Esclavage un Peuple fidel qui a remis le Roi sur le throne d'ou la trahison felonie et la coupable indifference des nobles l'ont chassé cecy ne plait point mais est d'absolue necessité sans cella le Roi ne gouvernera pas six mois tranquillement les Peuples qui s'attendent de sa justice d'être soulagé après avoir tout fait pour lui enfin ma chère milady je recommande a Milord Nelson de traiter Naples come si ce fut une ville Rebelle en Irlande qui se fut conduit ainsi il ne faut pas regarder au nombre des milliers de coquins de moins ne rendront pas la France plus forte et nous n'en serons pas mieux ils auroit merité d'être jetté en Afrique Crimée et de les jetter en France est une charité ils meriterait d'être marqué pourque persone ne fut trompé

them. I recommend to you, therefore, my dear lady, the greatest firmness, vigour, and severity ; our future tranquillity and position depend upon it—the faithful people desire it. I solicit frequent news from you, for you cannot conceive the anxiety I feel, and believe me for life your most tenderly attached and grateful friend.

CAROLINE.

A thousand compliments to the chevalier and to our hero Nelson.

d'eux ainsi c'est un bien qu'on leur accorde je vous recommande donc ma chère milady la plus grande fermeté force vigueur rigueur notre consideration et tranquille future en depend le peuple fidèle le désire je me recommande pour avoir souvent de vos nouvelles vous pouvez croire mon empressement et croyez moi pour la vie votre plus que tendre attachée reconnoissante amie.

CHARLOTTE.

Mille complimens au Chevalier et a notre héros Nelson.¹

89. *HAMILTON TO ACTON.*

[*Affari Esteri, 3^o Riservato, fascio 624.*]

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, 25th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—Last night all Naples was illuminated, and the illuminations are beginning to-night. The whole squadron did not get to their anchors until 2 o'clock to-day in line of battle extending from opposite the arsenal of Naples towards Portici. The Foudroyant is in 43 fathom water. We have had boats with music and crowds of people with Viva il Re the whole day. Captains Troubridge and Ball were sent early this morning

¹ The original is marked No. 4.

to Cardinal Ruffo with a letter, which I wrote to his Eminency by Lord Nelson's desire telling him how much he disapproved of the armistice.¹ The cardinal always said that he made the armistice as the best he could do in his weak state to save the city of Naples from destruction ; that from what he had signed he could not depart, but that Lord Nelson was under no engagement, and might do what he thought best for the King's service ; but that he still thought what he had done was the best that could be done for his Majesty's service. As both Lord Nelson and I differ so much from the sentiments of his Eminency, your Excellency may well imagine that in a visit the cardinal made this evening to Lord Nelson on board the *Foudroyant* nothing more could be concluded but by Lord Nelson's giving his opinion in writing, which was no more than that having arrived in the Bay of Naples yesterday, the 24th, he had found that his Eminency had made a treaty with the rebels that in [his] Lordship's opinion could not be carried into effect without the consent of his Sicilian Majesty, and there it rests. I hear from those that have been in Naples that in general most are discontented with the armistice, and I find that the Royalist and Jacobin parties keep possession of the parts of the city they possessed at the moment of the signing the armistice, so that the Tree of Infamy is opposite the Castel Nuovo, and I saw with my glass that the giant² opposite the palace wears still a red cap of liberty. The cardinal I believe intends to let them know at the castles of St. Elmo, Nuovo, and dell'

¹ See Introduction, p. lxi. Both Micheroux and Sacchinelli state that Troubridge and Ball saw the cardinal on the evening of the 24th of June. Nelson's letter to Keith of the 27th of June states that he sent them on shore instantly after the fleet had anchored—*i.e.* on the 25th (*post*, p. 264, No. 125).

² A statue.

Uovo that he cannot answer for Lord Nelson's allowing of the armistice to continue. I have written just what has passed since we came here, but I can have no judge [*sic*] how the business will end. Lord Nelson offered to send 1,200 marines on shore, but difficulties were made by the cardinal as to providing them with quarters. Now Lord Nelson seems to have laid aside all thought of venturing his marines on shore. As Lord Nelson is now telling Lady Hamilton what he wishes to say to the queen, you will probably know from the queen more than I do of Lord Nelson's intentions. I have no more to add this night than that I remain ever desirous of serving their Sicilian Majesties to the utmost of my power, and I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. HAMILTON.¹

90. NELSON TO DUCKWORTH.²

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 387.]

25th of June, 1799.

My dear Admiral,—As you will believe, the cardinal and myself have begun our career by a complete difference of opinion. He will send the rebels to Toulon: I say they shall not go. He thinks one house in Naples more to be prized than his sovereign's honour. Troubridge and Ball are gone to the cardinal, for him to read my declaration to the French and rebels, whom he persists in calling patriots. What a prostitution of the word! I shall send Foote to get the gun-boats from Procida. I wish the fleet not to be more than two-thirds of a cable from each other. I shall send you a sketch

¹ Received by Acton on the 28th of June. See *post*, p. 272.

² Rear-Admiral Duckworth, H.M.S. *Leviathan*.

of the anchorage, in forty-fathom water. The Foudroyant to be the van ship. If the French fleet should favour us with a visit, I can easily take my station in the centre. I am, &c.

NELSON.

91. *NELSON'S DECLARATION.*

[*Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 386.]

His Britannic Majesty's ship Foudroyant, Naples Bay,
25th of June, 1799.

Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson, K.B., commander of his Britannic Majesty's fleet in the Bay of Naples, acquaints the rebellious subjects of his Sicilian Majesty in the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, that he will not permit them to embark or quit those places. They must surrender themselves to his Majesty's royal mercy.

NELSON.

92. *NELSON'S OPINION.*¹

[*Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 388.]

Foudroyant, 26th of June, 1799.

Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson arrived with the British fleet, the 24th of June, in the Bay of Naples, and found a treaty entered into with the rebels, which, in his opinion, cannot be carried into execution without the approbation of his Sicilian Majesty.

¹ Delivered in writing to Cardinal Ruffo. The opinion was written on the afternoon of the 25th (see Hamilton to Acton, 25th of June, *ante*, p. 215).

93. PROTEST BY THE ALLIED COMMANDERS.

[Sacchinelli, p. 251.]

[25th of June, 1799.]

The representatives¹ made a strong protest to Nelson, declaring :

‘That the treaty of capitulation of the castles of Naples was useful, necessary and honourable to the arms of the King of the Two Sicilies and of his powerful allies the King of Great Britain, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, seeing that the deadly civil and national war was ended by that treaty without further bloodshed, and that it facilitated the expulsion of the common alien enemy from the kingdom. That as it had been formally entered into by the representatives of the said powers, an abominable outrage would be committed against public honour, if it were not executed exactly, or if it should be violated ; and beseeching Nelson to recognise it, they protested

‘Che il trattato della capitolazione de’ castelli di Napoli era utile, necessario ed onorevole alle armi del Re delle due Sicilie e dei suoi potenti Alleati il Re della Gran Brettagna, l’Imperatore di tutte le Russie, e la Sublime Porta Ottomana ; poichè senza ulteriore spargimento di sangue era finita, con quel trattato, la micidiale guerra civile e nazionale, e facilitava l’ espulsione del comune nemico estero dal Regno : Ch’essendo stato solennemente conchiuso da’ rappresentanti di dette Potenze, si commetterebbe un abominevole attentato contro la fede pubblica, se non si eseguisse esattamente, o si violasse ; e pregando Nelson a volerlo riconoscere, protestarono di esser essi

¹ Baillie, the commander of the Russian troops ; Achmet, commanding the Turkish contingent ; and the Chevalier Micheroux, the Neapolitan minister plenipotentiary, accredited to the Russian squadron in the Adriatic, but at this time attached to the Russian forces under Baillie.

their fixed determination to execute it religiously, holding responsible before God and to the world, whoever should dare to impede its execution.'

definitivamente determinati ad eseguirlo religiosamente, e chiamando risponsabile avanti Dio ed al mondo, chiunque ardisse d'impedirne l'esecuzione.'

94. *HAMILTON TO RUFFO.*

[Rose, *Diaries and Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 237.]

25th of June, 1799.

My Lord Nelson begs me to take up my pen again, and to acquaint your Eminence, whom he understands to speak of the Chevalier Micheroux, in the present negotiations of your Eminence for the service of his Sicilian Majesty, that he is quite determined to have nothing to do with anyone, be he who he may, except your Eminence, with whom alone he wishes to consult and act. My Lord Nelson also begs me to assure your Eminence that, with respect to the Russian troops, he will always keep in view the honour of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, as well as that of the King his own Sovereign.

[W. HAMILTON.]

95. *RUFFO'S ULTIMATUM.*

[Sacchinelli, p. 254.]

[25th of June, 1799.]

The cardinal wrote, however, to Lord Nelson, notifying him 'That if he was not willing to recog-

Scrisse pertanto a Lord Nelson significandogli; 'Che se non voleva riconoscere il trattato della capitolazione

nise the treaty of capitulation of the two castles of Naples—which was formally signed by, among others, an English officer, in the name of the King of Great Britain—then the responsibility rested on him alone; and that if the execution of such treaty was impeded, the cardinal would replace the enemy *in statu quo*; would withdraw his troops from the positions they had lately occupied, and would entrench himself with his whole army, leaving the English to conquer the enemy with their own forces.’¹

de’ castelli di Napoli, al quale, fra gli altri contraenti v’ intervenne solennemente un ufficiale Inglese a nome del Re della Gran Brettagna, restava a lui solo tutta la responsabilità; e che impedendosi l’ esecuzione di tal trattato, esso Porporato rimetteva il nemico nello stato in cui si trovava prima del trattato medesimo; e finalmente che ritirerebbe le sue truppe dalle posizioni posteriormente occupate, e si trincererebbe con tutta la sua armata, lasciando che gl’ Inglese colle proprie forze vincessero lo stesso nemico.’

¹ Cf. Dumas, iv. 83. Dumas adds a note here to the effect that he is guided by originals (*documenti originali*). This ultimatum has been variously dated the 25th and 26th of June. I have come to the conclusion that it is merely a paraphrase of Ruffo’s oral refusal on the 24th of June to assist Nelson in setting aside the capitulation. Cf. Nelson to Keith, 27th of June, 1799, *post*, p. 264. If such a document had actually been sent, it is more than probable that Nelson or Hamilton would have mentioned it in their correspondence. Further, there is not room for it either on the 25th or the 26th, and it is inconsistent with the letters passing between the parties. Micheroux makes no mention of it in the *Compendio*.

96. RUFFO TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34944, f. 238.]

25th of June, 1799.

Excellency,—The letter to the castles will have gone by this time, and if there is any hope of their surrendering at discretion it may succeed, because they see the augmentation of force, and whenever they wish to attack, it will be well that they should find us in force to destroy them. I implore, then, your Excellency to land 1,200 men, whom it would be well to place within striking distance of St. Elmo. I therefore offer for their quarters my house, which is large and empty, situated at the Largo dello Spirito Santo; it is called the Palazzo della Bagnara, and is also out of range of shell fire. I mention this for the peace of mind of the soldiers. I hope your Excellency will grant me this favour, since there have already been hostilities this evening on the part of St. Elmo, and there is no time to be lost. I remain, &c.

F. CARD. RUFFO.

Eccellenza,—La lettera ai Castelli sarà andata a questa ora, e se vi è da sperare che si diano a discrezione potrà succedere, perchè vedono l' aumento della forza, e qualora volessero attaccare, sarà bene che ci trovino in forza per distruggerli. Imploro dunque di V. E. che faccia sbarcare 1,200 uomini, i quali sarebbe bene di metterli a portata di andare poi a S. Elmo, e perciò offerisco per lor quartiere la mia casa, che è ben grande e vacante, la quale è situata al Largo dello Spirito Santo: si chiama il palazzo della Bagnara, e anche difficile ad esser toccata dalle bombe; ciò dico per il riposo dei soldati. Spero che V. E. mi favorirà, giacchè questa sera vi sono già state delle ostilità di S. Elmo, e non vi è tempo da perdere. Sono con il maggior rispetto e profonda stima

Di V. E.

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. GLE.

P. della Maddalena, 25 Giugno 1799.

97. RUFFO TO GENERAL MASSA.

[Sacchinelli, p. 252.]

[25th of June, 1799.]

‘[Ruffo] wrote a note to General Massa, commandant of the Castel Nuovo, informing him that although he and the representatives of the allies regarded the treaty of capitulation of the castles as sacred and inviolable, nevertheless the rear admiral of the English squadron refused to recognise it; and that since the garrisons were at liberty to avail themselves of article 5 of the capitulation, as had been done by the patriots of the hill of San Martino, who had all departed by land, he therefore gave them notice in order that the garrisons, bearing in mind that the English held the command of the sea, might take whatever steps they chose.’

Scrisse un biglietto al Generale Massa comandante del castel Nuovo, significandogli che sebbene ‘egli ed i rappresentanti degli Alleati tenevano per sacro ed inviolabile il trattato della capitolazione de’ castelli, nulladimeno il Contro-Ammiraglio della squadra Inglese non voleva riconoscerlo; e siccome era in libertà delle guarnigioni di avvalersi dell’ articolo 5 della capitolazione, come avevano fatto i patrioti della collina di San Martino, ch’ erano tutti partiti per terra, così gli faceva questa partecipazione, affinchè sulla considerazione, che in mare comandavano gl’ Ingresi, le guarnigioni potessero prendere quella risoluzione che meglio loro piacesse.’

98. GENERAL MASSA TO RUFFO.

[Sacchinelli, p. 253.]

[25th of June, 1799.]

LIBERTY.

EQUALITY.

General Massa, commandant of the Artillery and of the Castel Nuovo. Naples . . . messidor year VII of the Republic.

TO CARDINAL RUFFO

We have given your letter the interpretation which it deserved. Standing firm to our duty, we shall religiously observe the articles of the treaty which has been concluded, persuaded that an equal obligation rests on all the contracting parties who have formally entered into it. For the rest we are not to be surprised or intimidated, and we shall resume our attitude of hostility if you coerce us into doing so. In the meanwhile, as our capitulation was dictated by the commandant of St. Elmo, you will immediately provide an escort to accompany our envoy to that fort for the purpose of

LIBERTÀ

EGUAGLIANZA

Il Generale Massa Comandante di Artiglieria e del Castel Nuovo. Napoli . . . messidoro anno settimo repubblicano.

AL CARDINAL RUFFO

Alla vostra lettera noi abbiamo data quella interpretazione che si meritava. Fermi però ne' nostri doveri, osserveremo religiosamente gli articoli del trattato convenuto, persuasi che un eguale impegno debba tenersi da tutti i contraenti che vi sono solennemente intervenuti. Del resto noi non sappiamo essere nè sorpresi, nè intimoriti, e riprenderemo l'attitudine ostile quando avvenga che voi ci costringerete violentemente. Intanto essendosi la nostra capitolazione dettata dal Comandante di Santelmo, voi disporrete nel momento una scorta, che accompagni il

conferring with the French commandant, and thereafter we will give you a more precise reply.

MASSA.¹

nostro incaricato sin a quel forte, per conferire con quel Comandante Francese, e darvi quindi una risposta più precisa.

MASSA.

99. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 271; Lemmi, p. 95.]

Palermo, 25th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I send you many letters from Captain Foote I have, in a great hurry, being obliged to write to you on this essential and most important object, and to the cardinal, who is surrounded, I am conscious, of bad people, as I cannot conceive his conduct. My letters, therefore in such a hurry, are not as clear and exact as I should have desired. Lord Nelson and you, my dear Sir, are perfectly acquainted with their Majesties' intentions and well-meaning. You are both perfectly disposed, likewise, to support, defend his dignity, and do the best for his Majesty's interests, welfare, and future security. Therefore we rely entirely in his Lordship's determination and operations, and in your good and friendly advices. If you see a necessity to hurry the prince, or the king himself, pray let some frigates or other commodities come to call for

¹ Oronzio Massa (born 1760) received a commission in the Neapolitan artillery in 1780. Sent to France in 1787 to pursue his military studies, but retired from the service in 1792. Rejoined the army in 1798 on the outbreak of war with France. Took an active part in the Revolution, and was appointed general of artillery and commandant of the Castel Nuovo. Executed on the 14th of August, 1799 (D'Ayala, p. 367).

them, and perhaps for troops, as we are constantly thinking of the Roman State for its delivery only.

I am, &c.,

J. ACTON.¹

100. ACTON TO HAMILTON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 267; Lemmi, p. 92.]

Palermo, Tuesday,² 12 o'clock, 25th of June, 1799.¹

My dear Sir,—I have received your note this morning, dated Sunday, 12 o'clock, Capri being in sight of Lord Nelson's squadron. I have immediately presented, as you may judge from their importance, the contents of it to their Sicilian Majesties. In consequence of the king's decision I do despatch a Neapolitan felucca with the utmost speed with this answer, wherein I must explain their Majesties' dissatisfaction, I am authorised to say their execration, for the news brought here by Petrolì's letter. I must, my dear sir, entreat and beg of you to be so good to consign to Lord Nelson the enclosed letter of his Majesty, and declare to him that by his Majesty's orders the cardinal, as vicar-general in Calabria, and authorised to act with the same faculties in all the kingdom, when restored and submitted, was commanded to make a separate classification of the criminals which he should take as rebels. Some were to be judged militarily, if found with arms in their hands against his Majesty's forces, when they had been employed before in his Majesty's service, either military or civil. The same was to

¹ Received by Hamilton on the 28th of June. See *post*, p. 269, No. 129.

² 'Theusday' in the MS. This letter was written at mid-day on the 25th (see the next letter, which is dated the 25th of June, 10 P.M.), and received by Hamilton on the morning of the 28th of June.

be done with every *barone* or *feudatario* who, by his oath and obligations, is reputed to be under the same laws and duty as a military. All other rebels who had served against his Majesty under the French or as republicans were to be arrested, and to be condemned to deportation. His Majesty was to order and name the tribunal directed to judge; all the rest could depend on his Majesty's clemency. But never any capitulation or conditions could be made nor granted to rebels; if they surrender to a military intimation (without resisting) they are to be prisoners and confide in his Majesty's mercy. The king far from admitting a capitulation with rebels, nor any dishonourable capitulation and articles with the French (and amongst these dishonourable ones is to be reckoned a truce of twenty days, so much prejudicial to his Majesty's interests, security, honour, and dignity), disapproves entirely such a condition, and writes to the cardinal that no capitulation is to [be] made with rebels, who are to confide and rest only on his Majesty's mercy and clemency, that no capitulation is to be admitted without his Majesty's ratification in regard to the French. But as his Majesty's good ally's forces, the British squadron under Lord Nelson's command, is to appear to act in support of the king's interest and his good people in Naples, whatever intimation Lord Nelson shall think proper to make the cardinal is to abide by it, and every precedent is to be void and without effect. His Majesty confides entirely in the operations which Lord Nelson shall think convenient to determine for the reddition of St. Elmo and Gaeta, and that of the castles with the rebels, which last, however, are to have no conditions, but rely and depend only in his Majesty's mercy, as they have been so daring and insolent as to fire against the

forces and arms of their lawful sovereign, and desolate by their resistance the capital, with the destruction of many houses by their fire. In that number of rebels are comprehended all the armed scoundrels in the castles, all the people of their ridiculous government under every denomination, and the refugees in those castles who are or employed, or advising, and regulating Jacobins of that infamous party. I beg of you, my dear sir, to present Lord Nelson with these declarations of his Sicilian Majesty, who puts and confides his authority as to every military operation and his own dignity into the excellent and brave Lord Nelson's hands. The cardinal receives his Majesty's orders by this occasion. He has not acquainted me of any capitulation made. He says only in a letter to me that he has caused people to treat for the reddition of St. Elmo and the other castles. He calls the refugees in the castles those of that government, he speaks of clemency, and of the impossibility of changing the former system with any novelty; in short, we find what we expected. His Majesty thinks of sending the prince, or going himself there for a short time, of making a new director for that kingdom. If ever Lord Nelson and you think of sending back the English messenger, I shall beg to give a letter for Circello. I am, &c.,

J. ACTON.

101. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 269; Lemmi, p. 94.]

Palermo, 25th of June, at 10 o'clock, P.M.

My dear Sir,—After having wrote to you at full this morning, I am to trouble you again on the new accounts received from Procida. A capitulation is again mentioned as done, but as no letters are

arrived from the cardinal, nor from anybody at Naples, we do not know what to believe. Her Majesty, however, has some accounts of an infamous treaty with the rebels. You know enough already of his Majesty's full and precise intentions from what I have wrote to you this morning. But as the cardinal avoids mentioning anything to his Majesty, as he does not obey to his sovereign's orders, as he acts in contradiction with his Majesty's instructions and repeated commands; as the cardinal employs people who were in the rebellion, and some of the most noted, of whom we have got here the printed decrees and proclamations signed by them, acting in the republican committees, as one Duke de Selsi, one Carignani, Pasquale Daniele, &c. &c., Pedri-nelli, Novi, Tassone, every trust is at an end. The king had suppressed the office of Regente di Vicaria¹; the cardinal creates one out of his own determination, &c. &c. &c. Some serious mean is to be employed to avoid further mischiefs. We are to see whether the cardinal by those condescensions makes himself a party; with the Jacobins he may, but without the help of the people he cannot have it with strength. As soon as his Majesty receives the cardinal's answers to the letters sent this morning, he must and shall resolve. But his Majesty recommends his capital to the brave and loyal Lord Nelson, with whom certainly the good people and the few good and secure, as well as trusted, officers will act and correspond. A proper method shall be applied in order to avoid more serious mischiefs. I beg of you, my dear sir, to present all these considerations to his Lordship, whose squadron, I hope, is since last night or to-day at Naples. His Sicilian Majesty's frigates, and every other vessels, have

¹ The official entrusted with the preservation of order in Naples; practically the minister of police.

orders to depend only from Lord Nelson, and from Palermo if any service is desired from them ; but they are not to leave that station unless Lord Nelson orders them to do it.

I cannot express with sufficient colours their Majesties' uneasiness and mournful anxiety on this new event. They see or think to discover a new treason. I hope that this is not the case, but the cardinal, as well as General Pignatelli, is surrounded by scoundrels and hearkens to their influence ; foreseeing his Majesty's dispositions to check the powers to the nobility, he employs every mean to counteract the king's resolutions. I am, &c.,

J. ACTON.¹

102. MÉJEAN TO MICHEROUX.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34944, f. 248.]

[25th of June, 1799.]

LIBERTY.

EQUALITY.

WAR AGAINST TYRANTS.

PEACE FOR THE PEOPLE.

At the Fort of St. Elmo. 7th messidor, year 7 of the French republic. Méjean, chief of the 27th Brigade of Light Infantry, commanding the fort of St. Elmo, to the Chevalier Micheroux.

Sir,—I have just received your note of this date and the summonses thereunto annexed. The

LIBERTÉ.

EGALITÉ.

GUERRE AUX TYRANS.

PAIX AU PEUPLE.

Au fort St. Elme 7 messidor de l'an VII de la République Française. Méjean Chef de la 27^{me} Brigade d'Infanterie Légère commandant le fort St. Elme au Chev^r Micheroux.

Armée
d'Italie

Je viens Monsieur de recevoir votre Billet en date de ce jour et les sommations qui y étoient jointes. La reponse

¹ Received by Hamilton on the 28th of June. See *post*, p. 269, No. 129.

answer I have given to your first summons has made my intentions sufficiently clear; I wish to alter nothing in that answer.

My conduct up to this moment should have proved to you the desire I have always felt to save Naples from the horrors of war; but if hostilities should recommence, it will be impossible for me to be answerable for the inevitable disasters which would overtake this city in consequence of the vigorous defence I am resolved to make. I have the honour to be, &c. J. MÉJEAN.

que j'ai faite à votre première sommation vous a fait suffisamment connoître mes intentions, je n'ai rien à changer à cette réponse.

La Conduite que j'ai tenue jusqu'à ce moment a dû vous prouver le désir que j'ai toujours eu d'éloigner de Naples les malheurs de la guerre; mais si les hostilités recommencent, il m'est impossible de répondre des Désastres indispensables qui résulteroient pour cette ville de la Défense vigoureuse que je suis résolu de faire.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, avec une parfaite considération,

Votre très obéissant serviteur.

Signé J. MEJAN.

103. *MATTHEW WADE TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Add. MS. 34912, f. 151.]

Naples, June 1797.

Excellency,—In order to avoid the damage that might happen the city by Lord Nelson's firing upon the Castel dell' Uovo and Castello Nuovo, still in possession of the Jacobins, upon my arrival here I applied to Cardinal Ruffo, offering my service, in hopes he would condescend to grant me a few troops, in order to take possession of those castles; but he not only declined it, but absolutely refused

that any of his Majesty's subjects should be employed in breaking a treaty authorised with his signature.

The town seems in a confused situation. A few regular troops would be necessary to influence good order, as those joined with the cardinal seem to have no order, and less discipline. The city has suffered nothing, excepting many houses have been robbed, and a few rooms burnt in a house joining Monsieur Antonio in Toledo, and the angle of the parapet of the Castel dell' Uovo thrown down by a cannon shot, but seemingly of no consequence. Few people have been killed, nay, if I am well informed, very few; many are now in arrest, besides those in the castello, and a party that has fortified themselves in the Convent of St. Elmo, or properly St. Martino, the whole number including the two castles, not supposed to exceed two thousand. The French at St. Elmo is calculated 450. I am, &c.

MATTHEW WADE.¹

104. HAMILTON TO RUFFO.

[Sacchinelli, p. 255.]

On board the Foudroyant, in the Bay of Naples,
26th of June, 1799.

Eminence,—Lord Nelson begs me to assure your Eminence that he is resolved to do nothing

A bord Le Foudroyant dans le golphe de Naples,
26 Juin, 1799.

Eminence,—Milord Nelson me prie d'assûrer Votre Eminence qu'il est résolu de ne rien faire qui puisse

¹ I have been unable to discover who Wade was. He was probably one of the many foreign adventurers in the Neapolitan service. He seems to have been a friend of Lady Hamilton's. Some letters from him to her are among the Morrison Papers.

which might break the armistice which your Eminence has granted to the castles of Naples. I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HAMILTON.

rompre l'armistice que Votre Eminence a accordé aux Châteaux de Naples.

J'ai l'honneur d'être
De Votre Eminence
Le très humble, &c. &c.,
W. HAMILTON.

105. RUFFO TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34944, f. 250.]

26th of June, 1799.

Excellency,—News reaches me from Capua that the Jacobins and French of Capua, finding themselves reinforced by the desperate refugees from Naples, attacked the troops commanded by Gambs, took all their cannon and powder and have killed many men, and all the remainder having fled into the mountains roundabout, they recaptured Santa Maria di Capua and are advancing on Caserta. Your Excellency sees how necessary the troops are which you could disembark to end the business at Naples, and not leave the country exposed to ruin. I place the disposition of everything in your Ex-

Eccellenza,—Mi vengono nuove da Capua, che trovandosi rinforzati i Giacobini e Francesi di Capua, dai disperati fuggitivi di Napoli, hanno attaccato la truppa comandata da Gambs, presoli tutto il cannone e la polvere, ed uccisone molta gente, e tutti fuggati in quei circonvicini monti, hanno riprese perciò S. M^a di Capua, e si avvicinavano a Caserta. Veda V. E. di quanta necessità sia la Truppa, che potrebbe sbarcare, per terminare l'affare di Napoli e non lasciare esposto il paese alla rovina. Rimetto a V. E. la disposizione di tutto, e potrà passare i suoi

cellency's hands and you may give your orders to the Captain-General Duca della Salandra, but assistance must be promptly given. Believe me, &c.¹

F. CARD. RUFFO.

ordini al Cap^o Genl^e duca della Salandra, ma gli ajuti devono essere immediati. Sono con tutto il rispetto e profonda stima

Di V. E.

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. GLE.

Pte. della Maddalena 26 Giugno 1799.

106. NELSON TO RUFFO.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34963, f. 104; Despatches, vol. iii. p. 394.]

Foudroyant, Naples Bay. [26th of June, 1799.]

Sir,—I am just honoured with your Eminence's letter, and as his Excellency Sir William Hamilton has wrote you this morning that I will not on any consideration break the armistice entered into by you, I hope your Eminency will be satisfied that I am supporting your ideas. I send once more Captains Troubridge and Ball to arrange with your Eminency everything relative to an attack on St. Elmo. Whenever your army and cannon are ready to proceed against it I will land 1,200 men to go with them under the present armistice. I have only to rejoice that his Britannic Majesty's fleet is here to secure the city of Naples from all attacks by sea.²

[NELSON.]

¹ This letter was written in a panic caused by a false rumour (see Mahan, *English Historical Review* for October 1900). The Duca della Salandra was the general officer commanding the Neapolitan troops in Naples.

² From a copy in the letter-book, undated and unsigned. Nicolas wrongly assigns this letter to the 28th of June. This error was first pointed out by Von Sybel, *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit*, vol. v. p. 360.

107. TROUBRIDGE'S DECLARATION.

[Sacchinelli, p. 256.]

[26th of June, 1799.]

This letter¹ was brought by Captains Troubridge and Ball, who made the following declaration in writing:—‘Rear Admiral Nelson does not oppose the execution of the capitulation of the castles of Nuovo and dell’ Uovo.’² Troubridge wrote this declaration with his own hand, but declined to sign

Venne recata questa lettera da’ capitani Troubridge e Ball, i quali fecero in iscritto la seguente dichiarazione: ‘Il Contro-Ammiraglio Nelson non impedisce che si esegua la capitolazione de’ castelli Nuovo e dell’ Uovo.’ Troubridge scrisse di suo carattere questa dichiarazione, ma non volle firmarla, dicendo ch’essi erano stati incaricati ed

¹ *I.e.* the preceding letter from Nelson to Cardinal Ruffo.

² It is doubtful whether this account of the negotiations between the two captains and Ruffo is at all accurate. Sacchinelli’s work contains what purports to be a facsimile of this declaration. This document is not in Troubridge’s handwriting, nor is it signed either by him or by Ball. It is important to note that the wording of the alleged facsimile differs to a marked degree from the declaration set out in the text. The facsimile runs as follows: ‘*I Capitani Troubridge e Ball hanno autorità per la parte di Milord Nelson di dichiarare a S. Eminenza che Milord non si opporrà all’ Imbarco dei Ribelli e della gente che compone la Guarnigione dei Castelli Nuovo e dell’ Uovo,*’ *i.e.* ‘Captains Troubridge and Ball are authorised to declare to His Eminence on behalf of Lord Nelson that his Lordship will not oppose the *embarkation* of the rebels and of the persons forming the garrison of the castles of Nuovo and Uovo.’ The letter of the 24th June from Sir William Hamilton to Cardinal Ruffo authorised Troubridge and Ball to negotiate generally. It was the letter of the 26th of June from Nelson to Ruffo which restricted their powers to the discussion of the arrangements for the attack on St. Elmo. ‘I send once more Captains Troubridge and Ball to arrange with your Eminency everything relative to an attack on St. Elmo. Whenever your army and cannon are ready to proceed against it I will land 1,200 men to go with them under the present armistice.’

it, stating that they had been charged and accredited by the letter of the 24th of June to arrange military operations by word of mouth, but not to negotiate in writing matters appertaining to diplomacy. The cardinal, although he suspected the existence of bad faith, was unwilling to argue with the two captains, and took no further steps beyond instructing the minister Micheroux to accompany the two captains to the castles to arrange with the republican commanders the execution of the articles agreed upon.

accreditati con la lettera de' 24 giugno di trattare a voce le operazioni militari, e non già per iscritto affari appartenenti ai diplomatici. Il Cardinale sebbene dubitasse, chi vi fosse della mala fede, non volendo contrastare con quei due capitani, non s' ingerì in altro, se non che incaricando il ministro Micheroux di accompagnare quei due capitani a' castelli, per concertare co' comandanti repubblicani l'esecuzione degli articoli convenuti.

108. RUFFO TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34944, f. 245.]

12.30 P.M. 26th of June, 1799.

Excellency,—Four English commissaries have been to the Marchese della Schiava with a list of stores needed for the maintenance of the fleet. As he has sent them on to me, I shall take care that your Excellency is punctually served, and I have already given urgent orders to that effect.

I remain, &c.,

F. CARD. RUFFO.

Eccellenza,—Si sono presentati al Sig. Marchese della Schiava quattro Commissarj Inglesi con una Nota de' Generi, che bisognano pel mantenimento della Flotta. Avendola Egli passata a me, sarà mia cura che Vostra Eccellenza resti puntualmente servita, e a tal effetto ho già dati ordini pressanti per l'esecuzione. Non ometto intanto di porgerne all' Eccellenza questo mio rispettoso rincontro, e pieno del maggior ossequio ho l'onore di rassegnarmi.

I enclose an original letter written to the Chevalier Micheroux by his brother, a hostage in St. Elmo.

I beg your Excellency to forward the enclosed to General Acton at Palermo at the first opportunity.

Di V.E. cui compiego una Lettera originale scritta al Cav^r Micheroux, dal di lui Fratello Ostaggio in Castel S. Elmo.

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. GLE.

Dal Quartier Generale 26 Giugno 1799 ad ore 17 e mezza Ital.

Prego ancora V.E. dell' invio dell' annessa al Sig. Gen. Acton colla prima occasione a Palermo.

109. *MARSHAL MICHEROUX TO THE CHEVALIER MICHEROUX.*

[B.M. Add. MS. 34950, f. 75.]

26th of June, 1799.

Here there is general grief at the delay in the departure of the patriots, and especially after the intimation received from Nelson, for which reason they, suspecting some act of violation, threatened yesterday to propose to the commandant that he should hang the hostages—first the two bishops, and then myself and Dillon. In view of this intelligence I beg you to expedite the execution of this article, especially as the weather is favourable, and in case it cannot be immediately executed owing to some

Caro fratello,—Qui vi è una generale doglianza per la ritardata partenza de' patrioti, e specialm^{te} dopo la ricevuta intimazione di Nelson, per cui dubitando essi di qualche violazione minacciavano jeri di proporre al Comand^{te} di voler appiccare gli ostaggi, prima i due vescovi, e poi me e Dillon. In tale intelligenza ti prego d'affrettare l'esecuzione di questo articolo, maggiormente che il tempo è favorevole, e qualora non si potesse per qualche impedi-

obstacle, could you not cause some official guarantee to be given to them, so as to remove the doubts from their minds? I also beg you to see that a free pass is given to our servants, since yesterday the individuals at the post of the Madonna de' Setti Dolori seized some coffee and sugar which had been bought for us. This request is made to you on behalf of all the prisoners.

The commandant made me a long speech yesterday, and told me so many flattering things about you. Had it not been for the intimation of yesterday he would have come to dine with you to-day, and perhaps he would have taken me with him, so as to oblige you further. As far as I have been able to gather, if the armistice were granted to St. Elmo alone, and in the meantime the siege of Capua were carried on, then as soon as that fortress surrendered the castle would also surrender, the city being by this means spared, and in case you should think that this plan could be adopted send Marselli up to me, or dear Diodato.

mento subito eseguire, potresti farli assicurare ufficialmente, per toglierli dalla dubiezza in cui sono. Ti prego inoltre di far dare ai nostri servitori un biglietto di poter passare, andare, e venire liberamente, giacchè jeri gl'individui del posto della Madonna de' sette dolori si appropriarono del caffè e zucchero, che ci avevamo fatto comprare: questa preghiera ti vien data per mezzo mio da tutti i prigionieri.

Il Comand^{te} mi tenne jeri un lungo discorso, e mi disse tante belle cose di te. Egli, senza l'intima di jeri, sarebbe oggi venuto a pranzare con te, e forse mi avrebbe seco condotto, per maggiormente obligarti. Per quanto abbia io potuto rilevare, accordandosi l'armistizio pel solo castello di S. Elmo, ed eseguendosi in questo frattempo l'assedio di Capua, resa che si sarebbe questa Piazza, allora si renderebbe anche il Castello, risparmiando in tal modo la città, e qualora credereste, che questo progetto fosse adottabile mandatemi qui sopra Marselli, o il caro Diodato.

I entreat you once more to relieve us up here from the patriots, because if we remained here alone it would be more easy to execute our plans, &c. &c. &c.

ALBERTO.¹

Vi raccomando di nuovo di liberarci qui sopra di questi patrioti, perche rimanendo soli, sarebbe più facile l'esecuzione de' progetti. Ricevi intanto mille cordiali abbracci con tutti i nostri, e credimi incessantemente il tuo aff^{to}

ALBERTO.

Mercoledì, 26 Giug^o.

110. RUFFO TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34944, f. 247.]

26th of June, 1799.

Excellency,—All the provisions ordered by your Excellency from the Marchese della Schiava are now ready, and it will be sufficient if you would kindly give me this evening, in advance, the name of the person who will come to fetch them, and the

Eccellenza,—Tutte le Provisioni commesse da Vostra Eccellenza al Sig^r Marchese della Schiava sono gia pronte, e basta che si compiacca farmi sapere in prevenzione questa sera il nome della Persona, che verrà a prenderle, e l' ora,

¹ Alberto Micheroux, marshal in the Neapolitan army, cousin of the Chevalier Antonio Micheroux. His wife was one of Queen Caroline's ladies-in-waiting. By the capitulation of the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, Marshal Micheroux, the Bishop of Avellino and Dillon, were left in the hands of the French at St. Elmo as hostages. He was chiefly remarkable for his incompetence as a military leader. Troubridge, writing to Nelson on the 11th of May, 1799, says of him: 'I hope the king will not employ Micheroux. He will only disgrace any corps he may be entrusted with' (*Despatches*, p. 360, note). See also Helfert (*Fabrizio Ruffo*), p. 508.

hour at which he will be here in the morning, when they will be delivered at once. This, by the way, does not prevent your Excellency from ordering elsewhere at your pleasure. In any case, however, I will hold the provisions in readiness daily, in accordance with the note sent by you to the aforesaid Marchese della Schiava, since it is my particular desire that your Excellency should not stand in need of anything that you may want. I have the honour, &c.

F. CARD. RUFFO.

From the Head Quarters near Naples,
26th of June, 1799, at 23½ o'clock.¹

in cui sarà qui di mattina, che le saranno subito consegnate. Cio per altro non toglie, che l'Eccellenza Vostra possa a suo piacimento dare ancora altrove le sue commissioni. Ad ogni modo però io terrò ogni giorno preparate le provisioni secondo la Nota da Lei trasmessa al med° Sig^r Marchese della Schiava, giacchè è mia particolar premura, che nulla manchi a V. E. di quanto le può occorrere; e pieno del maggior ossequio ho l'onore di riprotestarmi

Di vostra Eccellenza,
F. CARD. RUFFO, V. GLE.

Dal quartier Generale presso Napoli, 26 Giugno, 1799, ad ore 23 e mezza Ital.

111. *MINICHINI'S 'VERBALE'*

[Sacchinelli, p. 257.]

This 26th day of June, 1799, in the city of Naples, at the Castel dell' Uovo, at 6 o'clock P.M.,

Oggi 26 Giugno 1799, nella città di Napoli al castel dell' Uovo alle ore 6 pomeridiane, si è presentato l'illus-

¹ 7.30 or 8 P.M. Time according to Neapolitan computation was reckoned from sunset to sunset.

there appeared the Most Illustrious Brigadier Minichini, instructed by his Excellency the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty (D.G.) D. Antonio, Chevalier Micheroux, to take possession of the said Castel dell' Uovo in the name of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, as provided by the capitulation ; where, after possession had been formally taken of the magazines, further proceedings took place as follows :

The assembly was sounded, and all the citizens of the garrison having been called together, they were asked to declare whether they desired to embark for Toulon, or to remain here in accordance with the capitulation. The number of those who embarked for Toulon was found to be ninety-five. In the first boat which left the Castel dell' Uovo the Brigadier took possession with twelve men of the barrier ; on the departure of the second boat he took possession of the casemate ; and on the departure of the third, which carried the baggage of all those who had entered their names as leaving,

trissimo Signor Brigadiere Minichini, incaricato da Sua Eccellenza il Ministro Plenipotenziario di S.M. (D.G.) D. Antonio Cavaliere Micheroux per prendere a tenore della capitolazione possesso in nome di S.M. il Re delle due Sicilie, del detto castello dell' Uovo, ove dopo aver preso formalmente possesso de' magazzini, si è proceduto nella forma seguente.

Si è fatta battere la generale, e chiamati tutti i cittadini della guarnigione chiesero loro di sapere e spiegare la loro volontà d'imbarcarsi per Tolone, o pure restare quivi a tenore della capitolazione, si è trovato essere il numero di novantacinque quelli che si sono imbarcati.

Nella prima barca, ch' è partita dal castello dell' Uovo, il Sig. Brigadiere ha preso possesso, con dodici uomini, del castello : alla seconda barca ha preso possesso della casamatta : ed alla terza, che portava seco gli equipaggi di

the Brigadier took possession of the fortress. The formalities were next completed, and the keys of the castle having been presented, the Brigadier ordered the flag of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies to be hoisted.

Thereupon it was agreed between me, the commandant of the fortress, and the aforesaid Brigadier, that the thirty-four individuals who have declared their desire to remain in Naples should be set free at 11 o'clock French time.

All these operations were completed by a quarter past eight o'clock: in witness whereof the two undersigned, the commandant of the fortress and the Brigadier, have hereunto set their hands.¹

IL BRIGADIERE MINICHINI,
LE COMMANDANT DE PLACE L'AURORA.

tutti quei ch' erano scritti per partire, il sig. Brigadiere prese possesso della piazza.

Fatte in seguito le formalità, e presentate le chiavi del castello, esso Brigadiere fece elevare la bandiera di S.M. il Re delle due Sicilie.

Indi si è convenuto tra me Comandante della piazza ed il Brigadiere suddetto, che i trentaquattro individui che hanno dichiarato di voler rimanere in Napoli, sarebbero questi alle ore undici di Francia lasciati sortire in libertà.

Tutte queste operazioni furono terminate alle ore otto ed un quarto: indi sottoscritto da' due accennati Comandante di piazza, e sig. Brigadiere: in fede di che si è formato il presente.

IL BRIGADIERE MINICHINI,
LE COMMANDANT DE PLACE L'AURORA.

¹ There is no record anywhere of Neapolitan troops having occupied the Castel dell' Uovo. The castle was taken over by Troubridge, and a force of marines landed from Nelson's squadron (*Log of the Foudroyant, ante*, p. 201). On the 27th of June Hamilton requested Ruffo to place two or three hundred men in the castles whilst an attack was being made on the French in St. Elmo (see *post*, p. 253). On the 28th of June Minichini was given a pass by Nelson for the purpose of inspecting the

112. ACTON TO HAMILTON,

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 273; Lemmi, p. 95.]

Palermo, 26th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—We have received at last the infamous convention made by the cardinal for the Jacobins at Naples under the pretence of capitulating for the reddition of the castles. His Majesty is to have a ship freighted immediately to send a person to relieve the cardinal, and order him to come and give account for his disobeying so openly the commands and instructions of his own sovereign; but before sending over this message the king expects the news of Lord Nelson's arrival. That circumstance may bring other consequences, as many people is arrived here complaining for the triumph of the Jacobin party, and for the posts given to the scoundrels who have served under the republicans. I cannot express the desolation of both their Majesties for the shameful operations of that man, on whom they have confided. The king is resolved to go as soon as the things will appear in more order which is to be prepared. Every and the only hopes of remedy are in Lord Nelson. As soon as we receive your news the orders shall depart to call here the cardinal. I am constantly with truth, my dear sir, &c.,

J. ACTON.¹

fortifications of the castle, so that it is difficult to see what Minichini was doing in the Castel dell' Uovo at 6 P.M. on the 26th of June, the very time at which, according to Micheroux, the British marines took over the castle (see *post*, p. 275). In view of these facts this 'Verbale' must be regarded with grave suspicion, for it is either a forgery or it forms part of a manœuvre carried out by Micheroux behind Nelson's back, and lends support to the view that the Jacobins were deceived, not by Nelson, but by Micheroux acting on the instructions of Ruffo. It is curious that Micheroux in the *Compendio* makes no mention of any instructions given by him to Minichini.

¹ Received by Hamilton on the 29th of June. See *post*, p. 276.

113. CAPTAIN FOOTE'S STATEMENT.

A copy of the statement which I gave to Lord Nelson relative to my conduct and other events from the time of Cardinal Ruffo's arrival at Naples to the period when the British fleet under his Lordship's command reached that Bay.

[Sinclair MSS. ; Vindication, p. 151 ; Affari Esteri, fascio 624.]

26th of June, 1799.

I shall not take any notice of the various letters which I received from the cardinal. They will prove, if investigated, how very little he knew about the force that was under my orders, or what was possible to be done by a few small ships of war, and that he kept advancing without any fixed plan or project, trusting entirely to the chapter of accidents.

On the 9th of June I received a letter from the cardinal, in which he mentioned that on the 13th or 14th he should be at Torre del Greco ; and he gave me some signals by which I was to know when the royal army reached that place, at which time I was to give him all the assistance that lay in my power by sea. Accordingly on the 13th I stood into the bay, and it appeared to me that the coast from Portici to Castellamare was in a state of insurrection ; but I saw no signals.

Innumerable requests were made to me for assistance, but no one could tell me for certain where the cardinal was. I supplied the chief of Torre del Greco with powder, musket-ball, and cannister ; and, seeing the French and Neapolitan republican colours flying on the fort of Granatelli, I immediately stood for it, having the Neapolitan frigate Sirena and two gunboats with me. This fort was garrisoned by upwards of 200 men, who kept

up a constant fire on a party of royalists who were in the king's palace at Portici and just outside of it, which they returned with musketry and from one piece of artillery. When close in with Granatelli I fired a shot at it, and the republican colours were hauled down, and the royalists rushed in, putting the whole of the garrison to the sword. Shortly after a certain D. Constantine di Felippis came on board, and acquainted me that he commanded about 4,000 royalists, and that those I had seen at Portici were a part of them, that he meant to attack Villema¹ the next day, when I promised to assist him as much as I possibly could.

The cardinal, as I have since learnt, instead of being at his rendezvous, Torre del Greco, at the appointed time, was at Nola; but as to any direct information I had none, not receiving any letter from him between the 9th and 17th of this month. Some country people informed me that the republicans had a camp of 800 infantry and 120 cavalry near the Torre Annunziata, which was protected on the sea side by ten gunboats and two mortar-boats. I had written to the Count de Thurn for three galleys, which were then not much wanted at Procida; but, instead of their coming, I only received excuses about the weather (which, no doubt, was at one time threatening, but it afterwards cleared up). This caused me to write a positive order, and the galleys were sent; but the Count de Thurn at the same time informed me that his instructions were quite independent of my orders, and that he could not receive any but from his sovereign or those who were his superiors. Reference may be had to my letters on this subject; but I do not wish it to be renewed, as I am on very

¹ *I.e.* the fort of Vigliena.

good terms with the Count de Thurn, and am perfectly satisfied that the evil originated in his having secret orders, which, if I had not acted cautiously, might, in consequence of those left with me, have been attended with very fatal consequences. On the evening of the 13th the cardinal (or, rather, Russians) took the Fort of Villema and the bridge of Madalena. Caracciolo's gunboats annoyed them a good deal, the weather preventing my approaching sufficiently close with the frigates; but if the galleys had been with me I should certainly have taken some of the gunboats or caused them to retreat. On the 14th the weather was bad; and it was not until the 15th, the day the galleys joined me, that I could venture so deep into the bay as the Castles of Revigliano and Castellamare, which capitulated on terms mentioned in my letter-book, which circumstance I considered of the utmost consequence; for if their garrisons, or friends, amounting to about 1,000 men, had availed themselves of the opportunity to concert with the republicans at Annunziata and make an attack on the rear of the cardinal's army, his enterprise must inevitably have failed.

On the 17th I informed the cardinal that I should immediately join the gunboats and mortar-boats¹ who were at the Piedi Grotta, with a view of attacking Castello dell' Uovo; and on the 18th I sent Captain Oswald, of the *Perseus*, with a letter to the commandant of the fort, in the hope of its opening the way to a negotiation. On the night of the 17th I had sent an officer to the cardinal, who told him that the rebels and the French, particularly the latter, had refused to capitulate to an ecclesiastic, that his means were scarcely sufficient to reduce

¹ Among the number were those given up at Castellamare.

determined and obstinate people, and that he wished me to try what I could do by offering to hearken to the terms they might have to propose. I received a very insolent verbal answer from the commandant of Castello dell' Uovo, which I made the cardinal acquainted with, and that it was my intention to attack it by every means in my power ; to which his Eminence replied 'that it was no longer time to hearken to capitulations, and that it became necessary to think seriously of attacking Fort St. Elmo.'

The next day (the 19th), to my great surprise, I received a letter from the cardinal requesting me to cease hostilities, and not to recommence them whilst the flag of truce was up, as a negotiation had taken place. The same night I sent an officer to the cardinal to acquaint him that the British were not accustomed to grant so long a suspension of arms, and that as my sovereign was a principal ally of the King of the Two Sicilies I claimed a right to be made acquainted with what was going on. The cardinal sent word back that the Chevalier de Micheroux conducted the treaty, and that he had sent my letter to him that he might inform me what steps were taken. Not receiving a line from the Chevalier de Micheroux, I informed the cardinal that I thought nothing could be more prejudicial to the interest of his Sicilian Majesty than the having such a multiplicity of chiefs, and that I knew of no other than his Eminence who was specially charged with the interests of the King of Naples, and that I could act with no other person. The cardinal told the officer whom I sent that he knew nothing of what was going on, that he stood in great need of the aid of the Russians, that he would not give them the least ground for complaint, and that it was the Russians who conducted the treaty. On the 19th I received a plan of a capitulation already

signed by the cardinal and the chief of the Russians, with a request that I would put my name to it. In answer I informed the cardinal that I had done so because I considered him as the confidential agent of his Sicilian Majesty, and that some advantage would result from the capitulation, otherwise he would not have signed it, but I could not say I approved of such a manner of treating, and I could not be answerable for its consequences. I also made some observations relative to St. Elmo's capitulating, which may be seen in my letter-book.

At length, on the 22nd, I received a letter from the Chevalier de Micheroux, with the capitulation in form, already signed by the cardinal and the chief of the Russians. I replied to the Chevalier de Micheroux that I had signed where he pointed out, but that I protested against everything that could be in the least contrary to the honour and rights of my sovereign and the British nation.

I signed this capitulation lest on a reverse of fortune or the arrival of the enemy's fleet it might have been asserted that my refusal was the cause of such misfortunes as might occur, and because I considered that the cardinal was acquainted with the will and intention of his sovereign, and the Count de Thurn had told me that the Chevalier de Micheroux was authorised to act in a diplomatic character.

The result of all this is that with a very small force I have had to conquer difficulties which were only got the better of by that terror which the British flag inspires, that I never was consulted by the cardinal relative to the capitulation, and that I had neither instructions or any document to assist or guide me.

[E. J. FOOTE.]

114. COMMISSION TO TROUBRIDGE.

Nelson to Captain Thomas Troubridge, hereby appointed to command all the marine forces, seamen, &c., landed from the squadron under my command at Naples.

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 388.]

Foudroyant, Naples Bay, 26th of June, 1799.

You are hereby required to take upon you the charge and command of all his Majesty's marine forces landed from the squadron under my command in the castles and city of Naples, as well as all artillerymen, seamen, and others that may be landed, to assist in attacking the citadel of St. Elmo, and proceed to invest and besiege the said citadel, and use every means in your power to reduce the French garrison therein, to surrender the said castle to its lawful sovereign. And you are to take to your assistance Captain Ball, of his Majesty's ship *Alexander*, as second in command of the said marine forces, seamen, &c., who has my directions to follow your orders, and to assist you in all matters and things relative to the said siege of St. Elmo, and all other things necessary for the good of his Majesty's service.

NELSON.

115. NELSON TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.¹

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 389.]

Bay of Naples, 27th of June, 1799.

Sir,—I am this morning honoured with your letter of the 4th of May, with its several inclosures relative to the French fleet. I am happy in being

¹ Secretary to the admiralty.

able to congratulate their Lordships on the possession of the city of Naples. St. Elmo is yet in the hands of the French, but the castles of Uovo and Nuovo I took possession of last evening, and his Sicilian Majesty's colours are now flying on them. This morning I am going to send a detachment under Captain Troubridge to cut down the dangerous tree of anarchy, and to burn it before the king's palace. The moment I can find the city a little quieted, guns shall be got against St. Elmo, when, I am sure, the French will be glad to surrender. I transmit a copy of my letter to Lord St. Vincent,¹ which will inform their lordships more particularly of my situation. In my present position I have not the smallest alarm should the enemy favour us with a visit, inferior as my force is to oppose them. I have the honour to be, with great respect, your most obedient servant,
NELSON.

116. HAMILTON TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, 27th of June, 1799.²

My dear Sir,—Your Excellency will have perceived by my last that the opinions of the cardinal and Lord Nelson by no means coincided. However, upon cool reflection, Lord Nelson authorised me to write to his Eminency early yesterday morning and assure him that he would not do anything that could break the armistice which his Eminency had thought proper to make with the rebels in the castles of

¹ This letter was really sent to Keith, who had succeeded St. Vincent in the meantime. See *post*, p. 264.

² The Italian translation of this letter in Dumas, iv. p. 87, *seq.*, is so full of blunders that it made the elucidation of this episode—already quite sufficiently obscure—additionally difficult. The original English letter now sees the light for the first time.

Uovo and Nuovo, and that his Lordship was ready to give him any assistance that the fleet under his command could afford, and that his Eminency thought for the good of his Sicilian Majesty's service. This produced the best effect possible. Naples had been in confusion expecting Lord Nelson to break the armistice; now all was calm,¹ and the cardinal settled with Captains Ball and Troubridge that the rebels should embark from the castles of Uovo and Nuovo in the evening, and that 500 marines should be put on shore from the fleet to garrison the two castles where now, thank God, his Sicilian Majesty's flags are flying, and the short-lived republican flags are now in the cabin of the Foudroyant, and so will I hope very soon be the French flag still flying at St. Elmo. We were with Lord Nelson in his boat seeing the marines land at the Health Office; the joy of the people was excessive, the British and Neapolitan colours displayed from many windows, and when we took possession of the castles a *feu de joie* went all over Naples, and at night great illuminations as the former nights. In short, I am now in the greatest hopes that Lord Nelson's coming here will be of infinite service to their Sicilian Majesties. A little of my phlegm was necessary between the cardinal and Lord Nelson or all would have been up the very first day, and the cardinal has written to thank me and Lady Hamilton.² The Tree of

¹ Dumas has 'ora, tutto è calmo' ('now all is calm'), and has altered the tenses throughout the sentence from past to present. This has led to much confusion. Dumas was apparently misled by the ungrammatical juxtaposition of the adverb 'now' and the past tense, into correcting the original. It may be added that the date in the MS. is perfectly clear, and the letter bears no signs of having been written on two separate occasions.

² Dumas has read 'Ly.,' the abbreviation of the word 'Lady,' as 'Sir,' and from that has deduced the theory that this is an interpolation by Lady Emma.

Abomination is now cutting down [*sic*] opposite the king's palace, and the red cap will be taken off the giant's head. Captain Troubridge is gone to execute this business, and the rebels on board of the polaccas cannot stir without a passport from Lord Nelson. Caracciolo and 12 of the most infamous rebels are this day ¹ to be sent to Lord Nelson. If my opinion is relished ² they should be sent directly to be tried by the judge at Procida, and such as are condemned be brought back and executed here. Caracciolo will probably be seen hanging at the yardarm of the *Minerva*, Neapolitan frigate, from daybreak to sunset, for such an example is necessary for the future marine service of his Sicilian Majesty, and particularly as Jacobinism had prevailed so much in the Neapolitan marine.

St. Elmo has fired every night ³ 7 or 8 shot. We are told it was at some Calabrese that were taking up rebels under the walls of the castle. I believe the honour of reducing St. Elmo will fall to the lot of the British and Russian troops; however, we now shall act perfectly in concert with the cardinal, though we think the same we did at first as to the treaty his Eminency made before our arrival. If one cannot do exactly as one could wish, one must do the next best thing, and that is what Lord Nelson is doing, ⁴ and I hope the result will be approved by their Sicilian Majesties. Salandra's conduct is such that I am convinced that he himself is an honest man and loyal, whatever his connections may be. Adieu, &c.

WM. HAMILTON.

¹ Dumas has 'fra breve,' *i.e.* shortly.

² Dumas, 'Se non m' inganno saranno spediti cautamente.'
'If I am not mistaken they will be sent cautiously.'

³ Dumas, 'in tutta la notte,' *i.e.* during the whole night.

⁴ Dumas, 'ha fatto,' *i.e.* has done.

117. HAMILTON TO RUFFO.

[Sacchinelli, p. 258.]

On board the Foudroyant, 27th of June, 1799.

Eminence,—It is with great pleasure that I receive your Eminence's note. We have all alike worked for the true welfare of his Sicilian Majesty and the good cause. Different characters have different ways of expressing themselves. Praise be to God all goes well, and I can assure your Eminence that Lord Nelson congratulates himself on the decision he has arrived at, not to interrupt your Eminence's operations, but to assist you with all his power to put an end to the affair which your Eminence has so well conducted up to the present in the very critical circumstances in which your Eminence found yourself. My Lord and I will be only too happy if we have been able to contribute a little to the service of their Sicilian Majesties and to the tranquillity of your Eminence.

A bord le Foudroyant, 27 de Juin, 1799.

Eminence,—C'est avec grand plaisir que je reçois le billet de votre Eminence. Nous sommes tous également travaillés pour le vrai service de Sa Majesté Sicilienne, et de la bonne cause. Il y a selon les caractères les différentes manières de s'exprimer. Grâce à Dieu tout va bien, et je puis assurer V.E. que Milord Nelson se loue de la décision qu'il a prise de ne point interrompre les opérations de Votre Éminence, mais de vous assister avec tout son pouvoir pour terminer l'affaire que V.E. a si bien conduit jusqu'à présent dans les circonstances très-critiques dans lesquelles V.E. s'est trouvé.

Milord et moi sommes trop heureux si nous ayons pour ¹ contribuer un peu au service de Leurs Majestés Siciliennes, et à la tranquillité de Votre Eminence.

¹ So in the text.

My Lord begs me to thank your Eminence for your note, and to say that he will see to the provisions.

I have the honour, &c.,
W. HAMILTON.

Milord me prie de remercier V.E. pour son billet, et qu'il en verra de manière pour les provisions.

J'ai l'honneur d'être
De V.E.
Le très-humble, &c. &c.,
W. HAMILTON.

118. HAMILTON TO RUFFO.

[Rose, vol. i. p. 237.]

27th of June, 1799.

My Lord Nelson begs me to say to your Eminence that he has no doubt you will agree with him that, for the service of his Sicilian Majesty, it is necessary that the castle of St. Elmo should be reduced as soon as possible. My Lord proposes then, with the approbation of your Eminence, to send the body of marines, about 1,200 men, together with the Russian corps attached to the army of your Eminence, to attack the said castle. My Lord would desire that during this attack your Eminence would place two or three hundred men in the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, and to keep the gates of these forts closed during the operations. My Lord would also desire your Eminence to order a body of troops, with the requisite artillery, to hold themselves in readiness to aid in the attack confided to the English and Russian troops. My Lord submits to the judgment of your Eminence whether it would not be expedient to publish an edict to prevent the French garrison of St. Elmo being provided daily

with victuals and refreshments, as it is said they are at present. My Lord begs me to add, that if your Eminence judges it expedient to send Caracciolo and the rest of the other rebels to him, according to his proposal¹ yesterday, he will dispose of them.

[W. HAMILTON.]

119. RUFFO TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34944, f. 254.]

27th of June, 1799.

Excellency,—Your Excellency's generous inclination to favour those who implore your patronage leads me to hope that you will deign to listen to the urgent request which I lay before you for the relief of this unhappy capital from distress. It is almost entirely without salt, and it has been decided to send five polaccas to Trapani to obtain as much as is necessary; but the owners of the boats are reluctant to make the voyage, dreading lest they should fall into the hands of the Algerine pirates. They are therefore anxious to be secured by your Excellency's passport, which is respected by all, and which is the only one which can guarantee

Eccellenza,—L' animo generoso di Vostra Eccellenza, inclinato mai sempre a favorire quelli, che implorano il suo rispettabile patrocinio, mi fa sperare, che sia per degnarsi di accogliere le premure, che le porgo per sollevare da un angustia questa infelice Capitale. Essa è quasi priva affatto de' sali, ed essendosi perciò stabilito di spedire cinque Polacche a Trapani per farne l'occorrente provisione, non si arrischiano i Padroni delle medesime di esporsi al viaggio per timore di non cadere nelle mani de' Barbareschi; onde bramerebbero di essere assicurati da un *Passavanti* dell' Eccellenza vostra, come quello che rispettato da tutti è il solo che para

¹ It is impossible at present to identify this 'proposal,' which may have been conveyed orally to Ruffo by Troubridge and Ball.

their safety. In case your Excellency should kindly be pleased to grant my prayer, which is for the public good, I take the liberty of sending you the enclosed documents, in order that you may deign to decorate them with your signature, and to contribute thus to the provision of an article of first necessity, such as salt, for the capital, which is already so greatly indebted to you on other grounds.

I must also ask your Excellency for another favour. Many barons of the first rank, who have been compelled by force to remain here during the time of the anarchy, desire to go to Palermo to pay their respects to the king; but they also fear to be surprised in transit by the Algerines, and have asked me to intercede with you for permission to embark on two small ships of your squadron, or on others under the English flag, in case an expedition is being sent to Palermo. These barons could not ask for such a favour on better or more dutiful

garantirli. Quando per tanto alla bontà di V. E. piaccia secondare le mie preghiere, dirette ad pubblico bene, mi prendo la libertà d' inviarle gli annessi Fogli, affinchè voglia degnarsi di decorarli della sua sottoscrizione, e di contribuire così a rendere questa Capitale, che già per altri titoli le professa infinite obbligazioni, fornita di un Genere di prima necessità qual è il sale.

Un' altra grazia pure mi occorre implorare dall' Eccellenza Vostra. Molti di questi Baroni del primo Rango, i quali dalla violenza sono stati costretti a rimaner qui nel tempo dell' Anarchia, bramerebbero ora di portarsi a Palermo per tributare il loro omaggio alla Maestà del Re; ma temendo anch' essi di poter essere sorpresi per viaggio dai Barbareschi mi han richiesto d' interpormi presso l' Eccellenza Vostra affinchè volesse degnarsi di accordar loro l' Imbarco sopra due piccioli Legni della Squadra, o altri con Bandiera Inglese, in occasione che occorresse fare qualche spedizione a Palermo. Il motivo, per cui questi Baroni supplicano di una tal grazia, non può esser più giusto, nè

grounds, and I therefore have no doubt that your Excellency will also grant this favour, &c. &c.

F. CARD. RUFFO.

piu doveroso ; onde non dubito, che V. E. sia per dispensare anche questo favore, e con tale fiducia pieno del maggior ossequio ho l'onore di reassegnarmi

Di Vostra Eccellenza,

F. CARD. RUFFO, V. GLE.

Dal Quartier Generale, 27 Giugno, 1799.

120. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 274; Lemmi, p. 96.]

Palermo, 27th of June, 1799, 10 o'clock P.M.

My dear Sir,—I have received your important participation of what happened on the arrival of the British fleet in the Bay of Naples: the high disapprobation, I mean, of the brave Lord Nelson to the infamous capitulation made by the cardinal, and the noble declaration of his Lordship delivered to his Eminency (at the Maddalena) by Captains Troubridge and Ball in the name of the admiral.

I find by a second note, I believe of the 25th, from my lady (yours was of the 24th), that the cardinal has denied to comply with the just request of Lord Nelson and the only measure for saving the honour of their Sicilian Majesties and their government from the injurious blot which future history should have laid to the sovereigns of the Two Sicilies for that indignant convention. You have by this time received, my dear sir, my answer to your obliging note of Sunday in sight of Capri, when the first news of that capitulation reached Palermo; you have seen the king's letter to Lord Nelson,¹ his

¹ It was on receipt of this letter (which is missing) that Nelson seized the rebels on board the transports.

Majesty's entreaties to spare and save his honour and that of the nation, the orders to the cardinal, and their Majesties' opinion on this whole critical and most affecting business.

If the cardinal refuses to abide to what Lord Nelson desires for the honour of his Majesty, for the credit, quiet, and peace of his faithful subjects, his Majesty begs and desires Lord Nelson to carry on notwithstanding this necessary operation. The cardinal mentions 13 thousand men under his orders. The people in Naples is ready to help the attacks, and his Majesty sends the following orders : a letter to the cardinal, wherein his Majesty tells him that he hears with the fullest satisfaction the arrival of the British fleet before Naples, and hopes it is come in time for saving a shameful capitulation against every reason from taking place, which he has already seen by his former order and disapprobation, though such a paper is not arrived yet before his Majesty. If that letter does not bring the cardinal to break the truce immediately and follow Lord Nelson's direction, his Majesty encloses here an order for the cardinal to come *immediately* to Palermo to inform his Majesty of the serious business which are transacting in that kingdom ; but if the cardinal should make some difficulty, his Majesty begs Lord Nelson to arrest and send the cardinal to Palermo, by calling him or procuring him to come on board ; but in case of a treason I enclose three despatches : one for General de Gambs to take the command of the troops at Naples, and arrest the cardinal, cause him to embark on a frigate and come to Palermo ; another for the Duke of Salandra to the same purpose.

A third to Baron Thoudy¹ for doing the same

¹ So in the MS. : apparently Tschudy is meant, a Swiss officer in the Neapolitan service.

operation. All this in case that a party should be made with the people of the town or some Calabrians, and the cardinal should turn a traitor by not obeying the orders of his sovereign in this so critical a moment. All these despatches I send, and shall be at the disposal of Lord Nelson to make use of them as his lordship will think better and convenient for the best service of his Majesty in those tumultuous and critical moments. The people of Naples, we hear, is all against the action of the cardinal, who employs again the Jacobins in his absence. Till he or a person comes to relieve him, Gambs, Salandra, and the other chiefs of the military, under the eldest of the two, will command the arms in Naples, and settle the good order; the civil under Simonetti and Zurlo, and Logèret for the war office. All this in a few days, but everything to be concerted constantly, in every article, with Lord Nelson. If the things become more necessary, the king himself, when advised, and with some ships, will appear there; but their Majesties are making their plan for another vicar-general. I am for ever, begging my respects to Lord Nelson and my lady, &c.,

J. ACTON.¹

121. ACTON TO HAMILTON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 276; Lemmi, p. 99.]

Palermo, 27th of June, 1799.

At 12 o'clock at night.

My dear Sir,—The boat is not gone yet, I have wrote to you in such a state that I must fear that I have complied properly, to be understood to his Majesty's orders.

¹ This letter was received by Hamilton on the morning of the 30th of June. See *post*, p. 285.

I send you here under No. 1 his Majesty's letter to the cardinal, and the copy of it, for Lord Nelson's intelligence. The king's sentiments are most clearly explained in it.

No. 2 is the order to the cardinal to come to Sicily immediately; one of his Sicilian Majesty's frigates, or corvettes might bring him. The seal is opened, and must be sealed again when read.

Nos. 3, 4 and 5 are the orders for General Gambs [and] Salandra, in case that the first is still arrested, to take the full command of the troops and keep good order with a council, and the 5th to Simonetti in the absence of the cardinal, till proper methods are taken to establish there a proper government.

The numbers 6, 7 and 8 are the orders for seizing the cardinal in case that he should not obey the orders of his Majesty for coming to Palermo immediately. I hope that there will be no necessity of making use of these orders, but in any particular circumstance his Majesty begs of Lord Nelson to have the cardinal's conduct observed, and if he thinks that any mischief in party and factions should appear going on in prejudice to his Majesty's service, and in disobeying to his orders, his Majesty will be much obliged to Lord Nelson for giving these last orders to the three commanding officers, who must however take a great care of the Calabrians and all the military chiefs arrived and depending from the cardinal, promising to them all the convenient and ample rewards for the services which they have rendered to his Majesty, and for those which in future they shall likewise perform, &c. I must beg of you, my dear sir, to be so kind to present these demands to his Lordship, who is so much attached and a true and zealous friend to their Sicilian Majesties' welfare and interests. We do not know here what

to make of the cardinal's head and dispositions at present; his behaviour if he persists to refuse to break the truce and infamous capitulation, and to abide in everything to the sentiments of Lord Nelson, deserves to be noticed in the manner which his Majesty has resolved. We should then judge that a party has found the way to deceive him, and bring him to an open refractory determination, very little different from a rebellion. I hope, however, that the things have taken a better turn since your last letter.

I am, &c.,

J. ACTON.¹

122. KING FERDINAND TO RUFFO.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 278; Rose, vol. i. p. 230.]

No. 1.

Palermo, 27th of June, 1799.

At this moment, namely 2 o'clock in the afternoon, my frigate arrives from Naples, and I have heard with inexpressible consolation of the happy arrival there with his squadron of the very worthy and faithful admiral, Lord Nelson. I have read the declaration which he, in form of observations,

No. 1. *Copia di Lettera di S. M. il Re al Cardinale Ruffo.*

Palermo, 27 Giugno, 1799.

In punto che sono le due del dopo pranzo giunge la mia Fregata da Napoli, e della medesima con inespriabile consolazione sento felicemente arrivato costì colla sua Squadra il ben degno e fedele Ammiraglio Lord Nelson. Ho letto la Dichiarazione che Egli in forma

¹ Received by Hamilton on the morning of the 30th of June. See *post*, p. 286.

has despatched to you, which could not be more wise, reasonable, and adapted to the end, and truly evangelical.

I do not doubt that you immediately conformed to it, and acted in consequence on his advice. Otherwise, that would be equivalent to declaring yourself a rebel, which is impossible, after the many proofs of fidelity and attachment given me in the past.

May the Lord preserve you, as with all my heart I desire.

(Signed) FERDINANDO B.

di osservazioni, vi ha spedito, che non può essere più savia, ragionata, ed adattata all' effetto, e veramente Evangelica. Non dubbito che immediatamente vi ci sarete conformato ed avete agito in conseguenza all' istante, altrimenti sarebbe stato lo stesso che dichiararvi anche voi Ribelle, cio che non è possibile mai, dopo tante ripruove per lo passato datemi di fideltà ed attaccamento. Il Sig^r vi conservi come di tutto cuore io ve lo desidero.

FERDINANDO B.

123. *ACTON TO RUFFO.*

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640; Rose, p. 228.]

No. 2.

Palermo, 27th of June, 1799.

Your Eminence,—The king, finding it indispensable for his royal service that your Excellency should repair instantly to this capital, that his Majesty

No. 2.

'Em^o. Signor,—Il Re trovando essere indispensabile pel suo Real Servizio che V.E. parti subito in questa Capitale per far che Sua Maestà rimanga minutamente

may be minutely informed by you of certain events that have happened in order to enable his Majesty to make important provisions for the good government of the affairs of this city and kingdom, has therefore resolved and commands that you should immediately embark on board one of the men-of-war that shall be selected for this purpose by the admiral of the British squadron, Lord Nelson, and be conveyed immediately here for the above-mentioned object; his Majesty having already given to the aforesaid admiral his royal commands concerning the persons who, during your Eminence's absence, will assume the military command and regulate all civil affairs.

In the royal name I command speedy obedience, the corresponding orders being already given to the above-mentioned admiral.

JOHN ACTON.

informata dalla stessa voce del E.V. di alcuni fatti che costì sono avvenuti e che posse quindi la Maestà sua dare alcune importantissime providenze relative al buon Governo degli affari di cotesta Città e Regno, ha perciò risoluto e commanda che Ella immediatamente s' imbarchi sopra uno de' Legni da Guerra che sarà a tal uopo destinata dal Ammiraglio della Squadra Britannica, Lord Nelson, e si trasferisca subito qui all' accennato oggetto; avendo già S.M. dato le sovrane disposizioni allo stesso Ammiraglio Inglese circa le persone che durante il tempo che l' E.V. ne starà lontana, debbono assumere costì il Comando Militare, ed interinamente regolar gli Affari Civili.

Nel Real nome lo partecipo a V.E. pel pronto adempimento, prevenendola di essersene già dati gli avisi corrispondenti al mentovato Ammiraglio.

Em^o. Signor,

GIOVANNI ACTON.

Palermo, 27 Giugno, 1799.

124. ACTON TO SALANDRA.¹

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640; Rose, p. 229.]

No. 3.

Palermo, 27th of June, 1799.

Your Excellency,—The king, having decided that Cardinal Ruffo should be conducted here by one of the men-of-war to be chosen for this purpose by the admiral of the British squadron, Lord Nelson, has deigned to command that your Excellency, in concert with General Gambs, if this latter be not occupied or prevented, and Colonel Baron Tschudy, be charged to execute the said removal, with all the caution that the circumstances demand, and to consign the aforesaid cardinal to the above-mentioned admiral, to whom his Majesty has already given the corresponding orders, in order that he may be embarked and removed here. In the royal

Signor Duca della Salandra.

Eccellentissimo Signor,—Il Re avendo sovranamente risoluto che il Cardinale Ruffo sia arrestato e condotto qui sopra uno dei Legni di Guerra che a tal uopo sarà destinata dal Ammiraglio della Squadra Britannica, Lord Nelson, si è degnata comandare che V.E. di concerto col Generale Gambs, si costui non si trovi arrestato ni impedito, e col Col. Barone Tschudy, s' incarichi di eseguire un tal arresto con tutte quelle cautele che le circostanze richiedono, e che quindi consegni il referito Cardinale al mentovato Ammiraglio, al quale ha già S. M. dato gli avvisi corrispondenti, perchè il medesimo sia imbarcato

¹ The Duca della Salandra, commanding the Neapolitan regular troops attacking St. Elmo.

name, I urge upon your Excellency the prompt and exact accomplishment of this desire.

JOHN ACTON.

e qui trasportato. Io partecipo nel Real nome a V.S. pel pronto e esatto adempimento di sua parte.

GIOVANNI ACTON.

Palermo, 27 Giugno, 1799.

125. NELSON TO KEITH.

[P. R. O. Adm. Sec., In Letters, 400. Holograph.]

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, 27th of June, 1799.¹

My dear Lord,—Having detailed my proceedings to the 16th of June by the Telegraph brig, I have now to go on with my movements. On the 17th the Alexander and Goliath joined me from off Malta, leaving to look out in that quarter three sloops of war; the force with me was now 15 sail of two-decked ships, English, and 3 Portuguese with a fire-ship and cutter. On the 20th the Swallow, Portuguese corvette, brought me your lordship's despatch of the 17th, acquainting me of the near approach of the squadron under Sir Alan Gardner, and that Lord Keith was going in search of the French fleet. As I had now no prospect of being in a situation to go in search of the enemy's fleet, which at least is

¹ This letter seems to have been begun at one time and finished at another. The break appears to be at the words 'Under this opinion' etc. on p. 266, which are written with a finer pen than the earlier portions of the letter. There is a copy of this letter in the letter-book B. M. Add. MS. 34963 fo. 208. The second page (f. 210) is headed 30th of June; in all probability, therefore, this letter was begun on the 27th and finished on the 30th of June. This would explain the reference in the postscript to an event which took place on the 29th of June. This letter was in reality addressed to Lord St. Vincent. See Nelson to Nepean, 27th of June (*ante*, p. 248). It appears that whilst it was being written, Nelson heard that Lord St. Vincent had resigned.

25 sail of the line and might be reinforced with two Venetian ships, although I was firmly resolved they should not pass me without a battle which would so cripple them that they might be unable to proceed on any distant service, I determined to offer myself for the service of Naples, where I knew the French fleet intended going. With this determination I pushed for Palermo, and on the 21st I went on shore for 2 hours, saw his Majesty and General Acton, who repeated to me what the general had wrote (but which I had not received), to request that I would instantly go into the Bay of Naples to endeavour to bring his Sicilian Majesty's affairs in that city to a happy conclusion. I lost not one moment in complying with the request, and arrived in the Bay of Naples on the 24th, when I saw a flag of truce flying on board his Majesty's ship Seahorse, Captain Foote, and also on the castles of Uovo and Nuovo. Having on the passage received letters informing [me] that an infamous armistice was entered into with the rebels in those castles, to which Captain Foote had put his name, I instantly made the signal to annul the truce, being determined never to give my approbation to any terms with rebels but that of unconditional submission. The fleet was anchored in close line of battle NW by N and SSW by S from the Mole Head, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant, flanked by twenty-two gun and mortar boats which I recalled from Procida. I sent Captains Troubridge and Ball instantly to the Cardinal, Vicar-general, to represent to his Eminence my opinion of the infamous terms entered into with the rebels, and also two papers, which I enclose. His Eminence said he would send no papers, that if I pleased I might break the armistice, for that he was tired of his situation. Captain Troubridge then asked his Eminence this plain question: If Lord Nelson breaks the armistice will your Eminence

assist him in his attack on the castles? His answer was clear: 'I will neither assist him with men or guns.' After much communication his Eminence desired to come on board to speak with me on this situation. I used every argument in my power to convince him that the treaty and armistice was at an end by the arrival of the fleet, but an admiral is no match in talking with a cardinal. I therefore gave him my opinion in writing, viz.: 'Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson, who arrived in the Bay of Naples on the 24th of June with the British fleet, found a treaty entered into with the rebels which he is of opinion ought not to¹ be carried into execution without the approbation of his Sicilian Majesty, Earl St. Vincent, Lord Keith.' Under this opinion the rebels came out of the castles, which was instantly occupied by the marines of the squadron. On the 27th Captains Troubridge and Ball with 1,300 men landed from the ships, united with 500 Russians and a body of royalists, half of whose officers are, I have every reason to believe, rebels—cowards they have already proved themselves. Our batteries are open on St. Elmo and a few days will, I hope, reduce it. The *Alexander* and another are just going to resume their station off Malta,² which I am confident will very soon surrender now all hopes of relief are cut off. I shall not fail to keep up a constant communication with your lordship, and have the honour, &c.

NELSON.

Caracciolo was executed on board his Sicilian Majesty's ship *Minerva* on the 29th of June, '99.

¹ The letter-book has here 'cannot be carried into execution.'

² The *Alexander* sailed on the 3rd of July. See *Log of the Heuldroyant*, ante, p. 201.

128. HAMILTON TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

Foudroyant, 28th of June, 1799, Bay of Naples.¹

My dear Sir,—I seize the opportunity of a boat going for Palermo to acquaint your Excellency that the landing of the British marines to garrison the castles of Nuovo and Uovo has had a very good effect in calming the minds of the people of Naples, the only class that can really be depended upon as truly attached to their sovereigns—and would surely on every occasion shed their blood in the good cause. If I was to enter upon what I hear of the cardinal's conduct and encouragement of those who have notoriously shown themselves as Jacobins, and actually employing artillerymen who actually served with the republicans, there would be no end of my letter ; that his Eminency is governed by Padre Severino and others whose principles are well known to be anti-monarchical, that protections are granted in Naples to noble families, most distinguished enemies to their Sicilian Majesties, &c. &c. &c. Captain Ball and Troubridge have yesterday held conferences with the cardinal as to the method of attacking St. Elmo ; all was confusion and difference of opinion, nothing fixed. In short, Lord Nelson, having at first entirely differed in opinion with the cardinal, continues the same, but does not refuse any assistance that he thinks can be of service to his Majesty. In short, all will be confusion if some regular government is not soon established.

¹ An Italian translation of this letter is published in Dumas, iv. 97. The original English has not been published before. Dumas places this letter after No. 129. This is clearly a mistake, as Hamilton mentions in the present letter that he will write again in the evening.

The boat will not wait longer, but I will write fully to your Excellency by one Lord Nelson sends this evening.

Ever, &c.,
WM. HAMILTON.

127. *RUFFO TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Add. MS. 34944, f. 257.]

Naples, 28th of June, 1799.

Your Excellency,—Should your Excellency have an opportunity soon of sending to Palermo, I beg you to be so kind as to forward the enclosed packet to the court. In the contrary event will you kindly return it to me at once, so that I may send it by the ordinary courier? Believe me, &c.,

F. CARD. RUFFO.

Eccellenza,—Qualora V. E. abbia occasione pronta per Palermo, La prego a compiacersi di rimettere alla Corte il piego, che le invio, in caso contrario si compiacerà di restituirmelo subito, per mandarlo io pel Corriere ordinario. E pieno di stima, &c.

F. CARD. RUFFO.

Napoli, 28 Giugno, 1799.

128. *HAMILTON TO RUFFO.*

[Rose, vol. i. p. 238.]

28th of June, 1799.

My Lord Nelson desires me to inform your Eminence that, in consequence of an order which he has just received from his Sicilian Majesty, who entirely disapproves of the capitulation made with his rebellious subjects in the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, he is about to seize and make sure of those who have left them, and are on board the vessels in

this port, submitting it to the opinion of your Eminence whether it would not be advisable to publish at first in Naples the reason of this transaction, and at the same time to warn the rebels who have escaped to Naples from the said castles, that they must submit to the clemency of his Sicilian Majesty within the space of twenty-four hours, under pain of death.¹

[W. HAMILTON.]

129. HAMILTON TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

On board the Foudroyant, 28th of June, 1799.²

My dear Sir,—This morning I received your Excellency's packet of the 25th instant, with a letter from his Sicilian Majesty to Lord Nelson, which I instantly delivered to his Lordship. We are all of the opinion that without the presence of his Majesty the confusion will increase, and no regular government be established. We could wish that both the king, queen, and your Excellency could come *directly*, when in a very few days the material points of government might be settled. Lord Nelson sends off the Lord St. Vincent cutter to acquaint their Majesties that the Seahorse will sail this night for Palermo to be at their Majesties' disposition, and Lord Nelson thinks that the Seahorse will bring you here very safely and expeditiously.

[We trust no one with the secret of any probability of their Majesties coming],³ but should they so determine, we are firmly of opinion that they will

¹ For the original letter in French see the next document.

² A portion of this letter translated into Italian is published in Dumas, iv. 94.

³ Words in brackets omitted by Dumas.

by so doing place themselves on their throne of Naples with dignity and expedition ; whereas leaving things in their present *mysterious* state, God knows how or when it may end. Lord Nelson, finding that his Sicilian Majesty totally disapproved of what the Cardinal Ruffo has done contrary to his instructions with respect to the rebels in the castles, and those rebels being still on board of 12 or 14 polaccas [and it being in time to remedy that evil],¹ thought himself sufficiently authorised to seize all these polaccas and anchor them amidst of the squadron, and there [they] will remain at his Majesty's disposition [and I wrote at the same time the following letter to the cardinal by Lord Nelson's desire :—

A bord du Foudroyant.

Eminence,—Milord Nelson me prie d'informer V.E. qu'en conséquence d'un ordre qu'il vient de recevoir de S.M. Sicilienne qui disapprouve entièrement la Capitulation faite avec ses sujets Rebelles dans les châteaux Neuf et de l'Oeuf, il va saisir et s'assurer de ceux qui sont sortis et se trouvent à bord des bastiments dans ce Port, en se soumettant à l'opinion de V.E. s'il ne seroit pas à propos de publier d'abord à Naples la raison de cette opération de Milord Nelson, et en même temps de donner avis à ceux des Rebelles qui sont échappés des dits châteaux dans la Ville de Naples doivent se soumettre à la clémence de S.M. Sicilienne dans l'espace de 24 heures sous peine de mort.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.,
W. H.²

How the cardinal will relish this letter I cannot tell, but I know that] ¹ affairs could not be going on worse for their Majesties' honour than they did before

¹ Words in brackets omitted by Dumas.

² A translation of this letter to Ruffo is printed in *Rose Diaries*, i. 238.

we came to this resolution—in our minds necessary for their Majesties' honour. I have reason to believe we have Cirillo¹ and all the most guilty on board these polaccas, and the stroke was quite unexpected, and so will be the arrival of their Majesties and your Excellency, should you determine—as we sincerely wish. At this season it will be a party of pleasure, and their Majesties might do their business and return to Palermo before the world was informed of their departure. Excuse the confusion in this letter; we are all hurried to death.

Ever, my dear Sir, &c.,
WM. HAMILTON.²

130. NELSON TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, 28th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—Although our friend Sir William will write you fully on all subjects, yet I cannot help taking up the pen to say that I approve of no one thing which has been and is going on here. In short, if the cardinal was an angel, the voice of the

¹ Domenico Cirillo (born 1739) became Professor of Botany in the University of Naples at the age of twenty-one. Before long he attained great fame as a physician, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society when he visited London; author of many medical works, and of the *Discorsi Accademici*; went over to the Jacobin party, and was elected President of the Legislative Commission of the Parthenopean republic; executed on the 29th of October, 1799. He asked Lady Hamilton to intercede for his pardon with the king, and Nelson wrote with reference to his petition: 'Domenico Cirillo, who had been the king's physician, might have been saved, but that he chose to play the fool and lie, denying that he had ever made any speeches against the government, and saying that he only took care of the poor in the hospitals' (Jeaffreson, vol. ii. p. 105). See D'Ayala, p. 167.

² Received by Acton on the 30th of June. See *post*, p. 288.

people is against his conduct. I see nothing but little cabals and complaints, which in my humble opinion nothing can remove but the presence of the King, QUEEN, and the Neapolitan Ministers, that the regular government may again go on, bad, to say no worse, as is the present system going on here. Had I followed my inclination, the capital would have been in a worse state, for the cardinal would have done worse than nothing. Therefore I again urge for the presence of THEIR Majesties, for whose safety I will be responsible with my head. I would come over in the Foudroyant, but if I was to quit this place the consequences might be fatal. The Seahorse is as safe for their Majesties as this ship.¹

Ever, &c.

NELSON.

131. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 290; Lemmi, p. 99.]

Palermo, 28th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I receive this moment your letter of the 25th inst., and have seen that of Lady Hamilton wrote to the queen, wherein Lord Nelson's intentions are mentioned. I translated immediately to their Majesties your description of what had passed with the British squadron and the cardinal to that date, as I had done with yours of the former day, and her Majesty read to the king the contents of Lady Hamilton's. I mention those particulars so minutely for apprising the unexpressible surprise which was made in their Majesties' mind when they heard that the cardinal in his visit

¹ The Italian translation of this letter which was made for the king is printed in Dumas, iv. 90. The English original has not yet been published. The words in large capitals have three lines drawn under them in the original MS.

to Lord Nelson had expressed to have *an order from the king to do the best he could for his Majesty's service*, and upon this instruction he thought himself authorised to sign the infamous armistice, which makes our present grievance, and is so painful to these good and meritorious sovereigns for the shame that is brought by it on them and their government.

When the cardinal went to Calabria for raising there, in January last, a necessary insurrection in favour of his Majesty, he might have from the king a phrase in general words *to do the best he could for his service*. As soon, however, as he had successes, and the insurrection broke in all the other provinces, some regulations were sent to him; he was directed how to behave especially with the rebels, those were distinguished in different classifications, and in every one of these a proper and different way of acting with them was explained and fixed by his Majesty;¹ a copy of these instructions was sent to Lord Nelson with the requests to direct them to Captain Troubridge at Procida, in order to have a same ruler for operating with the rebels. Since that no other instruction was ever sent to the cardinal, for Naples especially, where he was ordered to approach when Lord Nelson with the royal hereditary prince were going, in order to meet his Royal Highness and act as he should be directed. By my letters to you, my dear sir, of the 25th and 27th, and the copies of those² of his Majesty's to the cardinal with those dates; by the king's two letters to Lord Nelson on the subject of the shameful capitulation, you and Lord Nelson have seen clearly the manner of thinking of their Majesties on that particular and indignant article.

¹ See *ante*, p. 45, No. 11.

² See *ante*, pp. 223-228, and 256-264.

By all the orders sent last night and confided to Lord Nelson's disposition, in whom they rely entirely for their honour, safety, and the good of their service, you will see the firm intentions of the king, and the effectuous and most resolute declarations, as well as determinations, on the person even of the cardinal, if anything is going on contrary to the expressed orders of his Majesty. These are that no treaty is to be made with rebels on the footing of a regular power, therefore clemency only is to be implored and expected by them without articles: that the capitulation must be ratified by his Majesty, and this is relative to the French likewise if anything should relate to rebels, for which mercy only is to be begged, which implies that his Majesty must be acquainted of such acts and demands before they may receive any force of obligation. I must think that the cardinal, from the two letters of which Lord Nelson has the copies wrote by his Majesty on the 24th and 25th, will recede from a criminal obstinacy, and most improper behaviour towards his sovereign in a matter of so much importance as the safety of his kingdom and the honour of their Majesties and government. If he does not obey he is to be arrested: a better and stronger proof of his Majesty's manner of thinking and acting cannot certainly be given.

Lord Nelson shall have all the chiefs of our good people with him; he will concert with our officers the best method for the castles of the rebels, in order they should be taken instantly, and what may be necessary for a more regular siege to St. Elmo, which I think will not venture to stand, and the certain loss of everyone's life. The king recommends his good people to Lord Nelson, his dignity and honour, and the security of his kingdom by the possession of the capital. His Majesty prepares

himself in secret to run there, if necessary, for a short instant; but certainly to settle a different command, as complaints come every day of Jacobins being employed by the cardinal, which gives suspicion, fear, and uneasiness to the good and loyal subjects. I beg Lord Nelson and my lady to agree my respects, &c.

J. ACTON.

132. *MINICHINI'S PASS.*

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 394.]

Foudroyant, Naples Bay, 28th of June, 1799.

It is my directions [that] the officers commanding the forts Uovo and Nuovo do permit Brigadier-General Minichini, and such people as he may bring with him, to inspect the works and fortifications, for the purpose of repairing the damages of the same.

NELSON.

133. *NELSON TO FOOTE.*

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 142.]

Foudroyant, Naples Bay, 28th of June, 1799.

[Secret.]

You are hereby directed to proceed in his Majesty's ship Seahorse with all expedition to Palermo, and there wait the orders of their Sicilian Majesties, who may in all probability embark on board for this place; and on your arrival there to call on General Acton, who will inform their Majesties thereof.

NELSON.

134. HAMILTON TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

Foudroyant, 29th of June, 1799.¹

My dear Sir,—I have received your Excellency's three letters of the 25th and one of the 26th, and am quite happy to find that hitherto Lord Nelson and I have acted conformable to the wishes of their Sicilian Majesties and your Excellency. The cardinal seems to decline now interfering as to the reduction of St. Elmo, and has sent the Duca della Salandra to consult with Lord Nelson the operations for the attack of that fortress. Captain Troubridge is to command the British forces, and the Russians are to be with us with some excellent Portuguese artillerymen.² The Duca della Salandra will be however the commander-in-chief, and Troubridge has no objection to it, [and the cardinal promises all the assistance in his power].³ In short I flatter myself this important business will soon be done, and the king's flag flying on St. Elmo as on all the other castles. Such a sight we have seen this morning! Caracciolo with a long beard, pale and half dead, and never looking up, brought bound on board this ship, where he now is with Cassano's son,⁴ D. Giulio,⁵ Pacifico,⁶ and other villainous traitors. I suppose the most guilty will soon be disposed of according to justice. It is shocking to be sure, but I that knew their ingratitude

¹ A portion of this letter translated into Italian is published in Dumas, iv. 100.

² Dumas has 'voi arriverete con qualche buon artigliere.'— 'You will arrive with some excellent artillerymen.'

³ Words in brackets omitted by Dumas.

⁴ Gennaro Serra, one of the youngest and most distinguished of the Jacobins.

⁵ Don Giulio was probably Giuliano Colonna, one of the many young aristocrats who belonged to the Jacobin party.

⁶ Nicola Pacifico, a priest seventy-three years of age, and an ardent Jacobin. Distinguished as an antiquary and a poet.

and crimes, felt less than many of the spectators. I think it a good thing that we have all the principal rebels in our power on board the *polaccas*, whilst the attack of St. Elmo goes on, for we may cut off a head for every ball the French fire on the city of Naples. I have no time to write fully, as Lord Nelson sends off immediately the cardinal's despatches to Palermo. [I have nothing to add to what was my opinion yesterday about the king and your Excellency coming to this bay in the *Seahorse*. All then may be settled as it ought to be, and with a proper attention to the king's honour and to ensure future tranquillity.

Lord Nelson in proportion as the cardinal declines business increases in activity, and as loyalty, honour, and honesty are the foundation of his dealings, their Sicilian Majesties can have never reason to repent of the confidence they have been pleased to place in him. Our fatigue at this moment is not small—but we feel truly happy in the hopes of that fatigue turning out of service to the good cause, and particularly for the immediate service of the good and gracious sovereigns of the Two Sicilies.]¹ Adieu, my dear Sir! Come, if possible; a few days will complete all, and I hope we shall have done some business that might have given pain to their Majesties before they can arrive.

Your Excy.'s, &c.,
WM. HAMILTON.

P.S.—Caracciolo's trial is now going on, by officers of his Sicilian Majesty's marine. If condemned, as I suppose, the execution will soon follow. He seems half dead already with fatigue—wanted to be tried by British officers. The boat is going off for Palermo. I can write no more at present.

¹ Words in brackets omitted by Dumas.

135. *NELSON TO ACTON.*

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

29th of June, 1799.¹

My dear Sir,—I long for the arrival of the King and QUEEN² and *your Excellency*. I send you a proclamation I have requested the cardinal to get published, his Eminence having declined printing any paper. Captain Troubridge will have 1,300 men from the fleet in the town of Naples this evening, and I shall endeavour to keep terms with the cardinal till their Majesties' arrival. The last paper of the cardinal was that no person should be arrested without his order; this is saving the *rebels*. In short it was a toss up yesterday whether the cardinal would not have been arrested. His brother is grievously complained of. It is in vain to tease your Excellency farther; I will endeavour to keep matters tolerable. I will answer with my head for the security of their Majesties. May God soon send us a finish to these disastrous events. Ever, etc.,

NELSON.

136. *NELSON TO ACTON.*

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

29th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—As I have not the time to send your Excellency the whole case against the miser-

29 Giugno, 1799.

Signore,—Mancandomi il tempo per spedire a V.E. tutto il processo fatto al miserabile Caracciolo, io soltanto

¹ Italian translation in Dumas, vol. iv. p. 91.

² The word 'Queen' has three lines drawn under it in the original MS.

able Caracciolo, I only tell you that he was sentenced this morning, and that he submitted himself to the just sentence of death pronounced upon him. I send your Excellency my confirmation *ad literam*, which was:—I confirm the sentence of death pronounced upon Francesco Caracciolo, and the same will be executed on board his Sicilian Majesty's frigate La Minerva, at 5 o'clock to-day.¹

Given, &c.

NELSON.

le dico, che egli è stato sentenziato questo mattino, e che si è sottomesso alla giusta sentenza di morte pronunziata sopra di lui. Io rimetto a V.E. la mia approvazione ad *literam* che è stata:—Io approvo la sentenza di morte pronunziata sopra di Francesco Caracciolo, ed essa sarà eseguita a bordo della Fregata di S.M. Siciliana La Minerva alle 5 di questo giorno.

Dato, ecc.

NELSON.

137. HAMILTON TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

On board the Foudroyant, 29th of June, 1799.²

My dear Sir,—I have just time to add Caracciolo has been condemned by the majority of the court-martial, and Lord Nelson has ordered him for execution this afternoon at 5 o'clock, at the foremast yard arm of the Minerva, and his body thrown into the sea. Thurn represented it was usual to give 24 hours for the care of the soul. Lord Nelson's orders remain the same, although I wished to acquiesce with Thurn's opinion. All is for the best.

¹ The English original of this letter is missing, though the Italian translation is in existence. See Dumas, iv. 110.

² The Italian translation of this letter is to be found in Dumas, iv. 111. The English text has not been published before.

The other criminals will remain at the mercy of his Sicilian Majesty on board the polaccas—in the midst of our fleet. Lord Nelson's manner of acting must be as his conscience and honour dictate, and I believe his determination will be found best at last. For God's sake let the king come *at least on board the Foudroyant*, and show his royal standard if he can.¹

To-morrow we attack the Castle of St. Elmo. God prosper the just cause. The die is cast; we must abide by it as well as we can.

Ever yours,
[WILLIAM HAMILTON.²]

138. KEITH TO NELSON.

[Sinclair MSS. Clarke and McArthur, vol. ii. p. 183.]

Off Corsica, 29th of June, 1799.

My dear Lord,—I am extremely sorry you should suspect the cardinal, and hope it will turn out all right; but for God's sake do not let those good people carry their heads too high. They will find it more easy to improve the government when in it, than to get into it. Therefore let them return on any terms that are tolerable; and even did it depend on the king, and he was to grant solid privileges to his people, it is certainly better to govern free men than slaves. But his Majesty ought to keep this in mind, that if a reverse of fortune in favour of France takes place in Piedmont he may lose the golden opportunity. I can see the French troops in thousands march along the Riviera di Genova, and would certainly hamper them if I

¹ In the MS. the words 'Hoist his royal standard' are written above the line.

² W. H. in the MS.

could stay on. The provisions and stores are all carried by water. Farewell, my dear Lord.¹

Yours,

KEITH.

130. NELSON'S PROCLAMATION.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624 ; Despatches, vol. iii. p. 396.]

Foudroyant, Naples Bay, 29th of June, 1799.

Horatio Lord Nelson, admiral of the British fleet in the Bay of Naples, gives notice to all those who have served as officers, civil or military, in the infamous Neapolitan republic, that if in the space of 24 hours for those who are in the city of Naples, and 48 hours for those who are within five miles of it, they do not give themselves up to the clemency of the king, to the officers commanding in the castles of Nuovo and Uovo, that Lord Nelson will consider them as still in rebellion, and enemies of his Sicilian Majesty.

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

NOTIFICAZIONE.

Horatio Lord Nelson Ammiraglio della Flotta Britannica nella Rada di Napoli da notizia a tutti quelli, che hanno servito da Officiali o nel Militare o Civile l' infame Republica Napoletana, se nel termine di 24 ore per quelli, che stanno nella vicinanza di cinque miglia dalla Città, non si rendono ai Comandanti del Castello nuovo, o del Castello dell' Uovo alla clemenza di S.M. Siciliana, saranno considerati da Lord Nelson come ancora Ribelli, ed Inimici di Sua Maestà Siciliana.²

A Bordo il Foudroyant, 29 Giugno, 1799.

¹ A copy given to Foote by the Reverend J. S. Clarke.

² Copy in the State Paper Office at Naples. It will be noticed that the Italian text differs from that given in Nicolas, *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 396, note, though the English text is in both cases the same.

140. ALBANESE'S MEMORIAL.¹

[Sacchinelli, p. 202.]

Bay of Naples, 29th of June, 1799.

All that portion of the garrisons which has been embarked to sail for Toulon in accordance with the capitulation, finds itself thrown into the greatest consternation. They were in good faith awaiting the execution of the said capitulation, although the articles had not been scrupulously observed owing to the bustle of departure. Now that the weather is favourable for sailing, two days have passed and victuals have not yet been taken on board for the whole voyage. And at about 7 o'clock yesterday they witnessed with the greatest grief a search being made on board the tartans for Generals Manthoné, Massa and Basset, Ercole d'Agnese, president of the executive commission, Domenico Cirillo, president of the legislative commission, and for other individuals, such as Emmanuele Borga, Piatti, and many others. These were taken on board the vessel of

Tutta quella parte delle guarnigioni, che sta in vigore della capitolazione imbarcata per far vela per Tolone, trovasi nella più grande costernazione. Ella in buona fede aspettava l' effetto di detta capitolazione, quantunque per precipitazione nell' uscire dal castello non furono gli articoli puntualmente osservati. Ora che il tempo è propizio alla vela son oggi mai due giorni, e non si son ancora fatti gli approvisionamenti per l' intiero viaggio. E con estremo dolore ieri in sulle ore sette, si videro ricercare da' bordi delle tartane, i Generali Manthoné, Massa, e Basset, il Presidente della Commissione esecutiva Ercole d'Agnese, quello della Commissione legislativa Domenico Cirillo, ed altri individui come Emmanuele Borga, Piatti, e molti altri. Costoro furono condotti sul

¹ This petition was addressed to Ruffo and Micheroux, and to Baillie, the Russian commandant.

the English commander, where they have been detained all night, nor have they yet returned at six o'clock in the morning. The whole garrison looks to your loyalty for an explanation of this matter and for the execution of the capitulation.

ALBANESE.¹

vascello del comandante Inglese, ove sono stati ritenuti tutta la notte, nè finora che sono le sei del mattino si veggono ritornare. Dalla vostra lealtà la guarnigione intera attende il rischiaramento di questo fatto, e dell' adempimento della capitolazione. Dalla rada di Napoli 29 giugno 1799.

ALBANESE.

141. RUFFO TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34944, f. 275.]

Naples, 30th of June, 1799.

Most excellent Sir,—The Chevalier Don Ottavio² was, by a despatch of the 13th of June 1798, appointed governor of the Royal Asylum for the Poor. When the anarchy of the infamous

Il Cavaliere D^a Ottavio fu da S. M. destinato per Governad^r del R. Albergo de' Poveri con dispaccio de' 13 Giugno 1798. Incominciata l' anarchia dell' infame

¹ Giuseppe Albanese, born on the 30th of January, 1759, at Noci. Took an active part in the revolutionary movement, and was appointed a member of the legislative council of the Parthenopean republic by Championnet. He subsequently became a member of the directory of the republic, and was one of the garrison of the Castello Nuovo. He was executed on the 28th of November, 1799 (see D'Ayala, p. 7).

² A distant relative of Francesco Caracciolo, the Jacobin admiral. He afterwards went with a deputation to congratulate the king on his arrival at Naples, and was immediately arrested (see Ferdinand's letter to Ruffo, 16th of July, 1799, Dumas, vol. iv. p. 137).

republic began he continued in this same post. Now as the edict of your Excellency has been promulgated, ordering all those who held office, civil or military, under the infamous republic to present themselves, the Chevalier Caracciolo has asked for my opinion whether he is under a liability to present himself. And since this reference to civil posts has caused doubts to arise as to the meaning and scope of the edict, I beg your Excellency to inform me if those persons only are included therein, who were directly employed by the infamous republic either in civil or in military posts, and not those who, having been employed by the king in the first instance in the magistracy, have continued to serve, as they served in the time of the king, without having accepted or discharged new duties; as well as all those who under orders from the king were holding public offices in the management of religious houses, banks, factories, post offices, hospitals and the government of the city, and other similar posts,

Repubblica seguitò nello stesso impiego. Or essendosi promulgato l' editto di V. E., che tutti coloro, che hanno esercitato da offⁱ civili, o militari dell' infame Repubblica, si debbano presentare, ha chiesto il Cav^r Caracciolo il mio sentimento, s' egli pure sia soggetto a presentarsi. E come cotesta espressione d'impieghi civili ha fatto sorgere il dubbio intorno al suo significato, ed estenzione; prego V. E. di farmi sapere, se nell' editto siano comprese quelle Persone solamente, che direttamente furono dall' infame Repubblica impiegate, tanto nel civile, quanto nel Militare, e non quelle che trovavansi impiegate dal Re nostro Sig^{no} tanto nell' impieghi della magistratura, vi abbiano continuato, come prima costumavano in tempo del Re (D. s^o G.) senz' aver' accettato, ed esercitato nuove cariche, siccome pure tutti coloro, che stavano esercitando d' ordine del Re impieghi di public' amministraz^{one} di Luoghi Pii, Banchi, Officine, Poste, Ospedali, e di Economia della Città, ed

and continued to hold them in accordance with the old system without offending against the sovereignty. And finally whether any honest gentleman is included therein who, having accepted one of the said posts for a short time, subsequently renounced it.

I await your instructions with regard to this doubtful point, so that I may duly carry them into effect, and remain, &c.

[F. CARD. RUFFO.]

P.S.—I may also inform your Excellency that I had ordered all the magistrates to resume the tenure of their offices, with the exception of those who held an office different from that which they were holding when his Majesty left Naples.

altri simili, e vi continuarono cogli antichi regolamenti senz' offendere la sovranità. Ed in fine se siavi compreso ancora qualche probo Cav^{ro}, che avendo accettato alcuno de sudⁱ impieghi per poco tempo, vi abbia poi rinunciato.

Attendo su di questo dubbio le sue risoluzioni per esattamente eseguirle, e con piena stima mi protesto

Di V. E.

[F. CARD. RUFFO.]

Napoli, 30 Giugno, 1799.

P.S.—Soggiungo a V. E. aveva ordinato, che tutti i Magistrati ripigliassero l' esercizio della loro magistratura, eccetto quelli, che avessero esercitato officio diverso da quello, che stavano esercitando nel tempo che S. M. partì da Napoli.

142. HAMILTON TO ACTON.

[Affari Esteri, 3^o Riservato, fascio 624.]

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, 30th of June, 1799:
11 o'clock morning.

My dear Sir,—We have just received the last packets from the palace of Palermo and [I] am to return your Excellency many thanks for your two letters, one dated 27th of June, 10 o'clock, and the

other 12 o'clock at night of the 27th. Lord Nelson is highly honoured by the king's letter, and much flattered with the entire confidence that their Majesties and your Excellency place in him—but we are all of opinion that at this moment there is by no means occasion to make any use of the full powers you have given to Lord Nelson and come to extremities with the cardinal; therefore we have thought it prudent to lock the whole of the packet sent to Lord Nelson, and not even give the cardinal the king's letter (No. 1). Although (as far as we can learn) the cardinal is surrounded by bad people, and has employed many that have served under the infamous republic, and gives protection, as we are told, to some of the most conspicuous of noble Jacobin families—yet we do not believe his Eminency to have any direct treacherous design. Therefore we think it best for their Majesties' interest to keep smooth with him, and where he will not take upon himself to act, and the king's service require[s] decision, Lord Nelson will act. As your Excellency will see by the printed papers published yesterday and this day at Naples—some of which are inclosed—the cardinal has joined his forces to assist Captain Troubridge gone with the British marines, Portuguese artillery and Russians, upon the attack of St. Elmo. They marched at 4 this morning, and as all seems quiet at St. Elmo, I rather hope for a capitulation without coming to blows. However, your Excellency knows that if Troubridge is once irritated he will spare no pains to carry his point. In consequence of Lord Nelson's notification, numbers are coming to the castles, but as he cannot know how far they have been engaged with the republic, he has allowed them to return to their houses, promising not to stir out of them until his Sicilian Majesty's pleasure is known. Should any very notorious rebel

appear, Lord Nelson would confine him on board one of his ships as he has done by Manthoné, Cirillo, and many more from the polaccas, that have been the principals. The cardinal dines with Lord Nelson to-day—but we keep it a profound secret that we have any letter for his Eminency, so that your Excellency understands all those packets lay dormant in Lord Nelson's writing box, and will do so unless there should be a necessity of making use of them, of which I see no probability. I still see the necessity of the king's appearance in the bay—his Majesty would soon see how truly attached the people are to his Majesty, and his Majesty would also soon distinguish and separate his true from his false friends. Caracciolo submitted to his fate with courage, but Count Thurn can best describe his exit. Certainly this quick justice has had a great effect, and gives the people the greater pleasure. I cannot get time to write more, but I think everything is going on towards a happy conclusion. Still I return to the necessity of the king's appearance, at least on board the Foudroyant, and I hope that his Majesty's flag will be flying at St. Elmo, whilst his royal standard is hoisted on board this ship.

Adieu, my dear Sir, &c.,

WM. HAMILTON.¹

143. NELSON TO KING FERDINAND.²

[Affari Esteri, 3° Riservato, fascio 624.]

Foudroyant, 30th of June, 1799.

Sire,—Your Majesty may always rely on my faithful services. I really do not believe that his

¹ Received by Acton on the 2nd of July. See *post*, p. 290.

² This important letter has not previously been published, Dumas having passed it over when the *fascio* was in his hands. It was received by the king on the 2nd of July. See *post*, p. 289.

Eminence has a disloyal thought towards overthrowing your Majesty's monarchy, but that his Eminence's wish was to have everything his own way. Many of your Majesty's subjects who are deeply concerned in the infamous rebellion declare that it was more to overturn the power of the barons than a desire to destroy the monarchy, but that they considered one could not be done without the other. The most notorious of the rebels I have in irons on board the fleet, and I hope they will meet the same fate as Caracciolo, who did not attempt to deny the justness of his sentence. Count Thurn¹ acquits himself very much to my satisfaction. Captain Troubridge is gone with the troops landed from the fleet against St. Elmo. United with the Russians and various troops of your Majesty, a very short time I am confident will give it to their efforts. That your Majesty's whole kingdom may be very soon liberated from these murderers and thieves is the fervent prayer of your Majesty's most faithful servant,

NELSON.

To his sacred Majesty,
the King of the Two Sicilies.

144. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 309; Lemmi, p. 101.]

Palermo, 30th of June, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I have seen with the highest consolation what Lord Nelson has done with the rebels, and that no military honours were allowed for those scoundrels. The polaccas remain as you tell me to his Majesty's disposition, upon which the resolution is to be made as soon as possible. Their

¹ Thorn in the MS.

Majesties agree to Lord Nelson's proposal, and as soon as we have an answer to the letters of the 27th his Majesty will depart for a short time and think of settling that government in the best manner possible, in order to restore peace and trust in that capital, and establish new and convenient as well as necessary regulations for that kingdom, after what has been suffered. I hope, my dear sir, to see you in a few days, and find you as well as I am, and shall constantly be wishing.

I flatter myself that the scoundrel Caracciolo and his adherents will have received a proper reward before his Majesty's arrival, and that we shall have in the king's forces all those who triumphantly are still walking the streets in Naples, and may do further mischief. I remain, &c.,

J. ACTON.

145. KING FERDINAND TO RUFFO.

[Dumas, vol. v. p. 256.]

Palermo, 2nd of July, 1799.

Eminence,—The letters which have reached me to-day, and especially those of the 30th received this evening, have really comforted me, as I see that things with you are taking that turn which I desired, and which is so necessary for the attainment of the end which I have kept before me, to carry this business through properly with divine aid, and

Palermo, 2 Luglio 1799.

Eminentissimo mio,—Le lettere pervenutemi oggi, e quelle specialmente ricevute questa sera del 30, mi hanno veramente consolato, vedendo che le cose costì vanno prendendo quella piega, che io desideravo e che è tanto necessaria per ottenere quello scopo, che mi sono prefisso, per ben sistemare col Divino ajuto questa faccenda e

to place you in a position to continue serving me better and doing yourself more honour. Accepting the invitation given to me both by you and by the most worthy Admiral Nelson, I shall leave to-morrow, together with the convoy with the troops for Procida, where I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again and shall be able to give you my later instructions, and to make all plans necessary for the well-being, safety and happiness of my subjects who have remained loyal, &c. &c.

FERDINANDO B.

mettervi nello stato di sempre meglio servirmi, e farvi più onore, accettando l'invito fattomi tanto da Voi che dal degnissimo Ammiraglio Nelson, domani sarò partito in unione del Convoglio con le truppe per portarmi in Procida, dove avrò il piacere di rivedervi, e potrò comunicarvi gl'ulteriori miei ordini, e dar tutte le disposizioni necessarie per il bene, la sicurezza, e felicità de' miei sudditi che si sono conservati fedeli. Ve lo prevengo anticipatamente con questa, assicurandovi, che in questa troverete sempre lo stesso Affezionato Vostro.

FERDINANDO B.

146. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 311; Lemmi, p. 101.]

Palermo, 2nd of July, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I have read with a true satisfaction your letter of the 30th. Everything seems to go smooth and easy at present with the cardinal, and proper measures are taken to be attentive on his conduct in future, but his Majesty shall set out to-morrow night for Procida and Naples Road; we are all in hopes that all the business shall take a better turn. Thanks must be given to the brave and active Lord Nelson for this new and most important service to their Sicilian Majesties. I flatter myself

that his Majesty will see St. Elmo likewise reduced on his arrival in the Bay. Caracciolo did certainly deserve his fate; I think that the speedy execution will have done a proper and useful effect on the people. I hope, my dear Sir, to have the pleasure to see you in a few days.

I direct to Lord Nelson a quantity of letters from the British fleet before Minorca. I hope they bring some good news. I am, &c.

J. ACTON.

147. CAROLINE TO RUFFO.

[Archivio Storico, vol. v. p. 662; Dumas, vol. v. p. 184.]

2nd of July, 1799.

I have received, and read with infinite interest and attention, your Eminence's most wise and well-reasoned letter, dated the 28th of June. I note what you tell me about your desire for repose: I find it to be reasonable, but I am obliged to spur on your zeal, intelligence and sympathy, for the purpose of terminating, and consolidating the work which you have so gloriously undertaken and carried out, by re-establishing order in Naples on a safe and solid basis, so that good fortune and an improved situation may grow out of this horrible disaster. Your Eminence's talent, activity and good

Ho ricevuta e letta con infinito interesse ed attenzione la saviissima e ben ragionata lettera di V. Eminenza in data dei 28 Giugno. Vedo quanto mi dice, e del desiderio che ha del suo riposo: trovo che ha ben ragione, ma devo spronare il suo zelo, intelligenza e cuore di terminare e consolidare l' opera, che ha così gloriosamente intrapresa ed eseguita, con ristabilire l' ordine in Napoli sopra basi solide e sicure, che da questa orribile disgrazia sofferta ne possa nascere una fortuna e più meglio ristabilimento: il talento, attività e cuore di Vostra Eminenza me lo fa

heart lead me to hope this. The king leaves tomorrow evening in person, with the troops he has been able to muster. Many things can be explained and put right by word of mouth. I am deeply and mortally grieved that I am unable to come, but I am prompted to make this sacrifice by a thousand considerations. I shall beg each one of the king's many companions to be my mouth-pieces in expressing to your Eminence both my real and profound gratitude, and my sincere admiration for all your almost miraculous operations. I am too frank not to tell you that the capitulation with the rebels has been highly displeasing to me; that the employment and protection of many well-known scoundrels has likewise pained me, especially after the distinct orders given by the king. I have therefore abstained from writing, being unable to silence my outspokenness; but now that it is all over, matters will soon be explained verbally, and I hope all will go smoothly, since so many things have to be done for the good cause. I beseech

sperare. Il Re parte domani sera in persona colla truppa che ha potuto radunare, ed a voce molte cose si spiegheranno e potranno riordinare. Mi pena infinitamente e mortalmente il non venirci, ma mille riflessi mi fanno fare questo sacrificio: pregherò fra di tanto tutti quelli che accompagneranno il Re di essere gli organi presso di Vostra Eminenza, della mia vera e profonda riconoscenza, come sincera stima di tutte le sue quasi miracolose operazioni. Sono troppo sincera per non dirle che sommarmente mi ha dispiaciuto quella capitolazione coi ribelli; che il vedere impiegati ed assicurati molti conosciuti scellerati parimenti mi ha penato, specialmente dopo i distinti ordini dal Re dati; e perciò mi sono astenuta di scrivere; la mia sincerità non potendo tacere; ma ora tutto è finito, a viva voce le cose si spiegheranno subito, e spero che tutto anderà di buon accordo, tante e tante cose

your Eminence, now that you have less to do, to send me news regularly, and you may believe that I will reply sincerely, my interest being very great. I deeply regret my inability to assure you by word of mouth of my profound and eternal gratitude and esteem, &c. &c.

CAROLINE.

essendovi da fare per il bene. Prego Vostra Eminenza ora che avrà meno da scrivere di farmi regolarmente sapere le cose, e può credere che con la mia sincerità le risponderò, il mio interesse essendo massimo. Mi rincresce molto non poterla di viva voce assicurare della profonda eterna riconoscenza e stima, con la quale sono di Vostra Eminenza la grata e vera amica.

CAROLINA.

Li 2 Luglio, 1799.

148. *CAROLINE TO LADY HAMILTON.*

[*B.M. Eg. MS. 1616, f. 38; Pettigrew, vol. i. p. 260.*]

2nd of July, 1799.

My dear Milady,—I have with infinite gratitude received your dear and obliging letters—three of Saturday, and one of an earlier date—with the list of the Jacobins who have been arrested, who are some of the very worst scoundrels we have had. I have also seen the sad and well-merited end of the unhappy and demented Caracciolo. I can truly sympathise with your excellent heart in all its sufferings, and that increases my gratitude. I

Ma chère milady j'ai reçus avec une reconnoissance infinie vos chères et obligeantes lettres trois de Samedy et une d'un jour plustot avec la note des Jacobins aretées qui sont une portion des plus scelerat que nous avons eue j'ai vus aussy la triste et mérité fin du malheureux et forcene Caraciolo je sens bien tout ce que votre exelent cœur aura souferte et cella augmente ma reconnoissance.

note all you tell me, and I am deeply grateful. As far as one can see and learn, the confusion in the unhappy and wretched city of Naples is immense. An effective land force to keep order must have been very necessary, but in any event you, my good friends, have done wonders, and I gratefully sympathise with your afflictions. This evening, whilst I was writing to you, the Portuguese brig arrived with your letters of the 30th, and that of the dear admiral for the king. This last has caused the king to make up his mind, and he will leave to-morrow evening. That has cost me many tears, and will cost me still more; but the king did not think it was expedient that I should go for the short time he reckons on remaining. Anyhow he goes to-morrow evening. General Acton, Castelicala¹ and Ascoli accompany him, perhaps also

Je vois tout ce que vous me marquez et en suis penetré de reconnaissance par tout ce que l'on voit et apprend la Confusion est imense dans le malheureux et a plaindre Naples une force effective de terre pour tenir l'ordre auroit été bien nécessaire mais enfin vous mes bons amis avez fait des prodiges et je sens avec une reconnaissance toutes vos peines, ce soir durant le moment que je vous écris est arrivee le Brick Portugois avec vos lettres du 30 et celle du cher amiral pour le Roi cecy fait decider le Roi qui partira demain soir cella me coute déjà et me coutera encore bien plus de larmes mais le Roi n'a pas crus convenable que j'y aille pour le peu de temps qu'il compte d'y rester enfin il va demain soir le General Acton Castelicgala et Ascoli l'accompagneront peut être

¹ Prince Casteliccala, one of the favourites of Queen Caroline, and a member of the *giunta*, or commission of judges, which took over the duties of the Regente di Vicaria, when that office was suppressed by the king; accompanied the court in their flight to Palermo, and was subsequently appointed ambassador in London.

Le Priore.¹ 1,000 infantrymen and 600 cavalry will march with Acton and Bourcard. The king wishes to embark with his frigate escorted by the English [ship] and the Portuguese brig. I shall remain behind in great sadness, praying to heaven that all may end gloriously and for the best; but I am deeply affected, and am counting on what must justly take place. It is at this moment especially, my dear lady, that I rely on your friendship to write to me about everything, for all my correspondents, seeing my insignificance and dreading to compromise themselves, are sure to be silent. But I hope my good friend Emma will not forget me, though I am relegated to Palermo. This is going to be an epoch in my life; do not believe that I did not wish to come for any reason or through caprice. I have been obliged to do so on many grounds—besides which no one wanted me. I feared I might lessen the love and enthusiasm which the king will inspire, and which is not vouchsafed to me. Any-

le priore 1,000 homes d'infanterie et 600 de Cavallerie avec Acton et Bourcar marcheront le Roi veut s'embarquer avec sa fregatte accompagné de l'angloise et du Brick Portugais je resterois bien tristement faisant des vœux au Ciel pourque tout reussisse pour la gloire et vrai bien mais je suis profondement affectée et me compte pour ce que vaux et dois futurement etre. C'est bien a present ma chère Milady que j'interprete votre amitie pour me tout ecrire car tous mes corespondants vont se taire voyant mon inutilité et craignant de se compromettre mais j'espere que ma bonne amie Emma ne m'oubliera point quoique relegué a Palerme cecy va faire Epoque pour moi ne croyez point que je n'ai point voulu venir par aucune raison ni caprice j'y ai été obligé pour bien des motifs persone ne m'y voulant d'ailleurs j'ai craint de faire tort a l'amour et entousiasme que le Roi inspirera et qui n'est

¹ This word is illegible. Palumbo (p. 198) has 'ils priront.

how, thousands of prudent reasons have imposed on me a duty which costs me infinitely dear. I shall continue to make use of your friendship in addressing my various letters to you ; and having all letters for me addressed to you. I can only hope that matters will arrange themselves with regard to the cardinal, but I foresee many storms, and then I shall be regretted. Finally, my heart is full and I shall have much to say. Good-bye, my dear lady : weep for me, do not forget me ; I entreat you to let me know all the news, and believe me, &c.

CHARLOTTE.

A thousand compliments to the chevalier and to the hero Nelson. Tell them that I confide our interests and glory to them. I am very sorry I cannot come in person to thank them, but my gratitude, though expressed from a distance, is none the less genuine and eternal.

pas le meme pour moi enfin milles raisons de prudence m'en ont fait un devoir qui me coute infiniment je continuerois a profiter de votre amitié en vous adressant mes differentes lettres et disant aux autres pour moi qu'ils vous les portent je veux esperer que les choses avec le Cardinal s'arrangeront mais je prevois bien des orages et alors on me regrettera enfin mon cœur et plein et j'aurois beaucoup a dire. Adieu ma chère Milady plaignez moi ne m'oubliez point faites moi je vous conjure savoir toutes les nouvelles et croyez moi de Cœur et pour la vie votre bien attachée et reconnoissante amie.

CHARLOTTE.

Le 2 juillet, 1799.

Milles complimens au Chevalier et au heros Nelson dites leur que je leur recommande nos interets gloire suis bien peiné ne pouvoir de persone venir les remercier mais que ma reconnoissance quoique dans l'eloignement n'en est pas moins vive et eternele. Adieu.¹

¹ The original is marked No. 14. Across the envelope the following words were written by Lady Hamilton :—'This from

149. *L'AURORE TO NELSON.*

[B.M. Add. MS. 34950, f. 69; Badham, p. 44.]

On board the Zealous [July 1799].¹

My Lord,—I know that your moments are precious and that your days are fully occupied, and for that reason I present myself again to your recollection. I was the commandant of the Fort of Uovo. I believed, in common with the garrison, that I would be taken to Toulon under the capitulation. As the garrison of Capua is about to leave, I beseech you, my lord, to also order my embarkation, for my health is not good, and my baggage has been plundered, and I am placed in a most disagreeable position, which deserves some consideration. Believe me, &c.,

THE EX-COMMANDANT OF THE FORT, L'AURORE.

Milord,—Je connais que vos moments sont précieux, qu'ils absorbent tout le temps de la journée, c'est par cette raison que je me présente encore a votre souvenir. J'étais commandant au fort d'Œuf. Dans la capitulation je [croyais] que conjointement à la garnison je serais conduit à Toulon. Comme la garnison de Capoue va partir, je vous prie d'avoir la bonté, Milord, d'ordonner aussi mon embarquement; ma santé n'étant pas bonne, et mon équipage totalement pillé me mettent dans une position la plus désagréable, qui mérite quelque égard. Je vous prie Milord Amiral de croire que j'ai l'honneur etc.

L'EX-COMMANDANT DU FORT, L'AURORE.

À bord le vaisseau Zealous.

my friend whom I love and adore. Yes, I will serve her with my heart and soul. My blood, if necessary, shall flow for her. Emma will prove to Maria Carolina that an humble-born English-woman can serve a Queen with zeal and true love, even at the risk of her life.'

¹ The original is undated.

150. CAROLINE TO THE EMPRESS.

[Von Helfert, Fabrizio Ruffo, p. 578.]

4th of July, 1799.

. . . . We have retaken Naples and the provinces, excepting Gaeta, Capua, Pescara, and the Castle of St. Elmo, which is actually being besieged. Cardinal Ruffo, through cowardice and weakness, has signed an unworthy capitulation with our rebel subjects. Admiral Nelson has repudiated it completely; the people are furious against the nobility and Jacobins. The result has been disorder, massacre, pillaging, fire. A thousand misfortunes of civil and party warfare are to be found in Naples. In fact we daily receive shiploads of complaints. All this has led your excellent father to decide to go there in person. He takes 1,400 infantry and 600 cavalry. He went suddenly; the matter was decided on, and carried out in twenty-four hours. You can guess what it has cost me. Never have we been so far away from one another and separated by the sea. . . .

CHARLOTTE.

. . . . Nous avons repris les Provinces et Naples, hors Gaëta Capoue Pescara et le Château St. Elme que actuellement on assiège. Le Cardinal Ruffo entre peur faiblesse a signé une indigne capitulation entre lui et nos rebelles sujets, l'amiral Nelson a tout nié; le Peuple est furieux contre la noblesse et Jacobins, enfin un désordre massacre sac feu, mille malheurs des guerres civiles et de parti se retrouvent à Naples, enfin nous avons chaque jour des bateaux de plainte. Tout ceci a fait résoudre votre excellent Père à y aller de personne, il porte 1400 hommes d'infanterie et 600 de cavalerie, il y est allé tout d'un coup en 24 heures la chose a été exécutée et résolue. Vous pouvez juger ce que cela m'a coûté. Jamais nous n'avons été si éloignés, et par la mer qui nous sépare! . . .

CHARLOTTE.

le 4 Juillet, 1799.

151. CAROLINE TO LADY HAMILTON.

[B.M. Eg. MS. 1616, f. 42.]

7th of July, 1799.

My dear Milady,—Many thousand thanks for your two letters, which I received at a late hour last night. I note all that you so kindly tell me in them. I believe the king will already have reached Naples at the hour at which I am writing, because—thanks be to God—the boat which left here on the 5th of this month met him 40 miles off Capri. This has comforted and reassured me. My attachment to his person, my zeal, my desire for his well-being—I even dare to say my enthusiasm—make me most anxious to go to Naples. But I have been unable to do as I would have liked, and my reason tells me that it is for the best. Hated, though unjustly, but still hated as I am, evil motives and a spirit of vengeance would have been imputed to me in everything. . . . The cardinal's conduct

Ma chère Milady je vous dois milles et milles remerciemens pour vos deux lettres que hier soir bien tard j'ai encore recus je vois dans elle tout ce que avec tant d'amitié vous me dites. A l'heure que je vous écris je crois que le Roi sera déjà arrivée à Naples parceque enfin grace à Dieu la barque partie le 5 de ce mois l'a rencontre 40 milles hors de Capri cella m'a consolé et tranquilisé, mon attachment à sa persone mon zèle désir du bien j'ose dire meme mon entousiasme me feroit désirer infiniment d'aller à Naples je ne l'ai pus obtenir et ma raison me fait sentir que c'est pour le mieux hai (quoique avec injustice) mais hai come je suis on m'auroit tout imputé en mall et come esprit de vengeance enfin la nation Napolitaine même et le parti dominant et qui renaît avec force auroit heurle contre moi qu'ainsi vu les choses renaissent bien et le Royaume prend une aspecte de tranquillité et tout renaît sur des sures bases et j'retournerois come étrangère ne me melant absolument de rien ou les

seems to me to be very ambiguous. We must see how he behaves : perhaps he will ask permission to resign his post, and will ask as though he meant it—the matter is by no means so simple—or perhaps he will accede to all their suggestions, in order to remain at the head of the government. In either case I know what I should decide to do, and who the person is who would make me tremble. But as a matter of fact all these thoughts are useless, and are for me alone. The king and the ministers will arrange matters on the spot ; I hope it will all be for the best. . . . I see that the castle continues

choses restent avec des factions je resterois en Sicile ou yrois me retirer du monde quelque part vous n'avez point une idée ma chère Milady come je suis affectée trop intéressé de sauver la Sicile et de reprendre le Patrimoine de mes enfans je ne vous ai jamais assez developé combien profondément mon âme est affectée de tout ce que j'ai éprouvée je vois le Cardinal d'une conduite très equivoque il faudra actuellement voire coment il se conduira ou il demandera à quitter sa place mais le demandera come on le fait quand on veut l'obtenir et que ce n'est point un simple propos, ou il pliera à tout ce qu'on lui dira pour rester à la tête du Gouvernement je sais dans l'un et l'autre cas ce que je devrois juger et sais quel sera celui qui me fera trembler mais actuellement toutes ces reflexions sont inutiles et ne sont que pour moi le Roi les ministres sur les lieux arrangeront j'espère tout pour le mieux, je vous remercie des lettres que vous voulez bien m'envoyer je persiste dans ma ferme décision de n'écrire à personne à St. Marco cella me fait peine mais je lui ai écrite plusieurs fois de venir du bord de Naples avant de partir et de Palerme elle n'est pas venus avec la haine qu'on me portoit elle n'a point été imprisoné Manthone Peirisier mary de la della Rocca St Angelo Pescuelli tous amis à elle tout m'oblige à mon silence si M^r de Santo Marco aura des besoins pecuniaires elle peut conter sur moi toute sa vie mais tous les liens d'amitié interet sont brisés par sa conduite tenus les Migliano

to defend itself ; they must have some hope of being relieved. I entreat you to see that not a penny is paid to Méjean : after the obstinate defence he has made, if this is done we shall be swindled, and I shall believe that the generalissimo of the Cisalpine forces wishes to divide the booty with Méjean. I beseech you to save us from this display of weakness and cowardice, even as the brave admiral has already saved us from the infamous armistice or capitulation with the rebels. . . .

CAROLINE.

lui est un sot un bas courtisan soit royaliste ou republicain toujours un pauvre sue elle est une vipère une langue infernale une feme qui a toujours faite profesion de déchirer la cour et le gouvernement qui d'abord après notre départ deploya un caractere diabolique et fut un des plus fort pilliers féminins de la Rebellion aristocratique qui a déthroné le Roi en chassant son Vicaire Général avant la venue des Francois enfin ma chère Milady j'ai le malheur de conaitre à fond la noblesse et toutes les classes Napolitaines et devois toujours de même il n'y a que les Bourgeois Artisans et bas Peuple fidelle attachée mais ce dernier quelques fois donne dans la licence mais leurs sentimens sont bons, cette conviction fait que je n'ai aucune comission à vous doner car je suis bien décidée en revenant à Naples de vivre entièrement isolé de tout le monde l'épreuve de 31 années que je n'ai vecus existé que pour obliger chacun et me suis trouvé isolé m'ayant fait une impression qui ne s'efacera jamais je suis prete de retourner à Naples au moment ou le Roi voudra je n'y ai aucune difficulté mes j'y porterois mes reflexions convictions et mon plann formé depuis 6 mois de pensées et suite sur tout ce qui s'est passé. Je vois que le chateau continue a se défendre il faut qu'ils aient quelque espoir de secours je vous conjure que l'on ne paye pas un sous a Méjean après une si obstiné défense se seroit reelement être dupé et me faire croire que c'est pourque le Generalissime Cisalpin le veut partager avec Mejean. je vous prie de sauver cette foiblesse et bassesse come le brave Amiral a déjà sauvé l'infame armistice ou capitula-

tion avec nos Rebelles en un mot j'aurois tant à dire que je ne finirois point. Ma santé est très souffrante nous ne souffrons presque point de chaleurs à Palerme vus les vent frais de la piesdine toute ma chère famille se porte bien nous allons tous les jours à un trideum prier et porter processionnellement le St. Sacrement bénir la merr et prier pour le Roi et Naples c'est tout ce que je puis faire et je le fais bien volontiers car au reste je suis inutile. Adieu ma chère Milady continuez moi vos nouvelles dans le moment surtout elles me deviennent bien interessantes et je fie a votre amitié que vous ne me les laisserez point manquer je vous prie faites taire votre cœur bienfaisance et ne pensez qu'aux malheurs causé et à ceux qu'ils sont pront encore de faire.

Le pauvre Belmonte a seus d'autre part l'arestation de son frère il en est très affectée plus de le voire coupable que du reste on ne voit que des gens malheureux et cella rend bien triste, Adieu ma chère Milady milles complimens au Chevalier mes plus sincers remerciemens et complimens au cher Amiral que je désire vous revoir tous et assurer de l'invariable sincère tendre amitié come eternelle reconnoissance de votre sincère amie.

CHARLOTTE.

Le 7 juillet, 1799.

Je vous prie de dire a Luchesi que je suis tres mais tres contente de lui qu'il a été l'unique qui a eu le courage de m'écrire qu'actuellement plus que jamais, il continue journellement à le faire a vous doner les buletins longs étendus sincers qu'ils ne sera jamais compromis que je ne lui écris point parceque j'ai fait ce vœux. Adieu.

152. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[*B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 313.*]

From on board the *Sirena*, off Procida,
Monday evening, 8th of July, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I have received your kind letter returned to me from Palermo, and Lord Nelson's papers; we think to have the pleasure to see you in a short time, but his Majesty, having all the

ministers waiting at Procida on the cardinal, with whom we have been two hours, declares we shall anchor there for a day to receive proper informations.

I see with pleasure that the temper and moderation on your side has kept the cardinal from taking the *mord aux dents*; we have found him much confused in his answers; and a great deal more in his plans.

I hope that you and my lady are well, and that we shall have the pleasure to converse soon on all our business. I am, &c.,

J. ACTON.

153. NELSON TO FOOTE.

[Sinclair MSS. Vindication, p. 144.]

10 P.M., 8th of July, 1799.

My dear Sir,—When you have seen the convoy safe into Procida, I wish the Seahorse not to anchor, but for you to wait upon his Majesty, and to say, if he has no commands for you, I desire you will join me here, as I want to send you and the Thalia directly on service. I hope you will not think it an unpleasant one, for, believe me, with real regard,

Your faithful and obedient servant,
NELSON.

154. HAMILTON'S OBSERVATIONS.¹

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 282.]

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, 8th of July, 1799.

From the number of people examined one deduction is to be made. The nobility of Naples

¹ The original is headed 'Memorandum Observations given by me to General Acton on his arrival at Naples.'

wavering not from disloyalty but with a view to self-interest, and will therefore go with the strongest current, be it royalist or Jacobin. The second class—officers, lawyers, priests, merchants, &c.—corrupted and merely Jacobins. The lower class loyal to their sovereigns almost to a man, and detest French, still more Jacobins.

As the French by having been quartered—I mean the officers—with the nobility and rich of the second class, I have heard from every quarter that the French detest the present tyrannical and corrupt government of the individuals of the French Directory, but having engaged must in point of honour go on, but declare they would in their hearts serve with much greater pleasure was monarchy to be restored to France.

The people of Naples have no confidence whatever in Cardinal Ruffo, surrounded by Jacobin corrupt subalterns. He himself ambitious to a degree of joining with the barons to enslave H.S. Majesty and Naples again to the feudal system. Should Castel Cicala succeed him they say it would be the same story, being a relation of the cardinal with the same ideas and connections. The only uncorrupt man they look up to at Naples—I mean those that are well disposed to H.S. Majesty—is Acton, and the only man the barons and Jacobins fear is Acton. Acton with his probity and firmness would, with the king's support, be the only engine I know in his Sicilian Majesty's power that could with any degree of safety be brought forward at this moment, but after the fatigue and disgusts he has suffered so many years I should pity him if he was so employed; yet after the confidence that has for so many years been reposed in him by his sovereign and the nation I could not justify his declining it if his sovereign should desire him to take upon himself

this authority until the moment of their Majesties' residence at the capital shall be secured.

W. H.

155. *ACTON TO HAMILTON.*

[B.M. Eg. MS. 2640, f. 315.]

Procida Bay, 9th of July, 1799.

My dear Sir,—I have seen what you are so good to tell me in your letter. To-morrow the king shall enjoy Lord Nelson's agreeable cabin. We shall sail as soon as the wind permits—that is by 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning. I am truly sensible and thankful to what you are so good to tell me in confirmation of Lady Hamilton's letter, and of Lord Nelson's. The cardinal was with us last night, and endeavoured to justify himself and regain his Majesty's trust and necessary confidence. I do not know whether he has succeeded, but the things do not certainly go on as they ought to go in this critical and most important moment, when every exertion possible should be employed; my health, age, disgust, and feelings have reduced me too low to undertake so hard a business, though I work in it with his Majesty's private hearing and in his council. We shall hear more to-morrow, and are in need of notions which come to us much altered. I am for ever, &c.

J. ACTON.

156. *NELSON'S ADVICE TO THE KING.*

[Sacchinelli, p. 269.]

[11th of July, 1799.]

Pending the negotiations with the French commandant for the capitulation of the Fort of St. Elmo,

Pendenti le trattative col Comandante francese per la capitolazione del forte Santelmo, non mancò il Porporato

Cardinal Ruffo did not fail to make King Ferdinand acquainted with what had passed between him and the English in respect to the capitulation of the castles of Nuovo and Uovo ; also with the aforesaid complaints of the republican garrisons ; and with the scandal which would be caused by a repudiation and violation of the said treaty. As his Majesty appeared to be convinced that the capitulation ought to be exactly carried out, he desired to hear Nelson and Hamilton. The latter upheld the doctrine of diplomacy—that sovereigns do not treat with their rebellious subjects—and declared that the treaty of capitulation must be considered as never having been entered into. The former (*i.e.* Nelson) showed an implacable hatred against all revolutionists of the French type, and said that it was necessary to cut out the root of the evil so as to avoid new misfortunes, for the republicans, being obstinate and incapable of repentance, would hereafter commit greater and more disastrous excesses, and finally that the example of their impunity would serve to

Ruffo di tener informato il Re Ferdinando di quanto era successo cogli' Inglesi per la capitolazione de' castelli Nuovo e dell' Uovo ; de' reclami delle guarnigioni repubblicane come sopra trascritti ; e dello scandalo, che produrrebbe la inosservanza e la violazione dell' anzidetto trattato. Essendosi la M. S. mostrata persuasa di doversi esattamente eseguir la capitolazione volle ascoltare Nelson ed Hamilton. L' uno sostenendo la diplomatica dottrina ; che i Sovrani non capitolano co' loro sudditi ribelli, dichiarò che il trattato di quella capitolazione dovea tenersi come non fatto ; e l' altro (cioè Nelson) manifestando un odio implacabile contro tutt' i rivoluzionarî alla moda francese disse ; che bisognava estirpare la radice del male onde impedir nuove sciagure, poichè essendo que' repubblicani ostinati ed incapaci di ravvedimento, commetterebbero in appresso maggiori e più funesti eccessi ; e finalmente che l' esempio della loro impunità servirebbe d' incitamento a

incite many other ill-intentioned persons. And even as Nelson had formerly rendered Cardinal Ruffo's remonstrances unavailing, so now also by his arts he succeeded in causing the king's merciful intentions to remain ineffective.¹

molti altri malintenzionati. E siccome Nelson avea prima rendute inefficaci le rimostranze del Cardinale Ruffo, così giunse poi co' suoi maneggi a far rimanere senza effetto le clementi intenzioni del Re.

157. *NELSON TO SPENCER.*

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 406.]

13th of July, 1799.

My dear Lord,—I have much to say, but am unable to write or speak half so much as my duty would make it right, therefore I must be brief. On my fortunate arrival here I found a most infamous treaty entered into with the rebels, in direct disobedience of his Sicilian Majesty's orders. I had the happiness of saving his Majesty's honour, rejecting with disdain any terms but unconditional submission, to rebels. Your Lordship will observe my note (No. 1), and opinion to the cardinal (No. 2).² The rebels came out of the castles with this knowledge, without any honours, and the principal rebels were seized and conducted on board the ships of the squadron. The others, embarked in fourteen polaccas, were anchored under the care of our ships. His Majesty has entirely approved

¹ Ruffo had an interview with the king and Acton at Procida on the 8th of July (see *ante*, p. 305). There is no evidence which corroborates the above story that the king sat in judgment on the matters in dispute between Nelson and Ruffo, after hearing both parties. It is highly improbable that he did so, for he had already condemned the cardinal's conduct and policy. This may be another instance of Sacchinelli's vivid imagination.

² See *ante*, p. 217.

of my conduct in this matter. I presume to recommend Captain Troubridge for some mark of his Majesty's favour; it would be supposing you, my dear Lord, was ignorant of his merit was I to say more than that he is a first-rate general. The king holds his levées on the quarter-deck of the *Foudroyant*, at the same hours as he did when in his palace. His Majesty's health is perfect, and he is in the highest spirits and good humour.

May I offer my kindest respects to Lady Spencer, and believe me, I am sensible of her goodness. Lieutenant Parkinson¹ will, I am sure, meet with your kind protection: he is an officer of great merit. Lord Keith writes me, if certain events take place, it may be necessary to draw down this squadron for the protection of Minorca. Should such an order come at this moment, it would be a cause for some consideration whether Minorca is to be risked, or the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily? I rather think my decision would be to risk the former. I am told the alteration of the government is begun in the capital by the abolition of the feudal system, and it is meant to be continued through the country. Sir John Acton is with his Majesty: I need not say more than he has the wisest and most honest head in this kingdom. Sir William and Lady Hamilton are, to my great comfort, with me; for without them it would have been impossible I could have rendered half the service to his Majesty which I have now done: their heads and their hearts are equally great and good. With every sentiment of respect and attachment,

Believe me, &c.,

NELSON.

¹ Lieutenant William Standway Parkinson was sent to England with despatches on the 16th of July, and on his arrival was promoted to the rank of commander.

158. HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[P.R.O. Sicilian Papers, vol. xlv. ; Giglioli, p. 399.]

On board the Foudroyant, Bay of Naples,
14th of July, 1799.

My Lord,—Since my last despatch to your Lordship, through the channel of Lord St. Vincent, of the 21st of June, I have been chiefly at sea with Lord Nelson, and have not had any opportunity of informing your Lordship of what is passing in the Two Sicilies.

By the means of the king's messenger, Mr. Sylvester, who joined us here, and is returning with Lord Nelson's despatches to England, I have the singular satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship of the infinite services the presence of his Majesty's fleet under the command of Lord Nelson has rendered to their Sicilian Majesties, by placing them again (as I may almost say) on their throne of Naples.

The rapid successes of the Russians and Austrians in the north of Italy affording a fair prospect of its being soon delivered from the horde of robbers with which it has been infested for some years past, obliged the French Directory to withdraw most of their troops from Naples and Rome to reinforce their army in the north of Italy, having left only weak garrisons in the fortresses of Naples, Capua, and Gaëta, as in the castle of St. Angelo at Rome. Profiting of this circumstance, Cardinal Ruffo's army from Calabria, having been joined by about five hundred Russians and eighty Turks taken out of some Russian frigates and a Turkish vessel that arrived at Brindisi from Corfu, was encouraged to push on towards this capital, and, having also been joined by many parties of royalists on their march, carried all before them, and actually got, with the

assistance of the lazzaroni and royalists, possession of this capital on the 13th of last month. The French having retired into the castle of St. Elmo and the Jacobins into the Castel Nuovo and the Castel dell' Uovo, and into that of the Carmine, where they were besieged by Cardinal Ruffo's army, Lord Nelson, after his return to Palermo, and having disembarked the hereditary prince and the Sicilian troops, as mentioned in my last, proceeded with his squadron to Maritimo, on the coast of Sicily, towards Malta to look after the French fleet; but, having had certain advice that Lord St. Vincent's fleet had been very considerably reinforced, and that the French Brest fleet had been seen steering a different course from that of Sicily, his lordship returned to Palermo the 19th of June. Their Sicilian Majesties having received alarming accounts from Naples that the Calabrese army after their entry into Naples was plundering the houses of that city and setting them on fire, under the pretence of their belonging to Jacobins, and that Cardinal Ruffo, elated with his unexpected successes, was taking upon himself a power far beyond the positive instructions of his sovereign, and was actually treating with his Sicilian Majesty's subjects in arms and in open rebellion against him, earnestly entreated of Lord Nelson that he would go with his Majesty's whole squadron to Naples, and prevent, if possible, the cardinal from taking any steps or coming to any terms with the rebels that might be dishonourable to their Sicilian Majesties and hurtful to their future government, and to assist in the reduction of the French garrisons in the castle of St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaëta, and in bringing the Jacobin rebels to justice. Lord Nelson readily undertook to go and do all that was possible for the service of their Sicilian Majesties, having had, as his Lordship said,

full instructions so to do from the king, our royal master and their Majesties' most sincere and faithful ally. The King of Naples entreated me also to accompany Lord Nelson, as having been so many years acquainted with Naples, and particularly as Lord Nelson was not accustomed to the language of the army. Accordingly on the 20th of June we set sail from Palermo with the whole of the squadron—nineteen sail of the line, including the Portuguese ships—and were four days on our passage to the Bay of Naples. We received from the Governor of Procida, just before we got into this bay, a copy of a most shameful treaty that Cardinal Ruffo had made with the French and his Sicilian Majesty's rebellious subjects, who were by that treaty to march out of the castles of Naples with all their property and the full honours of war, and at their option either to return to their own homes or be transported to Toulon at his Sicilian Majesty's expense. As a copy of this treaty is enclosed, your lordship will see that had not his Majesty's fleet arrived in time, and the treaty been carried into execution, all the chiefs of the rebellion would have escaped, and others would have remained unmolested in the kingdom to propagate at their leisure the same pernicious maxims that have brought this kingdom to the brink of destruction, and the honour of their Sicilian Majesties would have remained for ever sullied by so unwarranted a stretch of power of Cardinal Ruffo, their vicar-general, whose ambitious views were certainly to favour the nobles, put himself at their head, re-establish the feudal system, and oppress the people, which is diametrically opposite to their Sicilian Majesties' intentions, who wish to make the nobles feel their indignation for their late treachery, ingratitude, and disloyalty, and to cherish and reward the

people by whose loyalty and bravery (and with the aid of their good allies) the kingdom of Naples had been so speedily recovered.

When we anchored in this bay the 24th of June the capitulation of the castles had in some measure taken place. Fourteen large polaccas or transport vessels had taken on board out of the castles the most conspicuous and criminal of the Neapolitan rebels that had chosen to go to Toulon. The others had already been permitted, with their property, to return to their own homes in this kingdom, and hostages, selected from the first royalist nobility of Naples, had been sent into the castle of St. Elmo, that commands the city of Naples, where a French garrison and the flag of the French republic was to remain until the news of the safe arrival of the Neapolitan rebels (always called 'patriots' by the cardinal) at Toulon, and who were, agreeable to the cardinal's treaty, to have been convoyed by a British-manned force.

Lord Nelson on our first interview with Cardinal Ruffo told his Eminency, without any reserve, in what an infamous light he viewed the treaty, and how disgraceful it would be to their Sicilian Majesties, whose opinion and intentions we both knew were directly contrary to such a treaty (capitulation), which if carried into execution would dishonour their Majesties for ever. The cardinal persisted in the support of what was done, as his Eminency said, to prevent the capital from becoming a heap of stones.

There was no time to be lost, for the transport vessels were on the point of sailing for Toulon, when Lord Nelson ordered all the boats of the squadron to be manned and armed, and to bring those vessels with all the rebels on board directly under the sterns of his ships, and there they remain, having taken

out and secured on board of his Majesty's ships the most guilty chiefs of the rebellion. Lord Nelson assured the cardinal at the same time that he did not mean to do any act contrary to his Eminency's treaty, but as that treaty could not be valid until it had been ratified by his Sicilian Majesty, his Lordship's meaning was only to secure his Majesty's rebellious subjects until his Majesty's further pleasure should be known. Admiral Caracciolo, the chief of the rebels of his Sicilian Majesty's marine, not having been comprised in the cardinal's treaty, but having been taken endeavouring to make his escape by land, was by Lord Nelson's orders tried on board the *Foudroyant* by a court-martial composed entirely of Neapolitan marine officers, was condemned and hung up at the yard-arm of the Neapolitan frigate, the *Minerva* (the very same ship he had, with the gunboats of the Neapolitan Republic under his command, fired upon near Procida), at five o'clock in the evening of the same day, where he hung until the setting of the sun, to the great satisfaction of his Sicilian Majesty's loyal subjects, thousands of whom came off in boats with loud applause of so speedy an act of justice, for this happened the day after the king's squadron came to Naples. His body was afterwards thrown into the sea. We found on our arrival in this bay a general discontent of the people and of his Sicilian Majesty's most loyal subjects of the higher class, complaining of the rapine and plunder committed daily at Naples by the Calabrese, and of the evident partiality shown by the cardinal to the Jacobin party, whilst the royalists and loyal people were brow-beaten and denied access to his Eminency at his headquarters at the Ponte Maddalena, in the suburbs of Naples; not that they accused him of being a traitor, but that his Eminency was surrounded by Jacobins and venal evil counsellors. In

short, your Lordship can have no conception of the anarchy and confusion at Naples. Lord Nelson by sending immediately a garrison of British marines into the Castel dell' Uovo, and another of sailors under the command of Captain Hood, of the *Zealous*, into the Castel Nuovo, immediately restored tranquillity to the distracted capital, and that such of his Sicilian Majesty's rebel subjects who, according to the cardinal's treaty, might escape with impunity might not do so, Lord Nelson published at Naples a printed notification, a copy of which is enclosed, and which the cardinal had declined publishing.

The cardinal, finding soon that the whole confidence of the people was withdrawn from him and reposed entirely on Lord Nelson and his Majesty's fleet, endeavoured to throw the whole weight of affairs on his Lordship, and by that means cause inevitable confusion; but we contrived to keep everything going on decently by supporting the king's vicar-general until we had answers from their Sicilian Majesties at Palermo, to whom we had painted exactly the state of affairs and the confusion at Naples, preventing at the same time his Eminency from doing any essential mischief, and recommending to their Majesties in the strongest manner to show themselves in the Bay of Naples as soon as possible; by which means, and by that alone, all would be calmed and the cardinal's dangerous power die of a natural death.

By the return of the vessel that carried our letters to Palermo, Lord Nelson received a letter from the King of Naples in his Majesty's own handwriting, in which he thanked his Lordship for having saved his honour, approved of all that had been done, and sent letters with full powers to appoint a new government, and even to arrest the cardinal and send him to Palermo in a British ship if Lord

Nelson should think it necessary to come to that extremity. His Majesty acquainted us also that he was coming himself directly with General Acton and the Prince Castel Cicala into the Bay of Naples according to our advice. His Sicilian Majesty embarked the 3rd instant on board one of his own frigates, accompanied by the king's frigate the Seahorse, but having a numerous convoy by bringing with him from Sicily one thousand four hundred infantry and six hundred cavalry, and meeting with calms, his Majesty did not arrive in this bay until the 11th instant in the afternoon, and would not suffer his royal standard to be hoisted until he got on board the Foudroyant, when it went up to the main-masthead and was immediately saluted by the king's whole fleet, and by the castles at Naples in our power, which, with the multitude of boats covering the sea and surrounding the ship all full of loyal subjects, calling the king their father, was such a sight as never can be forgotten. At the same time, Captain Troubridge and Captain Hallowell, that Lord Nelson had detached with all the marines of the fleet, the five hundred Russians, and some Portuguese artillery men, were keeping up a heavy fire of mortars and battering cannon against the castle of St. Elmo, into which strong fortress the only remaining French had taken refuge, in number about eight hundred, and the only castle at Naples on which the French republican flag was flying. The next morning at daybreak Captain Troubridge unexpectedly opened a new masked battery within less than two hundred yards of the walls of the castle, which in two hours obliged the French to hang out a flag of truce, and about eleven o'clock yesterday morning his Sicilian Majesty had the complete satisfaction of seeing from this ship his own flag triumphant on the castle of St. Elmo.

Enclosed is a printed copy of the capitulation, and which, as your lordship will observe, is a complete contrast to the cardinal's capitulation with the Castel dell' Uovo and the Castel Nuovo.

As his Sicilian Majesty himself writes to the king by this messenger, it is not necessary for me to say anything of the gratitude expressed daily by their Sicilian Majesties, their royal family, and their loyal subjects, for the signal services that have been rendered them by the king's fleet under the command of the incomparable Lord Nelson, and particularly for the last, which, as to all appearances, has seated them again on their throne of Naples. Nothing remains to complete the business but the reduction of Capua and Gaëta, in which fortresses, there are small French garrisons. To-morrow a proper force goes to Capua under the command of Captains Troubridge and Hallowell, who expressed to Lord Nelson a desire of being so employed, and as Gaëta is closely pressed both by sea and land, all our business in this quarter will probably be completed, and satisfactorily, in a few days; in the meantime his Sicilian Majesty holds his councils with his ministers on board the *Foudroyant* for the police and better government of this capital and kingdom. Your Lordship may well conceive the labours that Lord Nelson and I must have undergone in the space of time between the arrival of the king, and the cardinal his vicar-general's having declined all business.

I have thus given your Lordship, as well as I can recollect, the substance of what has happened during the seventeen days that we have been at anchor in this bay. I have the honour, &c.,

WM. HAMILTON.

159. HAMILTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[P.R.O. Sicilian Papers, vol. xlv. ; Giglioli, p. 401.]

[*Separate and secret.*]On board the Foudroyant, Bay of Naples,
14th of July.

My Lord,—As Lady Hamilton was very particularly requested by the Queen of Naples to accompany me and Lord Nelson on this expedition, and was charged by her Majesty with many important commissions at Naples, and to keep up a regular daily correspondence with her Majesty, I have found the enclosed queen's letters to Lady Hamilton so very interesting, doing so much honour to the queen's understanding and heart, and throwing such clear light on the present situation of affairs at Naples, that I have prevailed on my wife to allow me to entrust to your Lordship the most interesting of her Majesty's letters, but not without a solemn promise from me that they should be restored to her by your Lordship on our arrival in England, of which I now see a new prospect, as we mean to profit of the first ship that Lord Nelson sends downwards, after that their Sicilian Majesties shall have been happily reinstated on their throne of Naples; having had, as your Lordship knows, in my pocket for more than two years the king's gracious permission to return home for a short time to look after my private concerns. Your Lordship will receive this packet from the hand of Lieutenant Parkinson, charged with Lord Nelson's despatches to Lord Spencer, as I do not wish this letter to be considered as official, and the queen's letters are entrusted only to your Lordship's well-known discretion.

The queen's letters enclosed are twelve: Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 21, and 22. Your Lordship will surely admire the just remarks of her

Majesty, written in her own hand opposite the articles of Cardinal Ruffo's infamous capitulation with the Neapolitan rebels, and enclosed in No. 5.

I have the honour, &c.,

WM. HAMILTON.

160. HAMILTON TO CHARLES GREVILLE.

[Morrison's *Nelson Papers*, ii. 53.]

On board the *Foudroyant*, Naples Bay,
14th of July, 1799.

[Dear Charles,]—I profit of the return of Mr. Sylvester, the king's messenger, to send you a line, but I really am so worn out by the long despatch I have been obliged to write to-day to Lord Grenville, that I can scarcely hold my pen. By our present complete success I am more than repaid for having, as you know, sacrificed both my health and private interests for the good of the common cause in which we have so long been struggling. The arrival of the king's fleet in time has saved this capital from the utmost anarchy and confusion. Lord Nelson has secured all the chiefs of the Jacobin nobility and their party, who would otherwise have escaped the hand of justice by the rascality or imbecility of the king's vicar-general, but I cannot go over the same ground again of my letter to Lord Grenville. By applying at his Lordship's office you may know the contents of that letter, as I suppose you have friends there as you have everywhere. When Lord Nelson was entreated to go to Naples with his whole fleet, 19 of the line, their Majesties requested me to accompany Lord Nelson, who did not know the language and had not the long experience of the country, and of which I was perfectly master. We had full powers, but nothing but my phlegm could have prevented an open rupture on the first meeting between Cardinal Ruffo

and Lord Nelson. Lord Nelson is so accustomed to dealings fair and open, that he has no patience when he meets with the contrary, which one must always expect when one has to deal with Italians, and, perhaps, his Eminency is the very quintessence of Italian finesse. We have now been here eighteen days, and his Sicilian Majesty on board this ship three days. We have now nothing political to think of, and Lord Nelson is occupied with the taking of Capua and Gaëta, which I dare say will be done in a few days. To-morrow the brave Captains Troubridge and Hallowell go upon that attack, and, as Gaëta is blocked by sea and land, we flatter ourselves that in a few days there will not be a Frenchman left in the kingdom of Naples when those two remaining fortresses are taken. Troubridge took the strong castle of St. Elmo in ten days; a regular engineer would have been six weeks making his approaches. The king just came the night before the surrender, and saw from his ship his own standard hoisted. My head is so confused with long writing on this subject that I must refer you to my letter to Lord Grenville. I have been told most of the goods and cannon have been recovered from the wreck of the Colossus. I hope in God my eight cases, that were so very carefully packed, may be of the number. Spare no expense, my dear Charles, to recover them if you can, as the like were never seen, or ever will be. I still think I am in time to get home before the winter sets in, and as their Sicilian Majesties will probably be very soon firmly seated on their throne of Naples, I may profit of the king's leave, which has remained in my pocket more than two years. You will find me much worn and am little more than skin and bone, as I have very little stomach. Perhaps my native air may give me a bracing, but I expect more from a perfect repose from all vexatious business than anything else.

Probably some ships will soon be sent home from Palermo, and Emma and I shall profit of one. Every captain wishes to serve us, and no one are, I believe, more popular in the navy at this moment than Emma and I. It will be a heartbreaking to the Queen of Naples when we go ; she has really no female friend but her, and Emma has been of infinite use in our late very critical business. Lord Nelson and I could not have done without her, all of which shall be explained when we meet. You cannot conceive the joy of Naples on seeing me arrive again, and we have had the glory of stepping between the king and his subjects, to the utility of both. In short, the king's fleet and a little good management and temper has placed their Sicilian Majesties once more on their throne of Naples.

Lord Nelson is enraged at the thought of the Brest fleets having probably got into the ocean again. You shall hear again when we return to Palermo, and, I hope, see us soon after.

With, &c.,

[W. HAMILTON.]

161. *RICCIARDI'S MEMORIAL.*

[Williams's Sketches, vol. ii. p. 319.]

[19th-20th of July.]

To his Excellency Lord Nelson, Admiral of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean.

Excellency,—The individuals on board the polacca No. 14, who formerly belonged to the

A son Excellence Lord Nelson, Amiral de la flotte Britannique, dans la Méditerranée.

Excellence,—Les individus au bord de la Polaque No. 14 et qui auparavant appartenaient aux garnisons des

garrisons of the castles Nuovo and dell' Uovo, represent to your Excellency that on the 15th of June his Eminence Cardinal Ruffo, vicar-general of his Majesty the King of Sicily, published a proclamation to the people, in which he ordered them to respect the bearers of the flag of truce which was about to be sent to the forts to capitulate, so that the articles of the capitulation might be scrupulously carried into effect. As they perceived from this proclamation that the troops blockading the castles were regular troops of his Sicilian Majesty and of his allies, and as the said vicar-general proposed a capitulation which was to be guaranteed by the allied powers—that is to say, by England, Russia, and the Ottoman Porte—the articles of this capitulation were signed on the 21st of June with the ordinary formalities on behalf of Great Britain by Captain Foote, who was then in command of the British fleet in these waters, after they had been approved and countersigned by the

châteaux Neuf, et de l'Œuf représentent à V. E. que le 15 Juin, son Eminence le Cardinal Ruffo, Vicaire-General de S. M. le Roi Sicilien, publia une proclamation au peuple, dans laquelle il ordonnait de respecter les parlementaires qui seraient envoyés aux forts pour capituler, à fin que les articles de la capitulation puissent être exactement exécutés. En s'apercevant par cette proclamation, que les troupes qui formaient le bloc des châteaux étaient des troupes réglées appartenants à sa Majesté Sicilienne, et à ses alliés, et en conséquence ayant été proposée par le même Vicaire-General une capitulation qui serait garantie par les puissances alliés, c'est à dire par l'Angleterre, la Russie, et la Porte Ottomane, le jour 21 Juin les articles de cette capitulation après l'approbation et signature du Citoyen Mejan, commandant du Fort S. Elme, qui dominait le Fort Neuf, furent signés avec les formalités ordinaires de part de la Grande Bretagne par le Capitaine Foote qui alors commandait l'escadre Britannique dans

citizen Méjean, commanding the Fort of St. Elmo, which dominated the Fort of Nuovo. The capitulation provided that the garrisons should surrender the two forts, with arms, provisions, and ammunition, to the army of the King of Sicily and his allies, and should leave them with military honours, laying down their arms on the sea-shore, and that those individuals who did not elect to remain at home should be embarked on cartel ships and taken to Toulon. They began to put the capitulation into execution after the arrival in this roadstead of the British fleet commanded by your Excellency. On their part the garrisons of the Castles of Nuovo and dell' Uovo set the prisoners of state and ten English prisoners at liberty, and placed the troops of his Britannic Majesty in possession of the gate of the royal palace which leads to the Castle of Nuovo. On the other hand the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias caused the garrisons to march out with military honours towards the naval

cette rade. La capitulation précrivait que les garnisons devaient rendre les deux forts, avec les armes, et munitions de bouche et de guerre, à l'armée du Roi de Sicile, et de ses alliés, et sortiraient avec les honneurs militaires, en mettant les armes bas à côté de la mer, et que ces individus qui n'optaient pas de rester dans leurs maisons se seraient embarqués sur des bâtimens parlementaires pour être transportés à Toulon. Après l'arrivé dans cette rade de la Flotte Britannique commandée par V. E. on commença à mettre en execution la capitulation. De leur côté les garnisons des châteaux Neuf, et de l'Œuf mirent en liberté les prisonniers d'état et dix prisonniers de guerre Anglais, et donnèrent en pouvoir des troupes de sa Majesté Britannique la porte du Palais Royal, qui conduit au château Neuf, et de l'autre côté les troupes de sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies firent sortir avec les honneurs militaires les individus de la garnison du côté de l'arsenal

arsenal, where they laid down their arms and embarked on the vessels for the purpose of being conveyed to Toulon. By means of these acts the articles of the capitulation, which had been signed, have been ratified by Russia and by England, which has received the prisoners and the gate of the castle. We have now been for 24 days in this roadstead without departing, and deprived of all necessaries of life; indeed, they are only giving us bread and putrid water, and wine mixed with sea water; and they are allowing us to sleep on the ground. Our homes have been completely plundered, and we are in consequence unable to get any help from them. The greater part of our relations have been either massacred or arrested. The deplorable condition we are in has already produced disease, and on board of this polacca there are five sick with epidemic fever, a thing which threatens the lives of all of us. We are convinced that the treatment we are suffering, after having capitulated, and having on our part religiously carried into effect the articles

de marine, où ils mirent bas les armes, et s'embarquèrent sur des bâtimens pour être conduits à Toulon. Par ces faits les articles de la capitulation qui étaient signés, ont été ratifiés par la Russie, et l'Angleterre qu'a reçu les prisonniers, et la porte du château. Il y a 24 jours que nous sommes dans cette rade sans partir, dépourvus de tout le nécessaire à l'existence, parce que on ne nous donne que du pain et de l'eau pourrie, du vin mêlé avec l'eau marine, et on nous laisse dormir par terre. Nos maisons ont été entièrement pillées, et en conséquence ne peuvent nous donner point de secours, la plupart de nos parents a été ou massacrée ou arrêtée. Cette notre condition déplorable a déjà produit des maladies, et au bord de cette polaque il y a cinq malades de fièvre épidémique, qui menace la vie de tous. Nous sommes persuadés que tous ces traitements que nous souffrons, après avoir capitulés, et avoir de notre côté mis en exécution religieusement les articles de la

of the capitulation, is entirely unknown to your Excellency and to his Sicilian Majesty, for your sense of honour and his kind heart are both famous. The delay in the execution of the capitulation entitles us to protest, and to appeal to his sense of justice and to yours, in order that a treaty which has been entered into with four of the most civilised powers in Europe, who have always appreciated the inviolability of treaties, may be carried into effect as soon as possible. We hope that by means of your influence with his Sicilian Majesty there may be put into execution the articles of a capitulation which has been signed in the best of faith, and which has been religiously carried out by the garrisons, who implore your protection and the justice of the powers.

I have shown your paper to your gracious king, who must be the best and only judge of the merits and demerits of his subjects.

NELSON.¹

capitulation, sont entièrement inconnus à V. E. et à sa Majesté Sicilienne, étant trop connus votre exactitude, et sa sensibilité. Le retard de l'exécution de la capitulation nous donne raison de réclamer et implorer sa justice, et la votre, afin qu'un traité conclu avec quatre puissances les plus policées de l'Europe, et qui ont toujours appréciés l'inviolabilité de traités, soit exécuté au plutôt possible. Nous espérons, que par le moyen de vos bons offices auprès de sa Majesté Sicilienne, soient exécutés les articles d'une capitulation, qu'on a signée avec toute la bonne foi, et religieusement exécutée du côté des garnisons, qui implorent votre protection, et la justice des puissances.

Ils demandent en grâce de donner
Providence sur le présent placet.

¹ Cf. Memoria sugli avvenimenti di Napoli nell' anno 1799—Amedeo Ricciardi (*Archivio Storico*, vol. xiii. p. 36). Ricciardi

162. *ACTON TO NELSON.*

[Despatches, vol. vii. App. p. clxxxvi. note.]

On board the *Foudroyant*, in the Road of Naples,
1st of August, 1799.

My Lord,—By the two inclosed papers relative to the government of Naples and this kingdom, while his Sicilian Majesty continues to reside at Palermo, your lordship will see that your example of a prudent moderation in regard to Cardinal Ruffo has been followed by his Majesty. The conduct of his Eminence was highly to be commended in Calabria: his approaches to Naples, his behaviour in the first days when entered in this capital, his unaccountable, and, I may say, shameful capitulation, intended for the Castles Uovo and Nuovo, did with reason promote a prevention against his way of thinking and principles at the moment.

Your Lordship's and Sir William Hamilton's observations on these events at your arrival in Naples Bay, rose his Majesty's suspicions, which have been, I must say, rather confirmed than abated with the reports received in this Road. It was in your Lordship's power to arrest the cardinal and send him to Palermo, as the orders to him and the principal persons in Naples charged with that execution, when you had thought proper, directed, by delivering those letters to their destination. As the cardinal yielded to your wise and steady declarations, your Lordship's and Sir William's advice caused a suspension of his Majesty's determinations.

was born in 1756 at Palata, and followed the profession of the law till the outbreak of the revolution, when he was appointed organising commissioner to the departments of the Ofanto and Leuca. On the 12th of August, 1799, he was banished and went to reside in Paris, where he made the acquaintance of Miss Williams, to whom the above memoir is dedicated.

You will see by the inclosed instructions, and order for a council to direct the cardinal, and in a manner to overlook, with a proper vigilancy, over his actions, that he is tied up in a manner, and secured from doing mischief in the beginning. If he entertains any further concern—I would say intelligence—with the conspirators of his own order it shall be discovered in a moment, and immediately as well as efficaciously remedied. His Majesty's reasons for running in appearance a kind of hazard are however founded. In the eyes of the nation, in general, the cardinal deserves praise for his courage, in the first setting out and promoting a royal insurrection in the Calabrias under their religion's and their king's banner, which has raised and inflamed the rest of the five southern provinces. This service is real. The meanings of this man in advancing to Naples, the corrupted people that flocked round him, his brother especially, known for bad and dubious dispositions, gave room to entertain an equivocal opinion; but single doubts and no facts were properly ascertained. His ambition on one side, known to the court, his weakness in principles, on the other, and connections in part abated by the arrest and judgment of most traitors amongst the nobles, seemed to encourage his Majesty in forming the determination of forming a government in the form explained, with the afore-said instructions. The first sign afterwards of a doubtful management shall cause the cardinal's removal instantly; the disposition being taken for this necessary operation, whenever the case shall indicate the moment to put it into execution. The cardinal's brother has been sent already to Sicily. Many persons have been dismissed from his confidence by the king's directions. In short, if a more proper person to keep up the insurgent army,

which the cardinal himself has raised, could have been found, in this instant he should have been placed in his room. The organisation of a new army will, I hope, in a short time cause the dismissal of the Calabrese corps, and tie up again, by this disposition, any further disagreeable and dangerous thought of a sedition. This, *and no revolution*, is to be apprehended. The Russian corps are near to arrive, and we do not see that the party of the nobility, which has so much worked in the conspiracy against his Majesty, may, in Naples, produce a serious disturbance, when the people in the capital, as your lordship is a witness, is so much devoted to his Majesty. The same is likewise in all the provinces.

The king, in ordering my communication to your Lordship, commands that I should repeat his Majesty's acknowledgments for so many conspicuous and essential services rendered to his Majesty and royal family. I am, &c.,

J. ACTON.

163. TROUBRIDGE TO NELSON.

[B.M. Add. MS. 34912, f. 144.]

[No date.]

My Lord, — I find Governor Curtis has McDonald's intercepted letter; if you wish it, it can be easily got from Procida. I have intercepted a letter from Micheroux, wherein he tells his brother¹ too many *cooks* spoil the broth. I think he wanted the *strong part*, and for us to eat the *soup meagre*; you shall have a copy. I think he has been carrying on the farce this some time. A Portuguese officer is

¹ Marshal Micheroux, the cousin of the chevalier, and a hostage confined in the castle of St. Elmo.

wounded in the arm, and one Neapolitan gunner killed. Some conversation passed with the officer in the [Chain¹]; I look for Darby every minute to relate it. We are hard at work.

Yours ever faithful,

T. TROUBRIDGE.

164. *NARDINI'S ACCOUNT.*

[*Mémoires de B. N., témoin oculaire, pp. 201 to 206.*]

When the cardinal received this plan of capitulation he was of opinion that the claims put forward were too exorbitant, seeing the situation the garrisons were in ; and he demanded that they should erase from the treaty the concluding words of the first article, by which they reserved their rights of property, which he regarded as legitimately forfeited to the royal exchequer ; also the whole of the third article with the exception of the provisions relative to the citadel of Pescara. He concluded by demanding the exclusion of all expressions insulting to his Sicilian Majesty.

When this answer reached the patriots, they replied to his Eminence that they would not make the slightest alteration in their treaty of surrender ;

. . . Le cardinal, ayant reçu ce projet de capitulation, trouva les prétensions des patriotes trop hautes, en raison de la situation dans laquelle ils étaient ; et demanda qu'on retranchât du traité la fin de l'article Ier, par lequel ils se réservaient la propriété de leurs biens, qu'il regardait comme légitimement acquis au fisc royal ; et tout l'article III, excepté les dispositions relatives à la citadelle de Pescara. Il finissait par demander qu'on supprimât toutes les expressions injurieuses à sa majesté sicilienne.

Cette réponse étant parvenue aux patriotes, ils répondirent à son éminence qu'ils ne feraient pas le moindre changement à leur traité de reddition ; et que s'il venait

¹ This word is indecipherable in the MS.

and that if it was going to be rejected, it would be necessary to pull down the batteries which had been erected during the armistice, and to recommence hostilities. And whilst awaiting a definite reply, they made preparations for a sortie, and for a bombardment of the city.

Ruffo consulted with the different allied commanders with regard to these demands, and as he was in a state of constant alarm for the safety of his relatives and friends who had remained as hostages in the hands of the patriots, and as he wished to be delivered from these desperate men, who would sell their lives dearly and then blow up their castles, he therefore accepted the capitulation in its entirety, excluding only the expressions which were insulting to the king. When it had been signed by all the contracting parties, the patriots nominated hostages, amongst whom were the cardinal's brother and General Micheroux. These went to St. Elmo, and Ruffo, in accordance with the third article of the capitulation, published throughout the kingdom an

à être refusé, on eût à renverser les batteries qui avaient été dressées pendant la durée de l'armistice, et que les hostilités recommenceraient. Et en attendant la réponse définitive, ils se disposèrent à une sortie, et à écraser la ville de bombes et de boulets.

Ruffo ayant pris le conseil des différents commandants des alliés sur ce que l'on demandait, tremblant sans cesse pour la tête de ses parens et de ses amis, restés en ôtages entre les mains des patriotes et désirant de se délivrer de ces désespérés, qui vendraient chèrement leur vie, et feraient ensuite sauter en l'air leurs châteaux, accepta la capitulation en tout son étendu, en supprimant seulement les termes injurieuses au roi. Lorsqu'elle fut signée de toutes les parties contractantes, les patriotes nommèrent des ôtages, parmi lesquelles était le frère du cardinal et le général Micheroux. Ils se rendirent à Saint-Elme, et Ruffo, suivant l'article trois de la capitulation, publia dans

amnesty for all those who wished to remain ; and as for those who wished to leave the country, permission was granted them to go to Marseilles on vessels which would be supplied to them, with an assurance that their persons and property would be guaranteed against all accidents. At the same time he sent the treaty to Pescara, where the commandant was the ex-Duke d'Andria, to induce him to surrender the fortress to the Abbé Pronio, and to come to Naples with his followers under the escort of the royalists.

On the 1st of July, when the vessels had been hurriedly got ready, the republicans of San Martino abandoned their position and were escorted to Pizzo-Falcone, where they were given the choice either of remaining or departing. Signorelli and some others announced their intention of returning to the bosoms of their families, and, putting on royalist cockades, they entered Naples without difficulty. The others remained for the purpose of embarking by night. When the evacuation had taken place a few patriots

tout le royaume une amnistie pour ceux qui voudraient y rester, et à ceux qui voudraient en sortir, la permission fut donnée d'aller à Marseille sur des bâtimens qui leur seraient fournis, les assurant que leurs personnes et leurs propriétés seraient garanties de tout accident. Il envoya au même instant le traité à Pescara, où était l'ex-duc d'Andria, qui en était le commandant, pour qu'il cédât la place à l'abbé Pronio, et vint à Naples avec les siens, escorté par les royalistes.

Les bâtimens ayant été préparés à la hâte, le premier jour de juillet, les républicains de Saint-Martin abandonnèrent leur position, et se rendirent au milieu d'une escorte à Pizzo-Falcone où on leur laissa le choix de partir où de rester. Signorelli avec quelques autres annonça le projet de rentrer au sein de sa famille, et ayant mis la cocarde royale, ils entrèrent sans obstacle dans Naples. Les autres restèrent pour être embarqués dans la nuit. L'évacuation ayant été faite, peu de patriotes regagnèrent leurs maisons,

went home, but the bulk of them took the road to the harbour and went on board the vessels destined for their transport. Two of these vessels with the patriots of Castellamare on board had received permission to sail and had arrived at Marseilles. Patriots from every part of the kingdom who wished to leave the country now commenced to flock to Naples. Their names were accordingly taken, and they were all embarked. They had already left the port, provided with money and supplies which their families had procured for them, when they were unexpectedly taken under the guns of the Castel dell' Uovo, and chained together in pairs. When they complained of this act of violence and of the breach of the treaty, there was read to them an edict of the king, who had just entered the Bay of Naples on Admiral Nelson's ship. His Majesty declared that he had never had any intention of entering into a capitulation with his rebel subjects, and that he had never given Cardinal Ruffo power to do so. He therefore ordered them to be carefully

et la plus grande partie prit le chemin du port, et monta sur les vaisseaux destinés à leur transport. Déjà deux de ces vaisseaux sur lesquels étaient les patriotes de Castellamare, ayant eu la permission de faire voile, étaient arrivés à Marseille. On vit alors affluer les patriotes de tous les points du royaume, qui demandaient à partir ; on prit leurs noms à mesure, et ils furent tous embarqués. Déjà ils s'étaient éloignés du port, munis d'argent et d'effets que leur avaient procurés leur familles, lorsque contre toute attente, ils se virent conduits sous les batteries du château de l'Œuf, et enchainés deux à deux. Se plaignant de cette violence et de l'infraction du traité, on leur lut un édit du roi, qui venait d'entrer dans le golfe de Naples sur le vaisseau de l'amiral Nelson. Sa majesté y déclarait qu'elle n'avait jamais eu l'intention de capituler avec ses sujets rebelles, et qu'elle n'avait jamais accordé un tel pouvoir au cardinal Ruffo ; et en conséquence, elle ordonnait

guarded, as they had nothing further to expect from his mercy. This royal proclamation was a thunderbolt for the patriots, who foresaw all the misfortunes awaiting them. They nevertheless presented a carefully-drawn memorial to Admiral Nelson, demanding the execution of a treaty to which England had acceded when it was signed by Captain Foote. They received no other reply than that he had presented their protest to his Sicilian Majesty, to whom alone belonged the right of judging of the merits and the crimes of his subjects. All their hopes thereupon vanished. They were stripped of all they had received from their relatives. The most guilty of them were embarked and taken to the castles, where they were hanged. Others were taken to the granaries and the other prisons of the city; others finally were confined at the bottom of the ship's holds and fed on bread and water. In another edict the king declared that the city of Naples had forfeited its privileges, and that the

qu'ils fussent gardés avec soin, parce qu'ils ne pouvaient plus rien espérer de sa clémence. Cette proclamation royale fut un coup de foudre pour les patriotes, qui pressentirent tous les maux auxquels ils étaient réservés. Cependant ils présentèrent à l'amiral Nelson un mémoire raisonné, en lui demandant l'exécution d'un traité auquel avait accédé l'Angleterre, ayant été signé par le commandant Foote, et n'eurent d'autre réponse, sinon qu'il avait présenté leurs remontrances à sa majesté sicilienne, à qui seule appartenait le droit de juger du mérite et des délits de ses sujets. Alors toutes leurs espérances s'évanouirent. On les dépouilla de tout ce qu'ils avaient reçu de leurs parens. Les plus coupables furent embarqués et transportés dans les châteaux, où on les pendit; d'autres furent conduits dans les greniers à blé, et dans les autres prisons de la ville; d'autres enfin mis à fond de cale, nourris au pain et à l'eau. Dans un autre édit, le roi

assemblies of the nobles were consequently abolished.¹

déclara la ville de Naples déchue de ses droits, et en conséquence l'abolition des états de la noblesse. . . .

165. *SPENCER TO NELSON.*

[Despatches, vol. iv. p. 115, note.]

Admiralty, 7th of October, 1799.

My dear Lord,—In answer to your letter of the 23rd of July,¹ which did not reach me till the 26th of last month, I can only now repeat what I believe I have before said on the subject—namely, that the intentions and motives by which all your measures have been governed have been as pure and good as their success has been complete.

The arrival of the squadron detached under Admiral Duckworth to Minorca, was a very satisfactory event to us, as it put that island in a more perfect state of security, though I do not apprehend that in the present state of things there is much danger of its being attacked, and we are now looking forward in the expectation of hearing, either from you or from Captain Ball, of the surrender of Malta, which, I hope, cannot hold out much longer, as the approach of the bad weather may much increase the difficulty of the blockade. You will receive a copy of a communication on the subject of this island from the secretary of state, which was left with Lord Keith

¹ This purports to be the narrative of an eye-witness of these events. In so far as its accuracy is concerned it is sufficient to point out that Nardini places the date of the embarkation of the rebels on the 1st of July, and that not only does he allege that they actually set sail, but he also states that at the time the king was entering the bay on board Nelson's ship.

² No letter to Spencer of this date has been found. It is probably a mistake for the 13th.

by Lord St. Vincent, and, from the circumstances under which the former quitted the Mediterranean, had not been transmitted to your lordship. I have only to add to what you will collect from that paper, that the utmost importance is attached by his Majesty's government to the object of carefully avoiding to do anything which may raise any jealousies in the mind of the Emperor of Russia, who is particularly bent on the point of restoring, under some new regulations, the Order of Malta, and whose conduct ever on this subject, though one on which he may perhaps have been suspected by the world of entertaining more ambitious views, has been, as far as we are enabled to judge of it, of the most disinterested and honourable kind:

I trust this letter will find you in good health and spirits, and shall conclude by assuring you that

I am, &c.,

SPENCER.

166. *NELSON TO MR. ALEXANDER DAVISON.*

[*B.M. Eg. MS. 2240, f. 25. Despatches, vol. iii. p. 510.*]

Malta, 9th of May, 1800.

My dear Sir,—Mr. Fox having, in the House of Commons, in February, made an accusation against somebody, for what he calls a breach of a treaty with rebels, which had been entered into with a British officer,¹ and having used language unbecoming either the wisdom of a senator, or the politeness of a gentleman, or an Englishman, who ought ever to

¹ This speech was made on the 3rd of February, 1800, on the motion for the address thanking the king for refusing to negotiate with the French Republic. A division took place immediately on the conclusion of Fox's speech, which explains why no reply was made to it. The material parts of the speech are contained in the *Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 510.

suppose that his Majesty's officers would always act with honour and openness in all their transactions; and as the whole affairs of the kingdom of Naples were at the time alluded to absolutely placed in my hands, it is *I* who am called upon to explain my conduct. I therefore send you my observations on the infamous armistice entered into by the cardinal; and on his refusal to send in a joint declaration to the French and rebels, I sent in my note, and on which the rebels came out of the castles *as they ought*, and as I hope all those who are false to their king and country will, *to be hanged*, or otherwise disposed of, as their sovereign thought proper. The terms granted by Captain Foote, of the Seahorse, at Castellamare, were all strictly complied with, the rebels having surrendered before my arrival. There has been nothing promised by a British officer that his Sicilian Majesty has not complied with, even in disobedience to his orders to the cardinal.

I am, &c.,

BRONTE (NELSON of the Nile).

Show these papers to Mr. Rose, or some other, and if thought right, you will put them in the papers.

167. NELSON TO MR. ALEXANDER STEPHENS.¹

[Despatches, vol. iii. p. 520.]

23 Piccadilly, 10th of February, 1803.

Sir,—By your letter, I believe that you wish to be correct in your history, and therefore wish to be

¹ Alexander Stephens (born 1757; died 1821), author, amongst other works, of the *History of the Wars which arose out of the French Revolution* (1803), *Memoirs of Horne Tooke* (1813). See *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. liv. p. 168.

informed of a transaction relative to Naples. I cannot enter at large into the subject to which you allude. I shall briefly say that neither Cardinal Ruffo, or Captain Foote, or any other person, had any power to enter into any treaty with the rebels, that even the paper which they signed was not *acted upon*, as I very happily arrived at Naples, and prevented such an infamous transaction from taking place: therefore, when the rebels surrendered, they came out of the castles as they ought, without any honours of war, and trusting to the judgment of their sovereign. *I put aside, and sent them notice of it, the infamous treaty*, and the rebels surrendered, as I have before said. If you attend to that Mrs. Williams' book,¹ I can assure you that nearly all relative to Naples is either destitute of foundation or falsely represented.

I am, Sir, &c.,
NELSON.

I must beg leave to warn you to be careful how you mention the characters of such excellent sovereigns as the King and Queen of Naples. If you wish to have any conversation with me on the subject I shall be at home any morning at 10 o'clock.

¹ Helen Maria Williams (born 1762; died 1827), authoress. Besides her collected poems she wrote several novels, but is best known by her political works. The book referred to by Nelson is a volume entitled *Sketches of the State of Manners and Opinions in the French Republic towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, published in 1801, which deals with the Neapolitan Revolution of 1799 from the point of view of a strong Jacobin partisan. A copy of this work containing autograph notes by Nelson is in the British Museum (Add. MS. 34391). Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. lxi. p. 405.

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